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CHRISTOLOGY.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

CHRIST:

CONSIDER'D

I. In Himself. II. In his Government: And, III. In relation to his Subjects and their Duty to him.

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MAY 28 1918
THEOLOGICAL SEMIN

In Six Books.

The Second VOLUME, containing the Third BOOK.

Being a *New* but *Scriptural Treatise* concerning CHRIST, consider'd as

LOGANTHROPOS.

In Two PARTS.

To which is added,

A *New* and *Peculiar* DISSERTATION concerning the *Prior Resurrection*, which is to commence with the *Millennium*.

By *ROBERT FLEMING.*

Tert. in Apol. Liceat *Veritati* ad aures vestras pervenire.—— *Unum* gestit ne *Ignorata Damnetur.*

LONDON; Printed by *J. Humfreys*, for *A. Bell* at the Cross-Keys and Bible in *Cornhill*. CIↃ.IↃCC.VIII.

TO THE MOST

Noble, Illuſtrious and Excellent

PRINCESS,

Her ROYAL HIGHNESS

SOPHIA,

Electoreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager

OF

Hannover, Brunſwick, Lunenburg, &c.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

HAVING Preſum'd to Ingrave the Auguſt Name of *Her Britannick Majeſty* in the Frontiſpiece of this *Work*; as I had formerly Prefix'd that of

His late Majeſty, before a ſmall Diſcourſe, which was a kind of *Prodromus* to it: I could not but immediately Conclude, that this *next Part* of my Labours, upon this Greateſt of Subjects, was, of Right, Appropriable to no other Perſon or Intereſt, than that of *Your Royal Highneſs* and *Your moſt Glorious Houſe*; ſince Providence ſeems, this way, ſo peculiarly to have handed it over to You, as to incourage its Claim, by a ſort of Succeſſion, to Your moſt Illuſtrious Patronage, as well as Chriſtian Peruſal.

And now, that I have mention'd this; as the Smalleſt Things do frequently Occaſion us to think of the Greateſt; ſo I can't but Obſerve here, How much all we *Britains* are oblig'd to Celebrate the Immenſe Goodneſs of Heaven to Us and Poſterity, upon the Account of the late Glorious *Revolution*, and the later Happy *Settlement* of the *Succeſſion*, as Farther, and, we Hope, Perpetually Lengthen'd out, in the *Proteſtant Line*. A Bleſſing ſo Great, that I can Honeſtly ſay; That I do never think of it, either in a Direct or Reflex View, without ſome Peculiar Emotions of Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

For

For when I look backward, I call to Mind thoſe Pleaſant Days, wherein we ſaw our Religion, Liberty, Laws and Privileges, Reſcu'd from the Jaws of a Romiſh, Arbitrary, Cruel and Tyrannical Party, by a peculiar Providence, as by an Arm ſtretch'd forth from Heaven; by which Our late Excellent King and Queen were Divinely Incited, Animated, Directed and Rendered Succeſsful, in their Undertaking, Carrying on, Accompliſhing and Securing that Great and Glorious Work.

And when, from thence, I proceed to Contemplate our Preſent Happy Settlement, under the Auſpicious Reign of Our Gracious Queen; Methinks I find my ſelf in the Midſt of One of the moſt Pleaſant Scenes in the World; where Impartial Juſtice appears Interwoven with Univerſal Lenity; and where Wiſdom and Virtue Diſcover themſelves equally, in a Mild but Steddy Government at Home, and in a Faithful Adherence to, and Careful Aſſiſtance of, the General Alliance Abroad.

But as *King William* was never more Honour'd by Heaven, nor more juſtly Indear'd to us, than by the laſt Great Act of his Expiring Life; when he did ſo Happily Begin the Length'ning out the Proteſtant Succeſſion: So *Her Preſent Majeſty* has juſtly Merited the Eulogies of all true *Britains*; both, upon the Account of Her Making it High Treaſon, to be Guilty of any Overt-Act againſt the ſame; And upon the Score of Her Obtaining it, to take Place Univerſally thro' the *Whole Iſland*: A Work, not only Great in it Self, but Auſpicious to us and our Poſterity for ever; eſpecially ſeeing it is ſo happily Interwoven with the Glorious *UNION* of theſe formerly Unfortunately Divided Nations; An *UNION* ſo Indiſſolubly link'd to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, as that they mutually Give and Receive Security, to and from each Other; An *UNION* ſo Great, as was, not many Months ago, rather the Object of our Deſires, than Expectations; In the Accompliſhment whereof, *Her Majeſty* may truly Glory, to have Out-done all Her Royal Predeceſſors; and for which She may

may Juſtly expect, the Perpetual Praiſes of Succeeding Ages.

And here it is Pleaſant to Obſerve, how Wiſely and Kindly Almighty God has Connected *Her Majeſty's Piety* and *Safety*, by making the *Latter* the Reſult and Reward of the *Former*. For, as She has been Concerned to Secure the Succeſſion, the Succeſſion tends to Secure Her: Nothing Human being ſo Strong a Barrier, as this is, to ſtave off the Deſigns of Villanous Aſſaſſinates againſt ſo valuable a Life; ſeeing all Men muſt be ſuppoſed to know, that the Proteſtant Line does not now Expire in Her.

And, as what tends to Her Majeſty's Security, muſt ever be Delightful to all Her Good Subjects: So this muſt be ſuppoſed likewiſe, in a Great Meaſure, to have Eas'd their Anxious Minds, as to their Dread of the Conſequents of ſo Diſmal a Stroke, as that of Her Majeſty's Demiſe, even tho in a Natural Way, muſt be ſuppoſed to have been. For, beſides the inconceivable Loſs of ſo Excellent and Tender a Nurſing Mo-

ther; Mens Thoughts were then perpetually haunted with the Frightful and Ghaſtly Ideas of Popery and Tyranny, as Returning again, with redoubled Malice, Fury and Revenge; and as Re-mounting the Throne, in Order to deſtroy, at once, all our National and Perſonal Privileges and Liberties, Sacred and Civil. And ſuch muſt our Apprehenſions have continued to be to this Day, were we not ſo happily freed from them, by the farther Proſpect, with which we are now ſo pleaſantly Entertain'd, of Glorious and Flouriſhing Times, during the Succeſſive Reigns of other Excellent Princes, upon whom God and the People have Intail'd the Crown.

Princes! Whoſe Virtues ſhine with ſuch an Orient Luſtre, as no Detraction or Malice can Sully or Obſcure. Princes! Tho Born abroad, yet truly *Britiſh*, both by Law and Nature: Thro' whoſe Veins the Blood of the Royal *Stewarts*, in Deſcent from that of the Gallant *Brucian* and Ancient *Fergufian* Families, mix'd with the Noble Blood of the Famous and Brave *Plantagenets* and *Tudors*, muſt be acknowledg'd to run.

run. And, if they are likewiſe deſcended from the Ancient, Great and Illuſtrious *Palatinate* and *Brunſwick* Houſes, which the *German Empire* has ſuch juſt Reaſon to celebrate and glory in: What Man is there in our *Empire* of *Great Britain*, that either underſtands the Pedegree of his own Country, or regards its true Intereſt, but muſt find himſelf oblig'd to love and honour them the rather, upon this very Account.

But that which, above all Things, will ever attract the Hearts of good Proteſtants, of all Denominations, to Eſteem and Honour, The moſt Excellent and Illuſtrious *Princeſs Sophia*, The moſt Serene and Potent *Elector*, The moſt Accompliſh'd and Hopeful *Electoral Prince*, together with all the Noble and Virtuous *Branches* of the moſt Auguſt and Flouriſhing Family of *Brunſwick-Lunenburg*, of the Great and Glorious *Hanover Line*; is, beſides their admirable Perſonal Endowments, this Reviving Conſideration; That, as they are now ſo Peculiarly Related to theſe *Fortunate Iſlands*, ſo their Intereſt and ours is intirely the ſame,

in

in Oppoſition to all *Popiſh* Pretenders and Arbitrary Deſigns.

And, as for Your Electoral Highneſs; when I Conſider former Days, and Remember the many and ſevere Sufferings of the *Royal Palatinate Family*, for the Sake of the Proteſtant Religion; and thus call to Mind the Circumſtances of Your *Royal Mother*; and for how many Years the Churches of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* did conſtantly, in their Prayers, Ingeminate the Name of the *Afflicted Lady* Elizabeth, *Queen of Bohemia:* I cannot but look upon Your *Highneſs's Relation* to the *Throne*, as the Anſwer of Heaven to thoſe Solemn, Frequent and Fervent Addreſſes. *She* indeed has been advanced, long ago, to an higher Glory, than that of any Earthly Crown; as being, with *David*, denied the Perſonal Privilege of Building the Temple. But Her *Poſterity* ſeem now to be plainly Mark'd out by Heaven, as the Glorious and Poliſh'd Inſtruments, by whom the Divine Goodneſs deſigns to Act, in Order farther to Compleat, Beautifie and Finiſh, That Great and Glorious Work, which God has already ſo happily begun,

and

and ſo far carried on, in theſe Nations; in Oppoſition to Papal Idolatry, French Tyranny, and all manner of Arbitrary Encroachments upon our Civil and Religious Rights.

And Oh! how charming a Proſpect, and how raviſhing an Expectation, are our Minds, from hence, Entertain'd with? Where the Growing Glory of your moſt *Illuſtrious Houſe*, the Increaſing Happineſs of *Great Britain*, the Farther Security of the *Liberty* of *Europe*, and the Renewed Succeſs of the *Reformed Religion*, and conſequently the more Univerſal Promotion and Inlargement of *Chriſtianity*, and the Peace and Happineſs of *Mankind*; Are repreſented to our admiring and elevated Thoughts, as in a curiouſly and delightfully Variegated *Map*, as equally Certain, and as reciprocally Supporting one another.

Permit me therefore, Madam, tho One of the leaſt Conſiderable of thoſe, who have ſolemnly *Sworn* inviolable Loyalty to *her Majeſty*, and true Fidelity to *Her Proteſtant Suc-*

Succeſſors, to put this ſmall Piece into your *Highneſs's* Hands, as the Beſt Teſtimony I am, at preſent, capable of giving, both of my Sincerity and Heartineſs in taking that Sacred *Oath*, and of that profound Reſpect and Value, which I have for your *Highneſs's Perſon* and *Family*: That, as it is, in its Subject and Scope, Calculated for the Farther Increaſe of Chriſtian Knowledge and Practice, and conſequently for the real and laſting Advantage of Men, particularly of my Fellow-Subjects and Countrymen of this *Great Iſland* and *Empire*; ſo it may be allowed, to be ſo peculiarly appropriated to your ſelf and moſt Illuſtrious Relatives, as to obtain your and their Protection, and favourable Acceptance and Peruſal.

Now may God continue, ſtill more and more, to bleſs your *Electoral Highneſs*, with all temporal and ſpiritual Bleſſings here; to be exchanged at laſt (but late) for Eternal Felicity and Glory. May your Valuable Life be ſo lengthen'd out, and ſo diſpos'd of, both for your Own and the Common Good, that Old Age may never be otherwiſe,

wiſe diſcernable in you, than, as it is at preſent, by a Ripen'd Sagacity and Prudence, a Diffuſive Virtue and Generoſity, an Attractive Goodneſs and Complaiſance, and an Univerſal Fame and Renown. May your *Auguſt* and *Flouriſhing Houſe* ever continue, and ever grow. May the United Virtues of the moſt Celebrated Princes of former Times, ſhine forth reſplendently in your moſt *Noble* and *Illuſtrious Progeny*; that late Poſterity may ſtill have New, Bright, and Endleſs Matter, from their Lives and Actions, for Hiſtory and Annals. May they be Honour'd of God, to do more for the Benefit of *Mankind*, of *Europe*, of *Britain*, and of the *Reformed Religion*; than ever *David* did for *Iſrael*, *Cyrus* for the *Temple*, *Auguſtus* for the *Roman Empire*, or *Conſtantine* for *Chriſtians*. And may thus every Age and Generation to come be bleſt with renewed and endleſs Occaſions of Celebrating You and Them, as the Favourites of Heaven, and Darlings of Men; as being the Great Patrons of Religion, the Kind Protectors of Virtue, the Juſt Defendors of Equity, the Eminent Promoters of Induſtry,

duſtry, the Illuſtrious Encouragers of Arts, the Generous Benefactors of Learning, and the Univerſal Guardians of Liberty. So Prayeth,

Great MADAM,

Jan. 1. 170$\frac{7}{8}$. being *New-Year's-Day*, Old Stile.

Your Highneſs's

Moſt Humbly Devoted, and

Moſt Obedient Servant,

ROBERT FLEMING.

TO THE READER.

I Have ſaid ſo much in relation to the Subjects treated of, both in the *Book following*, and the *annexed Diſſertation*, that I have nothing to ſay here, that does *directly* relate to any of them; eſpecially ſeeing all the Sheets of both Treatiſes, are now wrought off the Preſs.

But however, ſeeing ſome things have lately occur'd to me, that ſeem to bear ſome relation, tho more *obliquely*, to ſome parts of my enſuing Diſcourſes, I thought it might not be improper or unuſeful to advertiſe my Reader of them, in this Place.

And, (1.) Whereas I have lately underſtood, that the Learned Dr. *Allix* has publiſh'd a Latin Diſſertation, *De Jeſu Chriſti Domini Noſtri Anno & Menſe Natali*; I am ſorry that I did not know of this till now. For, tho I find, that what I have ſaid upon this Subject, in the 4*th* Chapter, was printed off long before his Book appeared, yet the Deference I pay to that Great Scholar would have oblig'd me to have compar'd his Notions, this way, with my own, and to have given my Opinion accordingly, in ſome brief *Advertiſement* or *Appendix*, to have been added, either to the one Treatiſe or the other. But as want of Health has confined me, for the moſt part at home, during the time that this Work has been in the Preſs, and conſequently depriv'd me of the Opportunity of inquiring, as formerly, after later Publiſh'd Works of Learned Men: So I conſider'd, that the Subject of

of that Dissertation of Dr. *Allix* is of no material Consequence to Religion; and that therefore it is no great Matter with me, whether he or I have come neareſt to Truth. We both, by Printing, appeal to the World to judge of our ſeveral Performances: And therefore let the inquiſitive Reader determine for himſelf, as to both.

(2.) It was, upon the ſame account, that I knew nothing of Mr. *Whiſton's Eſſay upon the Revelation*, until the Time that I was about ſending the firſt Sheets of the *annexed Diſſertation* to the Preſs: which oblig'd me therefore, not only to write that part of it, which relates more immediately to his *Scheme*, as conciſely as I could; but alſo to write, as it were, in a hurry. If therefore any Word or Sentence has drop'd from me (in the haſte I was then in) that may ſeem to be harder than it ought to have been; I retract it. For, as I never lov'd to uſe any thing of this kind, to any Man whatſoever: So I have ever declar'd, upon all occaſions, a particular Reſpect for the eminent Learning and Worth of the *Biſhop* of *Worceſter*; as well as for the Profoundly Learned Dr. *Whitby*, the Reverend Mr. *Staynoe*, and the Diffuſively Learned Mr. *Whiſton*. But yet, I muſt be allowed to add, that, if what I have ſaid, in Oppoſition to the *Schemes* of ſome of theſe Learned Perſons, be cloſely and fully conſidered, it will be found, that I could hardly avoid to write as I did. For every one knows, that the very Refutation of weak Arguments (eſpecially when they carry an Air of Confidence along with them) cannot poſſibly be ſo manag'd, but it muſt appear, in ſome reſpects, to be grating, eſpecially at firſt view, but more eſpecially to thoſe who are the *Authors* or *Patronizers* of ſuch *Schemes* and *Treatiſes*.

(3.) I have this further to advertiſe the Reader of, that having heard that Mr. *Whiſton* had preach'd upon the Head of Propheſy, at Mr. *Boyle's Lecture*, for the Year 1707, and that his Sermons were in the Preſs, and almoſt finiſh'd; I was willing to ſtop ſo long, as to ſee them

them, that in case he had said any thing material, either as to his *Apocalyptical Scheme*, or as to the *three Grand Prophesies* of the *Old Testament*, treated of by me in *Chap.* 4. I might have considered them. But having now got a sight of his Book, I find that he has touch'd upon none of these Subjects, excepting that of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 10. And, as to this, having no time now to consider what he has said upon it, without delaying the Press: I must say the same thing here again, which I said before, in reference to the Treatise of Dr. *Allix*, *viz.* that I leave the Reader to compare, both what Mr. *Whiston* and what I have said on that Prophesy, and to judge of both Performances as he pleaseth.

(4.) But one thing I was glad to see in Mr. *Whiston*'s new Book, *viz.* his annexed *Dissertation*. For the sight thereof made me recollect my Omission of not putting in the Substance of my Thoughts on the same Subject, which I deliver'd several Years ago, to a Publick Auditory, upon a Sacramental Occasion; especially seeing this would have come in naturally, in *Chap.* 5. *Page* 508. either as one of the *rationally Conjectural Suppositions* mention'd there, or as a *Marginal Note*, in reference to these Words [the *Paradisical Hades*] which are to be found in *Line* 21. of that 508*th Page*. However I have rather Reason to wonder, that I have omitted so few things in the following Work, than that I have forgot this one; especially considering my Circumstances, when that Chapter was written and sent to the Press. But seeing upon the Sight of this Title of the Dissertation of Mr. *Whiston*, I call'd to mind, that I had formerly presented my Hearers with some singular Thoughts upon the same Subject, I made a Search amongst my *Manuscripts* for the Notes of that Sermon: Which at length I recovered. And seeing I find, that Mr. *Whiston*'s Thoughts and mine, are, in some things the same, and in other Respects, very different, nay opposite too; I thought it might not be improper, instead of controverting the Point directly (which was likely to cost me more Time and Pains, than was well consistent with the forwarding the Publication of

this Work) to give the Sum of what I preach'd formerly upon this Subject; leaving him and every Man elſe, to fall in with either Account, as he ſhall judge the one or the other moſt rational.——Now the Sum of my Account is this.——" And here, while I " talk of Chriſt's Solemn Aſcention to Heaven, at " the Expiration of the 40 Days of his Continuance " here below; allow me humbly to ſuggeſt ſomething " in relation to this Point; which I hope none will " be offended at; eſpecially ſeeing I propoſe it only, " as that which I look upon as highly probable. I ſay " then, That I think it is no way unreaſonable to ſup- " poſe, that Chriſt did *aſcend* before this, to his Fa- " ther, not long after his *Reſurrection*, and before he " *appeared* to *any* of the *Apoſtles*. And ſurely, it cannot " be look'd upon to be any way unreaſonable to think, " That Chriſt would pay his *Firſt Viſit*, if I may ſay ſo, " to his *Heavenly Father*, in order to be openly appro- " ved by him, in the Preſence of Glorified Spirits, and " thus to receive his Allowance and Commiſſion to do " ſuch things below for 40 Days, which were to be done " before his *Laſt Aſcention*? And I think it not improba- " ble, but that this is hinted by Chriſt himſelf, when, after " he had told *Mary*, *John* 20.17. that ſhe was *not to touch* " *him* yet, he adds, *for I am not yet aſcended to my Father.* " Now as this Word *Aſcended* is general; ſo, if it be ex- " pounded in reference to his *laſt* and *publick Aſcention*, no " other Senſe can be given of it, than that which I gave " formerly. But I ſee not why this may not alſo denote " a *Prior Aſcention*, eſpecially ſeeing Chriſt immediate- " ly adds; *But go to my Brethren, and ſay unto them, I* " *aſcend unto my Father and your Father; unto my God and* " *your God.* For I think the natural Senſe of theſe " Words, as connected with the former, is this: *Do* " *not detain me now, no, not ſo much, as by touching me,* " *for as there is no occaſion for this, as yet, ſeeing I ſhall* " *converſe with my Diſciples frequently afterwards, before* " *my laſt Aſcention; ſo it is fit, that I ſhould aſcend to my* " *Father now, in order to converſe with him, in the firſt* " *place, before I converſe either with you or them: And*

" *there-*

" *therefore, inſtead of laying hold upon me, or detaining me,*
" *at this time, I give you this Meſſage to carry to my Bre-*
" *thren, that the Reaſon why I did not let you touch me*
" *now, and the Reaſon why I do not yet appear to them, is*
" *this; that I am obliged, in the firſt place, to make my Ap-*
" *pearance before my Father; for which Reaſon I now aſcend*
" *to him.* And indeed I think it highly probable, that
" Chriſt did *Aſcend frequently* to Heaven, and *Deſcend*
" from thence again, during the 40 Days that inter-
" ven'd between his *Reſurrection* and *Laſt Solemn Aſcen-*
" *tion.* But as it was proper that Chriſt ſhould have Wit-
" neſſes of his laſt Aſcention; ſo it was proper alſo, that
" he ſhould not be ſeen by any, when he Aſcended ei-
" ther the *Firſt Time*, or at any other time. Therefore,
" as he neither would diſcover himſelf to *Mary* at firſt,
" nor yet to *Peter* or *John*, as we ſee, *John* 20.1,2,—6,
" —11, *&c.* nor ſo much as ſuffer the *two Angels* to
" give an Anſwer to her Queſtion this way, *ver.* 13.
" So when *ſhe* firſt ſaw *Jeſus*, it was in ſome ſuch man-
" ner, as he appeared in to the *two Diſciples* going to
" *Emaus*; for ſhe neither knew his Features, *ver.* 14.
" nor his Voice, *ver.* 15. And when her affectionate
" Prayers and Tears, did, as it were, extort Chriſt's
" making himſelf known to her, it was only to ſend
" her away immediately to the Apoſtles, with the
" Meſſage which I have already taken notice of.
" For Chriſt could allow of no *Human Witneſſes* of his
" *firſt Aſcention*, out of *Decorum* to the *Majeſty* of *his*
" *Father*; with whom he was to converſe in the *firſt*
" *place.* And therefore, if he appeared *viſibly*, as *Man*,
" to the *Angels*, as well as to *Mary*, before his *firſt*
" *Aſcention*; yet I am apt to think he reſerv'd his *firſt*
" *Solemn Appearance* and *Converſation as Man*, to God
" himſelf. I ſay *Solemn*, and *as Man*, becauſe it is
" certain he was ever perfectly ſeen by the Moſt High
" Lord his Father. However hence it is plain, That
" *Mary Magdalen* was the *Firſt Perſon*, as *Mark* ſays,
" *Chap.* 16. 9. and indeed the *only Perſon* alſo to whom
" he appeared, before his *Firſt Aſcention.* And it ſeems
" equally certain, that, immediately after that *Mary* was

" gone with her Message, Christ wing'd for Heaven;
" and that therefore it was in the *Morning* of the *First*
" *Day* of the *Week, viz.* of the *same Day*, wherein he
" *rose* from the *Dead*, that he *Ascended* to *Heaven*. But
" how swiftly he *Ascended first*, and *Descended again*, is
" apparent from hence, that I find our Saviour (*a*) ap-
" peared thrice the same Day; 1. To the *Women*:
" 2. To the *two Disciples* going to *Emaus*, to whom he
" made himself known; and that about *Noon*, as I
" think, seeing this is said to have been as they *were*
" *breaking Bread*; 3. To the *eleven Apostles*, while
" the former *two Disciples* were informing them of what
" had happened to them, in their Journey, *Mark* 16.
" 14. And *John* tells us, *Ch.* 20. 19. that his *Third Ap-*
" *pearance*, was *the same Day, at Evening, being the first*
" *Day of the Week.*—— But now, when Christ (after
" his other Appearances mentioned before) was about
" to leave this World, it was altogether proper, and
" even necessary that he should ascend solemnly and
" visibly, in the Presence of his *Disciples*, seeing it
" was essential both to their Office, to be *Eye-witnesses*
" of this his *Ascention*, and to our Faith to be assured
" of it. And therefore it is, that *this Ascention* is on-
" ly insisted upon by them, and that it is spoken of in
" *the singular Number*; *other Ascentions* having been kept
" secret from them; at least so far, as not to have been
" seen by them. Of this *last Ascention*, *Luke* gives us
" a *twofold Account*. The 1*st* is a more *brief* and *gene-*
" *ral one*, in the *last Verses* of his *Gospel*, *Chap.* 24. 50,
" 51, 52, 53. And the 2*d* is a more *distinct* and *par-*
" *ticular Account* thereof, in the *first Chapter* of the
" *Acts*. For, that these two Accounts relate to
" one and the same Event, is, I think, too plain ever
" to be call'd in question by any, meerly because some
" more particular Circumstances are added in the *latter*
" than the *former Relation*; which I suppose *Luke* might
" not be so fully inform'd of, when he wrote his *first*
" *Treatise*: For every one knows, that he was not an

(*a*) *Compare what I have said in* Chap. 5. pag. 501, &c.

Eye

" *Eye-witneſs* of *Chriſt's Aſcention*; for he himſelf tells " us ſo much, in the Preface to his Goſpel, *Chap.* 1. " *v.* 2, 3. Nor can I think of any *Objection*, that " can be form'd againſt this, *that both theſe Accounts* " *relate to the ſame Event*; unleſs this ſhould be alledged " to be one, *viz.* that, whereas *Luke* ſays, *Chap.* 24. " of his Goſpel, *v.* 50 51. that Chriſt *aſcended to Hea-* " *ven* from *Bethany*, which was 15 Furlongs from *Je-* " *ruſalem*; he ſeems to ſay, *Acts* 1. 12. that he *aſcended* " *to Heaven* from *the Mount called* Olivet. And I rea- " dily own, that this has given Riſe to a *Vulgar Error*, " that Chriſt's *laſt Aſcention* was from that *Mount*. But " indeed *Luke* ſays no ſuch thing. He aſſerts, I confeſs, " in *Chap.* 24. *v.* 50. of his Goſpel, that Chriſt aſcen- " ded at, or near *Bethany*: But, as he adds, *ver.* 52, 53. " That *the Apoſtles worſhip'd him*, after his Aſcention, " *and returned to* Jeruſalem *with great Joy, and were con-* " *tinually in the Temple, praiſing and bleſſing God*; All " that he ſays, *Acts* 1. 10, 11, 12. amounts to no more, " as I conceive, than this, that, after the Angels had put " the Apoſtles out of their Amaze, and their gazing Po- " ſture; the Apoſtles went forwards towards *Jeruſalem*; " and as it would ſeem, ſtop'd a while at *Mount Olivet*, " (which, according to the beſt Maps and Deſcriptions, " they were oblig'd to touch at in their way to *Jeru-* " *ſalem*, in caſe they went upon the ſtraight Road, as " they were commanded to do;) where, if they wor- " ſhip'd Chriſt, from a remembrance of his Agonies " there, as well as many other memorable Occurren- " ces, between their Maſter and them, which had hap- " pened in that place, there is, I think, no reaſon, of " Wonder; as I ſuppoſe, there is no need to be ſur- " priz'd, if, in that place, and upon ſuch an occaſion, " they were fill'd, and that eminently, with Joy in the " remaining part of their Journey to *Jeruſalem*. Now " *Luke* does not ſay, *Acts* 1. 12. that *Jeſus Aſcended from* " *Mount Olivet*, but that *the Apoſtles returned from thence* " *to Jeruſalem*, i. e. (as I underſtand him) after their " ſolemn *Worſhipping of him*, by the way, of which " he ſpeaks, *Chap.* 24. of his Goſpel, *ver.* 52. Which,

" in all reaſon, muſt be ſuppoſed to have been, after " the Angels, *Acts* 1. 10, 11, 12. had obliged the Apo- " ſtles to enter upon their Journey back to *Jeruſalem.* " And I cannot think of any Suppoſition more reaſo- " nable than this; that, after they had walk'd about " *ten Furlongs*, and come to *Mount Olivet*, where they " had ſo often convers'd with their dear Maſter, and " which was about *five* or *ſeven Furlongs* from *Jeruſalem*, " (for the neareſt part of that Mount might be *five* " *Furlongs* from the City, and the remoteſt Part *ſeven* " *Furlongs*) they would chooſe to halt a while, (from a " freſh Remembrance of their Dear Lord) eſpecially " ſeeing Chriſt's *Aſcention-Day* was in the moſt *vernant* " *Seaſon* of the Year, at leaſt in *Judæa*, as being (*b*) the " 5*th* Day of *April*. But I am willing to ſay no more on " this Head now. Only, in caſe it ſhould be *objected*, " that ſuch a *ſwift Aſcent* to *Heaven*, and *Deſcent* from " thence, as I deſcribe *Chriſt's Firſt* to have been, does " not ſeem to be conſiſtent either with *Phyſiological* " or *Aſtronomical Principles* and *Rules*; I *anſwer*, That " theſe are nothing to me, when brought in Competi- " tion with undeniable and certain *Matters of Fact*. And " therefore, inſtead of ſaying more now, I ſhall only " deſire the Reader to conſider the Length or rather Bre- " vity of *Daniel*'s Prayer, *Chap.* 9. and to conſider at the " ſame time, the Angel *Gabriel*'s Words, *v.* 23. and to " compare them with *ver.* 20. For hence it will ap- " pear to be little leſs, than a Demonſtration, that *Ga-* " *briel* came from *Heaven* to *Earth*, in little more than " an hour, if indeed the time was ſo long. And I " hope, that if this Angel came ſo ſoon from Heaven " to Earth, the ſame Privilege will not be denied, by " Chriſtians, to our Glorified Saviour, who is the Head " of Angels———So far runs my Manuſcript, as to the *Theory* of this Point. And I am not willing now to add any thing to it.

(5.) However, I cannot forbear to ſay, that I do eaſily foreſee that my *Apocalyptical Diſſertation* will be

(*b*) *See* Chap. 4. Pag. 400.

very

very ungrateful both to those that are called *the Inspired*, or the *New Prophets*, and to those well-meaning, but mistaken Persons, that admire them; seeing I find that Mr. *Whiston*'s *Essay on the Revelation* is extremely pleasing to *that Set of Men*. For, besides what I have understood from some, of their admiring his Grand Notion, *viz. That Antichrist will fall, and that the Kingdom of God will eminenly take place about the Year*, 1716; the Reader may observe how much his Book is priz'd by Mr. *Lacy*. For he tells us, in his *Preface* to his *Cry from the Desart*, P. 4. *That he had read the late Essay of the Reverend Mr.* Whiston *upon the Revelation of St.* John, &c. *And that he therefore took it for a Truth without Controversy, that there is to be a State of the Church on Earth, more resplendent than was ever yet*, (wherein I readily agree both with him and Mr. *Whiston*) *and that he did hence conceive it agreeable to the Methods of Divine Wisdom and Compassion, left us upon Sacred Record, that some farther previous Discoveries will be made of its Commencement*, &c. And then, *Page* 5. He says, *That the Writings of such sort of Commentators*, (viz. such as Mr. *Whiston* is) *who declare that Great Day to be approaching, ought be receiv'd by their Brethren of the Clergy, that the Flock of Christ may be duly alarmed and warned, by their Pastors and Watchmen, to provide for it*, &c. And to this *Essay*, and some *former Writings* of the like nature, the *Apologist* for these *new Prophets*, in his *Circular Letter*, (sent to all Members of Parliament and other eminent Persons) refers his Readers, *Page* 1. *Col.* 2. towards the Close; where, after he had spoken of his Expectations of the *sudden Coming* of the *Great Day of the Lord*, &c. he adds; *These things are promised, and not yet fulfilled: Therefore; Why not now at the Door?* (If he will read my following Dissertation, he will have an Answer to his Query) *which, if so, as the Writer apprehends, and several learned Divines, of all Sorts, in this Age, have asserted*, &c. And indeed, seeing this Set of Men assert, as Mr. *Lacy* tells us, in the 21*st* Page of his Preface, *That the Grand Jubilee*, &c. *is now even at the Door, and to be manifest over the whole Earth, within the short Term of* 3 *Years*;

it is eaſie to reconcile the *Biſhop* of *Worceſter*'s and Mr. *Whiſton*'s *Scheme*, with theirs, by ſuppoſing the Year, 1716. to be mark'd out as a further and more illuſtrious Period of the *ſame Diſpenſation*, which they date the *Commencement* of (to uſe Mr. *Lacy*'s Word, p. 4. l. 32.) from the 9*th* Day of *June*, 1710. for about that Time, at fartheſt, muſt this Great Event happen, according to them; ſeeing Mr. *Lacy* dates his Preface, as finiſh'd, *June* the 9*th*, 1707. after he had told us before, p. 20, 21; That it was foretold, *by* 4 *or* 500 *Prophetick Warnings, given under Extacy at* London, *that the Grand Jubilee*, &c. *was to be manifeſt over the whole World, within* 3 *Years*. So that there are but 6 Years at moſt, between *their Grand Period*, and that of the *Biſhop of Worceſter* and Mr. *Whiſton*. I take Notice of this the rather, becauſe I am perſwaded, that no Man ſhall attentively read my following *Diſſertation*, and judiciouſly conſider the *Scheme*, which is preſented therein to the World; but muſt ſee, how ill-grounded both theſe Expectations are. So that I would fain hope, that my Publication of this may be ſeaſonable, at this Time, if it were only to induce Men to be cautious of joyning themſelves with ſuch Men, who pretend to ſuch ſtrange things, without any Ground from Scripture.

(6.) I deſign'd once to have given my Thoughts pretty particularly, as to the Pretences of theſe Men. But, ſeeing they themſelves tell us, by the Pen of their *Apologiſt*, P. 2. Col. 2. Line 24. *That they wiſh, that the World would ceaſe for a little time, at leaſt, to cenſure theſe high Gifts* (or Pretenſions) *by uncharitable Diſtinctions*; I ſhall ſay little now; and the rather, becauſe I am neither willing to ſwell this *Prefatory Epiſtle* too much, nor to delay the Publication of this Work too long. And beſides, I think, that this Author has given us a conſiderable Reaſon, this way, in the *ſame Page* and *Column*, *Line* 10, viz. *That, as there are publick Declarations and Appeals to God for his Deciſion: So* (ſays that Author) *I have lately heard from their* (i. e. the Prophets) *Mouths, under Extacy, that if, within a few Months,* (he

(he dates this, *December*, 1707.) *a fuller Atteſtation of their Commiſſions and Meſſage be not manifeſted and confirmed, by miraculous Signs and Powers from Heaven, and by working ſuch Miracles as were done by our Saviour, even to the raiſing of the Dead; that then they will own themſelves deluded.* But, tho I have excus'd my ſelf, at preſent, to ſome Friends, that have urg'd me to publiſh ſomething on this odd *Phænomenon* of the *preſent Time*; yet I cannot, in Conſcience, diſpenſe with my ſelf, without ſaying two Things. 1. That my earneſt Requeſt is to all Men, to be cautious of incouraging ſuch vain Promiſes, by which theſe Men are deluded, and are ſo induſtrious to delude others by. For I am ſeized with an Awe and Fear of the Conſequents of this, from a rational Proſpect; that (unleſs God be pleaſed mercifully to interpoſe) the *odd Scene*, that theſe Perſons act now, will end in the Stumbling of ſome, and the Laughter of others, as well as in their own Shame and Contempt; and that Satan is too likely, this way, to gain his End, in a great Meaſure, by the Increaſe of Infidelity, Scepticiſm, Atheiſm, Prophaneneſs, and the Contempt of all ſerious Religion. Therefore, 2. I am oblig'd to deſire my Fellow-Chriſtians to think, whether the Oſtentative Miracles of *Claris*, mention'd ſo often, and magnified ſo much, in *the Cry from the Deſart*, p. 49, 50, *&c.* do look like the Miracles of the New Teſtament, wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles: And whether it was like God's own Acting, to command Mr. *Marion*'s Brother *Anthony*, p. 93. *To ſtrike his Breaſt with a ſharp Knife?* And, as for the Story of *Campan*, p. 52. I leave the Reader to judge, whether the ſame Spirit that inſpir'd the Pen-men of Scripture, and calls us to ſearch for the Marks of Grace there, (as the only Goſpel-way, to attain to Aſſurance of Salvation;) could ever act that Piece of odd (and I fear Satanical) Legerdemain mention'd there. But I ſhall content my ſelf here to inſiſt upon one Paſſage only; which I deſire all Men to conſider a little cloſely. It is to be found in the Declaration of *Joan Caſtinette*, Page 22. Line 12. of the ſame Book.

The

The Words are these: *At another of those Meetings, several falling into the Inspiration, began to speak all at once; whereupon one of them said to the rest,* IN THE NAME OF GOD BE SILENT. *Then the others held their Peace, but afterwards they spake one after the other.* Now, in order to consider this the more closely, let us premise two of the *Maxims* of the pretended Prophets. *The* 1st *Maxim is this,* That the Spirit that throws them into their Fits, and Extasies, and then speaks out of them, is, (as their Apologist words it, Page 2. Col. 1. towards the Close) no less than the Supreme Lord of all, seeing this Spirit assumes this Stile, *I am* Jehovah, *I am the Lord thy God, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and will create all Things new.* Upon which Stile, I think that Author makes a just Observation, when he says, That *no Instance, like this, can be found in the Sacred History. Their* 2d *Maxim* (which indeed is as unsciptural a one as the other) is this, That the Inspir'd are no better than a Pipe or Tube, thro' which the Spirit speaks, when they are in their Fits. This is fully, emphatically and awefully declar'd, by Mr. *John Cavalier,* Page 44. Line 8, *&c.* of the above-cited Book, in these Words. *And I here declare, solemnly, without any Equivocation whatsoever, by this publick Act, upon the Oath I make of it before God, that I am in no wise the Framer of those bodily Agitations I suffer in my Extasies. I do not move my own self, but am moved by a Power independant, that over-rules me. And for the Words that proceed from my Mouth, I protest, with the same aweful Solemnity, they are formed without my Intention, and glide forth of my Lips, without my Direction: My Mind,* (N. B.) *no ways bearing any Part in that marvelous Operation, by preceding Fore-thought, or any attending Will, to deliver what I do at that Instant.* So also says *Durand Fage,* p. 71, 72. as fully, tho more concisely, affirming it to be not only so with *himself,* but also with *all the Inspired.* And so likewise, says Mr. *Elias Marion,* p. 85. ——Having thus premised these *Maxims,* I humbly beg the Favour to be assisted to have some consistent

Idea

Idea of the Story preceding. I hope therefore, that, if there be ſo many inſpired, the Spirit by which they ſpeak, will (in caſe it be what it pretends to be) ſuffer them to defend its own Favourites, by letting us know; whether it was *Jehovah*, or the *Eternal Spirit*, that ſpoke theſe Words, or allowed them to be ſpoken. In the mean time, by all the Ideas I have of things, both from Scripture and Reaſon, I cannot reaſon or think otherwiſe of this *Matter of Fact* than thus. (1.) The Spirit, that inſpired him that uttered theſe Words, *In the Name of God, be ſilent*, could not be God himſelf; 1. Becauſe he ſpeaks and commands, in God's Name, and ſo diſtinguiſhes himſelf from him, as an inferior Agent; 2. Becauſe he ſuffer'd the others to run on equally with himſelf in Confuſion for a Time; 3. Becauſe he ſpeaks, as if it were with a Paſſion and Heat, that even a good and wiſe Man would hardly allow himſelf in, excepting upon urgent Occaſions, and that too with ſome greater *Pathos* of Veneration to that auguſt Name, than ſeems to be breathed here. (2.) It could not be the Perſon inſpired. For beſides, that the ſame Conſequences will follow, upon this, as well as the former Suppoſition; ſuch an Aſſertion flatly contradicts their ſecond Maxim; nay, and carries this farther Abſurdity with it, that a mere Man could, and did over-rule and command the Eternal Spirit, ſpeaking then in ſeveral inſpir'd Perſons. (3.) But whatever the Spirit was that commanded the other Spirits to be ſilent, either immediately or mediately; it is inconceiveable and abſurd to ſay, that the Spirits, who were ſilenc'd immediately, were the ſame with that Spirit that commanded Silence. For their ready Obedience was an owning, 1. Of their Inferiority to the other; and, 2. Of their being in an Error before, when they ſpoke together with him. And yet according to the *firſt Maxim, the Spirits commanded*, as well as he *commanding*, muſt be one and the ſame Eternal Spirit; and therefore could not be created ones. (4.) But in caſe the pretendedly Inſpired, ſhould find themſelves reduc'd to this Shift, that, in this

this Instance, they should be forc'd to own, that the Spirits, at least, the commanded ones, were Angels only; the former Absurdities will still haunt them. For, if they were heavenly Angels, they must be supposed, at least to be so conducted by the infallible Spirit, as not to run into Confusion, and that openly too, to the Dishonouring of their supreme Ruler, as well as of themselves. (5.) I must therefore desire the new Prophets, and their Disciples and Friends, to pause a little, and think, whether in case this was not a meer Juggle, it might not be possible, that some *Infernal Spirits*, transformed as *Angels of Light*, might act this Farce, God over-ruling things so, as to let them give us a Discovery of themselves, by shewing their Cloven Feet (as the vulgar Saying is) even then when they were Personating God; by an undue Treatment of poor crazed or deluded Creatures. I assert nothing here; but shall be glad to have a Satisfactory Answer. And, in the mean time, I shall say no more, at present, on this Head.

But, to conclude, Let me tell the Reader, that if, when he comes towards the Conclusion of the *5th Chapter* of the *following Book* of *Christology*, he find himself in the Dark, as to the *Hint* given towards the End of Page 427: I desire him to consider, that tho I must refer the full Explication of my Meaning, until I come, (if it may so please God) to the proper Place, to which that Explication belongs; yet, that I have now deliver'd *in Part*, tho not *in Whole*, what I referr'd unto, in that Page, by adding the *Dissertation* that follows that Book; which I had no Thoughts of publishing, when I was writing that *5th* Chapter.

Now, that the Spirit of Truth may lead all my Readers into all Truth, and bless the great Truths deliver'd in the Whole, both of the *preceding Books* of *Christology*; and in the immediately *following One*, and the *annexed Dissertation*; is the sincere Desire of their humble Servant, who, under God (the Doner of all Good) may honestly call himself the Author of this considerable Work. *Jan.* 10th, 170⅞.

Hym-

Hymnus Prænobilis

ROBERTI BODII, a Trochoregia,

Ab ipso

Hecatombe Christiana

Olim Appellatus;

Cum sit POEMA Paucis Notum:

Proinde hic iterum Imprimendum, & Honori

Τῦ Λογανθρώπυ,

Unà cum hoc

CHRISTOLOGIÆ

Opere & Volumine,

Dedicandum, Consecrandum, censuit, voluit

Robertus Flaminius.

1 *CHriste, Sanctorum caput atq; custos,*
Cujus exundans fluvio perenni,
Fons inexhaustæ bonitatis, imos
Manat ad artus;

2 *Da, tuum digno decus ut capeſſam*
Cordis impulſu melos, & quod acrem
Temporis limam ferat, & malignæ
Verbera linguæ.

3 *Lucis affulgens radio ſupernæ,*
Quâ tui circum ſolii coruſcat
Limbus, inviſa mihi nunc jacenti
Mortis in umbrâ,

4 *Pelle peccati tenebras, prementum*
Quô gravi nexu ſcelerum ſolutus,
In tuas puro ferar accinendas
Pectore laudes.

5 *Nam tuas caſto decet Alme cultu*
Chriſte virtutes recoli; prophano
Abſit impuri temerentur unquam
Pectoris auſu.

6 *Nuncius præpes mihi Labra ſummo*
Tangat è Cœlo volitans, reatu
Tangat infectas gemino, micanti
Forcipe, fibras.

7 *Tunc, tuæ fructum Crucis, ad beatam*
Quæ pios vitam documenta ducunt,
Perdius, pernox, animo revolvam
Sancta Sereno.

8 *Te canam, lucis jubar ut reſurget,*
Te, breves quando jacientur umbræ,
Teque, quum præceps teget ora mundi
Lucida Lampas.

9 *Patris æterni ſoboles coæva,*
Par patri ſummo, ſimul ejus implens
Pectus immenſum, ſimul alma proles
Virginis almæ:

10 *De Deo verus Deus, increatæ*
Lucis æternum jubar, ora vivus
Patris ad vivum referens character,
Alter & Idem.

11 *Scala, quæ Cœli ſubiens cacumen,*
Ad ſoli centrum penetravit, imis,

More mortalem ſuperante captum,
Summa coaptans:

12 *Te ſalus rerum, profugis Receptus,*
Naufragis Portus, miſeris Medela,
Lumen extinctis, onerum Levamen,
Meta laborum:

13 *Te, fatiſcentum Requies, peracti*
Palma conflictûs, pugilum Corona,
Præmium curſus, Operumq; nulli
Debita Merces:

14 *Fœderis mundum reparantis obſes*
Arcus, undarum potior periclis
Arca, Pax terræ, Tremor inferorum,
Gloria Cœli:

15 *Gentium Lumen, Decus Iſraelis,*
Patribus voti modus atq; ſumma,
Scandali Rupes atheo, fideli
Petra Salutis:

16 *Arbor O vitæ ſenio carentis*
Qua Dei vernat Paradiſus, uno
Fonte diffuſâ riguus quaterni
Fluminis undâ:

17 *Legis & Vatum Scopus, involucro*
Moſis abducto faciem revelans,
Corpus umbrarum, ſimul Agnus inſons,
Ara, Sacerdos:

18 *Agnus à mundi jugulatus ortu,*
Ara primævæ luis expiatrix,
Invii ſolus penetrans Olympi
Templa Sacerdos:

19 *Te canam, lapſi generis Redemptor,*
Teq; lapſuri Stator & Retentor,
Qui manu magnâ Mediator unus
Cuncta coerces.

20 *Qui ſupernatam ſubitam, caducæ*
Stirpis adſcitu, reparas ruinam,
Et choris terrâ genitos beatæ
Inſeris Aulæ.

21 *Te quid excîrct referam, relicto*
Patris æterni ſolio, latentem
Veſte ſub ſervi Dominum, rebelles
Viſere terras:

22 *Carnis & craſſâ velut Obvolutum*
Nube, divinos operire vultus,
Et crucis diras, gelidiq; cippum
Ferre Sepulchri.

23 *Nempe nec Mundus redimi, nec ira*
Patris extingui, nec acerba Legis
Pœna perſolvi, nec Imago nobis
Priſca refundi;

24 *Nec Polus pandi, nec avara cunctos*
Parca pervadens perimi, reſurgens
Præda nec buſti carioſa vernum
Sumere vultum;

25 *Nec triumphatæ ſpoliis Gehennæ*
Agmen augeri ſuperum, nec olim
Plumbeum toili ſuper aſtra pondus
Carnis opacæ,

26 *Abſq; te ſolo potuiſſet; Imos*
Per gradus Pœnæ capitalis actum
Summa quem ſedes beat, & ſupremi
Culmen honoris.

27 *Hinc labor nullum patiens levamen,*
Gentis & lapſæ tibi luctus exſpes,
Fœta materno liquefecit urgens
Viſcera motu,

28 *Sortis ut noſtræ miſeram ſubires*
Aleam, noſtri pudor ut reatus
Ora confundens tua, nos perenni
Luce repleret.

29 *Nam tuæ nobis tenebræ decorem,*
Gaudium luctus, requiem labores,
Inferi Cœlos peperere, lætum
Lucta triumphum.

30 *O Salutarem Sophiam, Sagaces*
Jure quæ mundi fugiens magiſtros

Hu-

Hujus inflatæ vitreum fefellit
Mentis acumen!

31 *O vices rerum, faciesq; miras!*
More quas miscens tua tam decenti
Dextra dispensat, paribusq; librans
Lancibus æquat.

32 *Nos tui mœstos hilarant pavores,*
Ora lugentum lachrymæ serenant,
Sanat afflictos dolor, ipsa vinctos
Vincula solvunt.

33 *Languor infirmos reficit, fluentem*
Vulnus admotum cohibet cruorem,
Nuditas nudos tegit, indigentes
Ditat egestas.

34 *Sanguinis grumæ facie cadentes*
A tuâ nostras radiis coronant;
Mundat attractam cruor è parentum
Semine lepram.

35 *Mortis exhorrens calicem propinquæ,*
Tela securos facis ad suprema,
Noxios tu nos reus innocentum
Cœtibus infers.

36 *Deserit quum te patrius parumper*
Vultus, extorres tua nos co-optat
Cura, susceptos gremio nec unquam
Ejicis almo.

37 *Quid moror multis? Erebum subintrans,*
Tollis in cœlos, maledicta quondam
Furca, nunc arbos hominum beatrix
Fitq; boni fons.

38 *Quum triumphati speciem pudendam*
Pendulus præfers, oculosq; pœnâ
Pascis hostiles, odioq; turgens
Pectus acerbo;

39 *Squalidus, nudus, lacer, ora pallens,*
Obrutus probris, co-opertus iræ
Fluctibus, clavis miseranda fixus
Membra quaternis;

40 *Inter infestas acies, latronum*
Inter infaustos fremitus, remandans
Spiritum Patri, geminumq; fundens
Corde fluentem:

41 *Tunc triumphali crucis in quadrigâ*
Vectus, immanes agis ante temet
Hostium turmas, manibus retrorsum
Fune revinctis.

42 *Fune constrictos agis indecoro*
Principes Mundi, Stygiiq; portas
Carceris, fauces trucis & Sepulchri
Victor inermis.

43 *Victor, exutas Erebi phalanges,*
Labis humana caput, architectos
Fraudis & falsi, scelerumque terras
Quicquid inundat.

44 *Exhibes pulchrum superis Theatrum,*
Noctis æternæ laqueo superbas
Fracta cervices, pudefacta furvos
Agmina vultus.

45 *Mortis hinc sævæ stimulus bicuspis,*
Legis hinc iram parientis, anceps
Volvitur canthos dica subter, unco
Fixa trabali.

46 *Ipse cum primis jacet Orcus ingens*
Ense confossus proprio, dolosam
Dum crucis victu nimium furenti,
Devorat offam.

47 *Finditur Monstrum furiale, rapto*
Præda fit raptor Lupus, unde vitam
Retur absorptam tenuisse, capit
Inde teneri.

48 *Gentis humanæ miserator, Hydro*
Conterens tetro caput execrandum,
Cordis O constans amor, O voluptas
Pura paterni!

49 *Pacis & vitæ via sola; magni*
Promus arcani patrio latentis

In ſinu; veræ pietatis idem
Auctor & Index.

50 *Perditis, eheu! Quid in omne nobis*
Tempus, O vindex hominum, fuiſſet,
Abſq; te ſolo, ſoboliq; noſtræ,
Dulcis Jeſu!

51 *Clauſtra perrumpens tumuli, ſupernam*
Qui domum ſcandis redivivus, & nos
Convehens tecum, tua membra, nigro
Surripis Orco.

52 *Surripis flammæ furiis, nocentes*
Quæ manet, mundi ſenium ſub excors,
Famq; nos vitæ venientis amplâ
Inſtruis Arrhâ;

53 *Pacis obſignans & amoris almo*
Spiritu, qui nos tibi, quiq; membris
Unit, æterno tua quotquot implet
Gratia nexu.

54 *Ille nos mundi, laqueoſq; contra*
Carnis & fraudes, furiaſq; nigrâ
Nocte ſummiſſas, mediâq; peſtes
Luce volantes,

55 *Gratiæ ſalvos ope ſeptiformis*
Præſtat, ac tandem ſuper aſtra tollit,
Nec ſpei fluxæ fideive fultos
Præpete penna.

56 *Ille divini lateris gemello*
Tertius vivo comes, efficaci
Voce conteſtans, pia firmat ingens
Pectora pignus.

57 *Ille proſtratis aditum tribunal*
Patris ad ſummi referat, medullis
Ille mox, Abba pater, æſtuantum
Format in imis.

58 *Ille ſingultu tacito, canoræ*
Nulla quem vocis tuba, nec venuſtus
Æquet accentus, feriet paternas
Protinus aures.

59 *Ille ſinceris oculos revelat,*
Legis ut ſenſus penetrent profunda;
Spernit elatos, humileſq; ſanctis
Motibus afflat.

60 *Ille torpentes acuit, labantum*
Firmat inceſſus, revocatq; lapſos,
Ille divinis moribunda mulcet
Viſcera flammis.

61 *Ille præfractos refugoſq; leni*
Ductiles reddit, facilejq; tractu,
Nulla quem duri pudefecit unquam
Pectoris incus.

62 *Quin tuum, currant agiles, cupîto*
Sponte cervices, oneriq; ſubdant,
Suavè fragrantem ſimul atq; nomen
Sparſit odorem:

63 *Nomen effuſum quod ubiq; caſtas*
Haud ſecus fibras ferit, imbecillos
Atq; languentum pretioſa pulſant
Unguina ſenſus.

64 *Hujus, O vitæ dator, & viæ dux,*
Imber irrorans olei, ſalutis
Arduum greſſu ducit irretorto
Carpere clivum.

65 *Noſq; Deſerti per inhoſpitalis*
Teſqua palantes lachrymoſa, dipſas
Dira quæ terret, ſitis & retoſto
Squallida rictu;

66 *Ducat optatus Comes, ad ſupernos*
Lactis & mellis fluvios, tuorum
Semper & plauſu pia, Chriſte, læto
Cœpta ſecundet:

67 *Orbis à ſummo tua dum coruſcans*
Axe Majeſtas inopina, longum
Temporis fluxum ſeriemq; puncto
Siſtat in uno.

68 *Tunc ſuum rectâ repetent parentem*
Amnium curſus, ubi tempus ævi

Condet æternâ caput, unde primùm
Fluxit, abyſſo:
69 *Luce, quæ cœli rapidum volumen,*
Luce, quæ rerum refluos tumultus,
Luce, quæ mortis rigidiq; ſolvet
Sceptra Sepulchri.
70 *O dies nulla vice ſummovenda*
Noctis à tergo ſubeuntis! O nox
Nulla quam lucis premet invaleſcens
Aura diurnæ!
71 *Lucis O lætæ ſeges! O triumphus*
Perpes integris animi! Viciſſim
Conſciis O Crux inimica vitæ
Turpiter actæ!
72 *Quæ pios luctu lachrymiſq; ſolvet;*
Impiis clangens eadem catervis
Rumpet infauſto tuba triſtis altum
Fine veturnum.
73 *Nam tuam clangor faciem præibit,*
Orbis O vaſti Moderator, omnes
Qui ſimul rerum feriens tremendo
Murmure metas,
74 *Ad tuum ſiſtet ſolium, ſupernæ*
Quoſq; tunc auræ vegetabit hauſtus
Quoſq; nunc ſervat cineres profundi
Urna ſepulchri.
75 *Illius nemo fugiet ſeverum*
Lucis examen, patefacit almæ
Cardo quem vitæ, vel adhuc ab ægrâ
Matre rubentem.
76 *Quum vorax flammæ violentis ardor,*
Qua tui circum ſolii crepido
Candet, igniti ſuper actus atras
Turbinis alas,
77 *Cuncta laxabit liquefacta magnæ*
Membra compagis, quatiens repoſto
A ſoli centro fugitiva ſummi
Mœnia mundi.

78 *Solis involvent radios tenebræ,*
Priſtinus linquet nitor aſtra, terræ
Vertet in canam decus omne victrix
Flamma favillam.

79 *Mentis humanæ monumenta, moles*
Arduas, quidquid validævæ robur
Dexteræ, ſolers acieſve longo
Præſtitit uſu,

80 *Unius fervor furibundus horæ*
Involans, nictu citiùs volucri
Perdet, & rerum genus omne maſſam
Fundet in unam.

81 *Quum tamen mundi pereuntis ingens*
Cuncta confundet fragor & ruina,
Dura percellens trepido nocentum
Corda tumultu;

82 *Tunc ab hircoſo grege triſtis agnos*
Dextimos inter—dirimet — capedo,
Mira quos tinxit nivcos rubentis
Unda lavacri.

83 *Dum tuum cinget ſubitò tribunal*
Clara ſanctarum tribuum corona,
Solus ut purum radioſus orbem
Ambit amictus;

84 *Nubis aſcendens nitidum ſerenæ*
Sub tuis tenſum pedibus lacunar,
Triſte ſubſidet ſed humi ſiniſtrum
Eminus agmen;

85 *Vocis expectans tonitru triſulcæ,*
Nulla quam franget mora, quin paventum
Oſſa pervadet cinefacta ſævo
Protinus ictu:

86 *Ite ſub terras maledicta Cœlo*
Turba, frendentes furias fatigans,
Ignis æternæ cibus, in perennes
Ite tenebras;

87 *Unde ſpes, lumen, requies, voluptas*
Exulant; vermes ubi, cumq; fletu

Dentium

Dentium ſtridor viget, atq; tetri
Sulphuris ardor.
88 *Quantus extemplo premet angor, exſpes*
Obruet quam non tolerandus horror,
Lingua quæ fando referet, quis acri
Mente prehendat?
89 *Me ſed in tali trepidum periclo,*
Præſtet, O clemens hominum, Redemptor,
Sanguis immunem tuus, inq; dextrâ
Sorte reponat;
90 *Sorte Sanctorum, tua quos beatos*
Reddit aſpectu facies propinquo,
Summa tu præſens quibus es perennis
Cauſa triumphi;
91 *Quæ tui vectes tumuli refregit,*
Nexibus junctum tibi ſempiternis,
Chriſte, depoſtum repetat rigenti
Vita ſepulchro;
92 *Tollat & Cœli radiantis ultra*
Fornices, tecum fruar ut repoſtis
Læta quêis aulæ dapibus redundat
Menſa ſupernæ,
93 *Gaudiis, quæ non oculi, nec impar*
Auris admiſit modulus caducæ,
Craſſa nec finxit ſibimet profundo
Fibra receſſu;
94 *Summa ſed ſummus Pater ad ſupremum*
Culmen evectis cumulumq; ſervat
Se penes; fiet quibus unus omnes
Omnia complens.
95 *Vita jam victrix ubi mortis atrum*
Virus abſorpſit, ſpecieſq, fallax
Tranſiit, vultu novus & nitebit
Mundus amœno;
96 *Huc ferar tecum citus, O piorum*
Portus & Præſes, bonitatis Umbo,
Quos tuæ tutos facit à futuræ
Fluctibus iræ;

97 *Noctis O fulgens Polus, inter umbras,*
Vultus, ut Magnes, tuus, huc potenti
Semper obtutu trahat incitatum
Cordis acumen.

98 *Huc ferar, quo nil penetrat malignum,*
Nulla fit voto mora, nil timendum
Reſtat, huc ſanctas mihi fervor alas,
Chriſte, miniſtret:

99 *Ut canam Rerum Domino Tri-Uni,*
Mentibus, laudes meritas, beatis
Miſtus, Humano potiuſq; pangam
Pectore Carmen.

100 *Chriſte, ſic fiat, precor, Alme, tandem*
Sancta ſic lætus mihi vota firmet
Finis, ut fauſtam pia jam prehendunt
Carmina metam.

AMEN.

THE

THE

First Resurrection:

OR, A

DISSERTATION,

WHEREIN

The *Prior* and *Special Resurrection* and *Reward* of the *most Eminent Christian Witnesses*, during the Rage of *Paganism* and *Antichristianism*, is considered,

In Two Grand Inquiries:

I. Concerning the Certainty and Genuine IDEA of this *Truth*.

Where Dr. *Whitby*'s Arguments are Answer'd, and Mr. *Staynoe*'s Notion Refuted.

II. Concerning the *Epocha* of *this Truth*, and of the *Millennium*.

Where the *Apocalyptical Scheme* of the *Bishop of Worcester*, and Mr. *Whiston*, as publish'd by the *latter*, is proved to be a very Precarious one.

Being a *NEW KEY*,

By which further Light is brought, not only into the *Text* and *Context* insisted upon; but also into *many other memorable Passages* of *Scripture*.

Together with a *Practical Improvement* of the Whole.

By *ROBERT FLEMING*.

John 16. 12, 13. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye are not* Able *to bear them* now, *&c.*
Rev. 1. 1, 3. *The* Revelation *of* Jesus Christ, *&c.*
Dan. 9. 2. *I* Daniel *understood by Books the Number of the Years, &c.*

LONDON; Printed by *J. Humfreys* for *Andrew Bell* at the Cross-keys and Bible in *Cornhill*. 1708.

TO THE

Honourable, much Esteemed, and Worthy

GENTLEMEN, MERCHANTS, and Others,

Who Manage, Promote, and Encourage the *Tuesday*-LECTURE at *SALTERS-HALL.*

Much Honoured and Worthy Friends;

THE Second Part *of the* preceding Book, *being too small to bear a due Proportion to the* First; *at the same time that* Both *are too* Bulky *to be brought into the Compass of* one sizable Octavo Volume: *I was oblig'd to think of adding some suitable Discourse, by which* both Parts *might be so far adjusted, as to keep some* Decorum, *in Point of* Proportion.

And, seeing my Thoughts have been so deeply taken up of late, upon the Subject here treated of; and see-

ing alſo, I have deliver'd the Reſult of them to you, in my laſt Turns of Preaching : I could not ſo much as diſpute with my ſelf; *either as to* the Diſcourſe moſt proper *to be* added, *in this Place* ; *or, as to* the Perſons, *to whom the* Appropriation *thereof was moſt peculiarly due.*

I confeſs, it was my Purpoſe formerly, to have let this Piece lie by me, until I had proceeded ſo far in this Work of Chriſtology, *as to come to have finiſh'd the* Fifth Book, *viz. that which is to treat of* Chriſtocraty ; *where, it is certain, it would have come in more properly than here. But when I conſider'd the Uncertainty of Life, and upon how ſlender a Thread mine has hung for above a Year paſt, I was willing to lay hold of this Opportunity of printing it now* ; *and the rather, becauſe, not only of its being publiſh'd already in the way of Preaching, but, of its being, as I underſtand, miſtaken, and miſ-repreſented by ſome. And beſides, I conſider'd, that, as it is a common thing to joyn together* ſeveral Tracts *of very* different Sorts *in the* ſame Volume ; *ſo that the Subject of this* Diſſertation *doth not only belong to* Chriſtology *in general* ; *but has ſome peculiar Congruity with, and Relation unto, ſome things treated of in the* preceding Book ; *particularly as to ſome Thoughts in the* Fourth *and* Fifth Chapters ; *to which I refer the Reader, in the Diſcourſe it ſelf, as I go along.*

It has always been my Practiſe to preach upon the moſt weighty and neceſſary Truths of Chriſtianity, without inſiſting upon little and minute Things. And therefore, tho I have ſtudied the darker Propheſies, as well as other more obſcure and remote Points of Revelation, and even printed ſome Speculations

lations of this kind : Tet I never preach'd deſigned-ly, upon any thing of that Sort ; tho ſometimes I could not avoid, to touch upon a Hint of that kind, when it came naturally in my way. And this was the Reaſon, why I confin'd my ſelf to a ſhort Abbreviation only of what I have ſaid in this Treatiſe more largely ; for you may remember, that I ſpoke directly to the Subject of the ſpecial Reſurrection, *at the Beginning of the* Millennium, *in no more than* a Part *of* one Sermon, *upon* Philip. 3. 11. *whereas I inſiſted pretty largely upon the more practical Verſes of the Context. Nor had I given you even ſo much of this Sort of Speculation as I did, from the* Pulpit, *had it been poſſible to avoid it, ſo as to have made Senſe of the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe.*

You will not wonder therefore, either that I inſiſted ſo much upon Practice, and ſo little on Theory, when I preach'd to you from the 3d Chapter *of the* Epiſtle *to the* Philippians ; *or that I have now inlarg'd ſo much on Theory in this Publication of my Thoughts, and confin'd my ſelf to ſuch ſhort Hints, as to Practical Matters. For you cannot but know, that ſuch Speculations, as might not be ſo proper to inſiſt upon to a popular Auditory, even upon a Week-Day ; may yet be very reaſonably inlarg'd upon in Print, for the Benefit of inquiſitive, thoughtful, and ſerious Perſons : And you may eaſily ſee, that had I equally inlarg'd upon the Practical Points here, as upon the Theoretical ones ; this Diſcourſe had not been capable either to have been brought in here, or indeed to have come eaſily within one Octavo Volume, if printed apart. And yet I am miſtaken, if I have omitted any one Material Practical Head, that I ſpoke of, from the Pulpit ; tho I was indiſpenſibly oblig'd,*

from

from the Reaſons aſſigned, to abſtain from the Inlargements and Amplifications which I then uſed.

But if ſome Men would have you to continue perpetually in the Rudiments of Chriſtianity, ſo as never to venter to look beyond them, from the fallacious Method of crying out againſt Speculations not abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation; I hope I may be allowed to imitate that Great and Good Man, whoſe Reaſoning, as well as Authority, weighs much more with me. I mean the Great Apoſtle Paul, in his Epiſtle *to the* Hebrews, *(for I can prove that it is his) who after he had ſpoken ſeveral curious and ſpeculative Things concerning* Melchiſedeck, *in* Chap. 5. *(without the Knowledge of which I do humbly ſuppoſe a Man might yet be capable of getting to Heaven;) takes occaſion from thence, with a peculiar Concern and Warmth, to preſs Chriſtians, not to reſt ſatisfied with the Knowledge of* Fundamental Truths; *but to ſtudy to be acquainted likewiſe, as far as they can, with* remoter Speculations, *and indeed with whatever comes within the Compaſs of the* Bible *and* Revealed Religion. *And, for this end, after he had ſaid,* Chap. 5. v. 11, &c. Of whom (i. e. *of* Melchiſedeck,) we have many things to ſay, and hard to be uttered; ſeeing ye are dull of hearing. For when, by the time, ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that one teach you again, which be the firſt Principles of the Oracles of God; and are ſuch as have need of Milk, and not of ſtrong Meat. For every one that uſeth Milk is unskilful in the Word of Righteouſneſs: For he is a Babe. But ſtrong Meat belongeth to them, who are of full Age, even thoſe, who, by reaſon of Uſe, have their Senſes exercis'd to diſcern both Good

Good and Evil: *I ſay, after this, he proceeds immediately to exhort us to go on from Contemplating the more* Eſſential Truths of Religion, *to the Study alſo of* remoter Truths; *which he does after this manner,* Chap. 6. 1, 2, 3. Therefore, leaving the *Principles* of the *Doctrine* of *Chriſt*, Let us go on unto *Perfection*: Not laying again the Foundation of *Repentance* from Dead Works; and of *Faith* towards God; of the Doctrine of *Baptiſms*; and of *Laying on of Hands*; and of the *Reſurrection of the Dead*; and of *Eternal Judgment.* And this will we do, if God permit.

As therefore I cannot think that any thing can be below us to ſtudy, *which Chriſt did not think was* below him to reveal *to Men in his Word: So I find my ſelf oblig'd not only as a* Chriſtian, *but as a* Scholar *and* Miniſter, *to dive as deep as I can, into whatever my* Bleſſed Maſter *has, by his* Spirit, *laid before me as a* Leſſon. *And, when I have learn'd it my ſelf, I cannot but think I am likewiſe oblig'd, to impart the Knowledge of it, eſpecially if very weighty and uſeful, to my* Fellow-Chriſtians; *as not daring either to counter-act the* Dictates *of* Conſcience, *or tranſgreſs the Commands of* Scripture; *by hiding my Light under a Buſhel, or burying my Talent in the Earth.*

As therefore I have been directed in what I have ſaid in the preceding Book, *to give ſuch a Scriptural View of what relates to Chriſt, as, I think, was never publiſh'd before: So I hope you will find that I have been likewiſe aſſiſted, thro' the good Hand of my God upon me, to bring in new Light to the Subject-Matter treated of* here; *and, by that, to abundance of Scriptural Paſſages, which have never hitherto*

been

been fully cleared up; *our* beſt Divines *and* Criticks *having miſs'd their Way in theſe, as in a* Labyrinth, *by Reaſon of their Want of this Scriptural Clue, with which I do now preſent You and the World.*

But, not to detain you here in the Threſhold, let me only beg you to accept of this Addreſs *in good Part, ſo as to keep it for my ſake, and to peruſe it for your own. And, whether you believe the* ſpecial Reſurrection, *which I treat of here, or not: Yet, I am ſure, it can do you no hurt, to act ſo, as if it were altogether uncontroverted; that thus each of you may be incited, as far as is poſſible, to emulate even the Excellent* Apoſtle Paul, *in his noble Ambition, to be the* firſt Scholar *of Chriſt's School, the* braveſt Soldier *for his Cauſe, the moſt* faithful Subject *to his Government, the moſt* dutiful Child *of his Family, the moſt* diligent Servant *in his Work, and the moſt* zealous Meſſenger *to run his Errands; having your Eye thus fixed, as he had his, upon* the glorious Prize of the high Calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus.

Now, that both You and I may attain thus *to act, in order to be* thus *alſo rewarded at laſt, is and ſhall be the ſincere Endeavour and fervent Prayer of,*

Honoured and Dear Friends,

Your Obliged, Cordial

and Obedient Servant,

in the Bonds of the Goſpel,

ROBERT FLEMING.

A

DISSERTATION,

CONCERNING

The Prior and Special

RESURRECTION

OF THE

Moſt Eminent Chriſtians,

During the Reign and Rage of *Paganiſm* and *Popery.*

I Have propos'd, my Friends, to entertain your Thoughts with, and to direct your Practiſe by ſome weighty and uſeful Conſiderations, which the great Apoſtle *Paul* lays before Chriſtians in theſe Verſes (*a*) which I have read unto you. But, ſeeing I foreſee, that ſome Truths, which I apprehend the Apoſtle inſiſts on, may ſurprize moſt, if not all my Hearers, it will be proper to preſent you with the

(*a*) Viz. *Phil.* Chap. 3. ver. 1, 2, 3, &c. ver. 7, 8, 9, &c. *eſpecially* ver. 11, 12, &c.

Scope and Connection of *Paul*, in this Discourse, at least so much of it as bears a Relation to what we have read from the *7th* Verse. And seeing what the Apostle speaks of, in this Chapter, is wholly of a different Nature from what he runs upon either in the preceding Chapters, or in the following one; we have no Reason to run beyond the Limits of this Chapter, in order to understand his Design.

And here, in the first Place, let me tell you, that those that divided the Bible into Chapters, (and I suppose you know, that the Division of the Bible into Chapters and Verses, is but a Human Invention, and indeed a late one, tho very useful in the Main, and honestly and well design'd,) were not so considerate, as they should have been, when they begin this Chapter, with this Sentence; *Finally, my Brethren, rejoice in the Lord:* Which, no doubt the Apostle design'd to dismiss the former Part of his Discourse with, as the concluSory Words thereof. And having done so, it is plain, he does, as it were, pause a while, and then, after some Consideration, whither he should write upon the Subject treated of, in this Chapter, or not, he comes to resolve on the Affirmative, mov'd by this Reason; that it was the safer Side to do so, least such important Truths, as these were, tho fully insisted upon by him, in his Sermons and Discourses to those *Philippians*, to whom he writes, might come, at last, to be lost in Oblivion. And he considers, at the same time, that it was no great matter of Pains, to write down the Sum of that important Doctrine, that, it is plain, these Words suppose him to have insisted on, for some time, at *Philippi*.

So that the Chapter ought to have begun with these Words: *To write the same Things to you,* (*viz.* which I delivered to you, formerly, by Word of Mouth) *to me indeed is not* ὀκνηρόν *grievous,* (or what I am loath to be brought to) *For* (I consider that) *to you it is* ἀσφαλὲς *safe.* Now, from hence, let me transiently observe, 1. How careful *Paul* was to guard against the Evils,

Evils, that Truth might sustain, by *Oral Tradition*, if not secur'd, by its being committed to writing. And indeed he had fatal Experience of this in the *Corinthian Church*, where tho he had preached and taught for two Years, *Acts* 19. 10. and no doubt frequently celebrated the Eucharist among them (it being the Custom of the Apostles to celebrate the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper, at least once a Week, *viz.* (*a*) every Lord's Day,) yet he had not been long absent from that Church, until the manner of the Celebration of it was quite perverted, and the Apostle obliged to write to them upon this Head, and to set down the exact Form and Manner of its true Administration, as we see, 1 *Cor.* 11. *ver.* 17, *&c.* & *ver.* 23, *&c.* And, upon the same Reason, the Apostle *Peter* speaks after this manner to the Churches, to whom he writes; 2 *Ep. Chap.* 1. *ver.* 15. *Moreover, I will endeavour that you may be able, after my Decease, to have these things always in Remembrance.* And indeed this has ever been a prevailing Reason with my self, to commit to Writing such Truths, as I thought might be of general Use to Men, and especially such of them, as might be most liable to be misrepresented, together with the Preacher of such things; if only to be learn'd from the frail Memories and imperfect Accounts of them that heard them; and much more, if only to be known from those that heard it at second, or third, or fourth Hand, *i. e.* from some Body who said, that he learn'd from one, that said he was acquainted with a Man, that heard *Paul* or *Peter* say so or so. And, 2. I observe hence likewise, that the Reason of the Obscurity of some Truths insinuated here, particularly in *ver.* 11, 12, *&c.* is this; That the Apostle contents himself with summing up the main Heads, that he had largely insisted upon, and cleared up to the *Philippians*, by Word of Mouth. For, ha-

(*a*) *Acts* 20. 7, 11. & *Chap.* 2. 42, 46. *Chap.* 27. 57. *See* Just. Martyr. Apol. 2. *p.* 58, 99. & Plin. Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

ving done this, he knew that he needed only just to hint things to them, seeing they were fully instructed in his Meaning before. But we being left, now, to find out his Sense, by a close and strict Inquiry into these brief Hints, and by a comparing them with the like Insinuations elsewhere to be found, must be supposed to be at a mighty Loss, in Comparison of the Christians then at *Philippi*, who were fully acquainted with the Apostle's Thoughts on all the Subjects, which he rather hints than explains to us. So that none of our Commentators or Criticks ought to be blam'd, tho they have all, as I humbly conceiv'd, fallen short of finding out the Apostle's main Scope and Meaning: For if Men do their best, they ought to be praised, instead of being reflected upon. For, if a thoughtful and learned Man should have a peculiar Notion, which he looks upon to be of great Importance and general Use; and should, as such, communicate it, with his Reasons for it, to a Company of select Friends, many of which should be convinced, and be of his Mind, whilst others remained of a different Sentiment, or at least continued in some Suspence and Doubt this way; and if this learned Man should afterward think fit to write a joynt Letter to those to whom he communicated his Opinion, giving them some Hints thereof, and shewing that he was of the same Mind still; but modestly insinuating, that he did not look upon his Opinion as absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that therefore he hop'd, that those that differ'd from him in this particular, would bear with him, as he did with them, and agree to mind the same things, wherein they and he were of one Mind: Now, I say, if, some Ages after the Death of this Man and his Friends, this Letter of his were publish'd to the World: It must needs be very puzzling to those that were solicitous to know what this important Opinion was, from which, notwithstanding some of his best Friends did dissent, tho they were fully instructed in the Matter, from so great a Man. Now, that this is plainly the State of this

this Affair, in relation to the *Philippians* of old, and *us* now, will be plain beyond Controversy, by what I have to say in the sequel of this Discourse. And then I shall leave it to your selves to judge, whether I have not, (thro' the Goodness of God inlightning me, and blessing my Inquiries this way) found out the *true Key*, to unlock the Apostle's Meaning; which I humbly conceive no Commentator or Expositor ever did before me. Therefore to proceed;

The Apostle, after his resolving to recapitulate the Sum of what he had preached to the *Philippian* Church, *ver.* 1. goes on with this Work from *ver.* 2. to the end of this 3*d* Chapter. Now to trace this Discourse and its Design, I shall not disjoint the Apostle's Words, (after the old logical Method of many Divines) by casting the Words into a dry and arbitrary *Analitical* Scheme: But I shall trace the natural Epistolary Way of the Apostle, by which he insensibly slides from one Point to another, jointing or grafting one thing into another. And by this Method, I hope to let in your Thoughts to see, as it were, the very Springs and Movements of the Apostle's Soul, in laying before the *Philippians* his Sentiments and Practice, as far as the Words can be trac'd by me, as to their Meaning and Design.

And, in the *first* Place, he exhorts them to be upon their Guard, against the carnal and imbitter'd Jews, who were at that time the worst Enemies, that Christianity had in the World. *Beware*, says he, *of Dogs, beware of Evil-Workers, beware of the Concision.* He calls them *Dogs*, because of their bitter Reflections and Blasphemies against the Truth, comparing them thus to bitter and spiteful *barking Dogs.* He calls them *Evil-workers*, as well as Evil-speakers, because of their violent Attempts against Christians. He calls them and their Religion, by the Sarcastical Title of *the Concision*, instead of the Circumcision; because they cut off themselves from Christ, by preaching up Circumcision, as absolutely necessary to Justification and Salvation; which was diametrically opposite to *Paul*'s Doctrine, as we see, *Gal.*

5. 2, 3. Now, as a Reason, why he call'd the Jews by that irritating and contemptuous Word *the Concision*; he adds, *ver.* 3. *For we are the Circumcision* (*i. e.* in the true spiritual Sense) *who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Jesus Christ, and have no confidence in the Flesh*; (as if bare Externals could save us.)

And *here* the Apostle takes occasion to shew, that, seeing the Jews valued themselves so much upon their external Jewish Privileges, he was equal with any of them all, this way. Therefore he says, *ver.* 4, 5, 6. That if these things were to be relied upon, *I might also have Confidence in the Flesh.* For, says he, *If any other Man thinketh, that he hath whereof to trust in the Flesh*; I have *more* Reason to do so than many others. For I was *circumcised the eighth Day, of the Stock of Israel* (my Parents and Ancestors being all true Israelites, without any Gentile Mixture) *of the Tribe of* Benjamin (honoured above all the Tribes, excepting *Judah* only, for adhering to *David*'s Family and the true Worship of God, against *Jeroboam* and his Idolatry, and for its being returned intire, together with *Judah*, to their own Land,) *an Hebrew of the Hebrews* (both by Nation and Language;) *concerning Zeal, persecuting the Church*, (in the Days of my Ignorance, even as they, but more wilfully and knowingly, do now, considering the further and more Publick Evidence given now to Religion;) *touching the Righteousness, which is in the Law, blameless*, (as being a Pharisee, and consequently of the strictest Sect of the Jews, both as to Principles, and a nice Observance of the Ceremonies and Customs of the Jews.)

But, says he, *ver.* 7. *What things were Gain to me*, (and might have raised me to the highest Dignity, Authority, Power, Esteem, and been the means of enriching me among the Jews,) *those I accounted loss for Christ*; (as soon as I came to be acquainted with him and his Truths.) And thus the Apostle shews the vastly *different Estimate*, he now had of *Judaism* and *Christianity*, from what he had before, and how despicable the *first* was,

was, and indeed all things in this World besides, in Comparison of the *latter*.

The Apostle prosecutes the same thing, and inlarges upon it, *ver.* 8. wherein there are five Particulars observable; 1. The Universality of this Contempt of terrene things, of whatever sort, in comparison of Christianity; *Yea —— and I count all things but Loss*, &c. 2. The Reason of this Contempt, or the thing, in comparison whereof, he had so contemptible an Opinion of all other things; specified in these Words; *for the Excellency of Christ Jesus.* 3. The principal Idea that *Paul* fixes upon, as to Christ, which render'd the Knowledge of him so very excellent above all things besides; expres's'd in these Words: *Christ Jesus my Lord.* For as *Christ* denotes him to be the Promised Messiah, and as the superadding the Name *Jesus* denotes the end of his Office, as such, *viz.* that he was to save his People from their *Sins*, both as to the *Guilt*, *Prevalence*, *Corruption*, and the *Consequents* and *Effects* thereof: So *Paul*'s peculiar Appropriation of this Saviour to himself, when he could *thus* say, *my Lord*, did eminently endear Christ and Christianity to him. 4. The Proof, which he gives of the Verity of this his Estimate; which is *twofold*, *viz. Verbal*, *yea doubtless*, &c. and *Real*, taken from uncontested matter of Fact; which he relates in these words: *For whom I have suffered the Loss of all things, and do count them but Dung*; as if he had said, and now that I have lost all these things, I cannot say I have lost any thing (so low is their Estimate with me) unless the Loss of what I esteem to be no better than Dung be accounted a Loss. 5. The Scope and End, or Ends, that the Apostle has in View and Prospect, both in this his Estimate, and in his Acting and Suffering accordingly, viz. *that I may win Christ*, and *that I may be found in him*, &c. But the *latter* of these Expressions belonging to the *9th* Verse, and what is contained therein; I take the *former* only to be that General, that includes his Scope, as he design'd to express it in the General; and that the following Verses contain a particular Explica-

tion thereof, and Enlargement thereupon. *To win Christ* therefore, I take to be a General Expression, of a vast Extent, which denotes the utmost acquisition of him, and the being the most universally enrich'd by him, from the time of our first believing in him, to that of our injoying him for Eternity: For thus the Apostle, when he says, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω, *that I may be enrich'd by acquiring Christ*, opposes him to all other things, which he lost for him, and reckon'd but loss, in comparison of him; and by this he represents himself, as the wise Merchant was represented by Christ, *Matth.* 13. 45, 46. (upon which Parable *Paul*'s Words are a just Comment) who, after he had long traded in seeking after imaginary Pearls, tho he then reckon'd them *goodly* ones; having at last found the true *Pearl of Price*, *i. e.* known wherein Man's real Good did stand, did readily part with all his formerly admired good Things, in order to be truly possess'd of the true felicitating Good.

But now, the Apostle having given a general Hint of his great *Scope* and *End*, proceeds to explain his Meaning, by shewing what the things were, which were wrap'd up in this short but substantial Hint. And this he does, by branching forth the meaning of this Expression, *to win* Christ, in a Gradation of three things. The 1*st* of which denotes his Concern to lay a sure Foundation, *ver.* 9. The 2*d* denotes a gradual Progress, in raising a proper Superstructure upon that Foundation, when once laid, *ver.* 10. And the 3*d* denotes the End of both, *viz.* the actual Attainment of that Happiness, that he propos'd to himself, upon the happy finishing of both these, *ver.* 11. So that we have here compleat Happiness represented to us as begun in the 1*st*, carried on in the 2*d*, and compleated in the 3*d* and last. And it is my Design to treat of all these here before you; so as succinctly to explain the *two first*, in order to inlarge upon the *last*, as being the *Key*, when understood, of unriddling the Apostle's meaning perfectly, in what he runs upon in this Chapter,

ter, and particularly in that part of it that follows the 11*th* Verſe.

The I*ſt* Thing, which the Apoſtle aims at, in order to be truly happy, is the beginning well, or the founding ſecurely upon the true Goſpel-Foundation. Thus the Apoſtle was concerned, *ver.* 9. *To be found in Chriſt, not having* (ſays he) *my own Righteouſneſs, which is of the Law, but that which is thro' the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith.*

And here, ſeeing this Expreſſion has been ſo often quoted and explain'd by thoſe, that either did not or would not underſtand its meaning, it is but juſt, that I ſhould ſet it in its proper light; and the rather that I have heard it my ſelf ſo frequently quoted amiſs, as to the very words, as if *Paul* had oppoſed the *imputed Righteouſneſs of Chriſt*, (whereas we neither read the Word *Imputed* here, nor yet the Phraſe, *the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt*) to his *former Righteouſneſs* which he truſted in; which has been explained ſo, as if by his *own Righteouſneſs, which was according to the Law*, he meant not the *Jewiſh Religion and Righteouſneſs which ſtood in a Conformity to the Law of* Moſes, (tho he himſelf tells us, in the preceding Verſes, that he meant this and this only) but the *antiquated Law of perfect Innocence* made with our firſt Parents before the Fall; as if *Paul*, when a Jew and Phariſee by Profeſſion, had ever dream'd to be ſaved by the *Merit* of a *ſinleſs Conformity* to the *Law of Perfection*, which is commonly, tho unſcripturally, called the *Covenant of Works*; when it is plain, that he only thought to be ſav'd by a ſtrict Conformity to the *Moſaical* or *Jewiſh Religion* and *Law*, without any regard to *Chriſtianity*, nay and in oppoſition to it: Whereas upon his being illuminated to know Chriſt and Chriſtianity, (which he own'd now to be the Completion of the Jewiſh Religion) he diſclaim'd the Jewiſh Religion and legal Righteouſneſs as imperfect, and betook himſelf intirely to *Chriſt* and *Chriſtianity*, and the *Righteouſneſs* reveal'd in the *Goſpel*. See

Dr.

Dr. *Whitby* in his Note upon this place, and what he says upon *Rom.* 1. 17.

But, in order to our clearer understanding this Place, I shall not grudge a little pains in explaining these *four things*, which are all that the Apostle's Words run upon and contain; *viz.* 1. The Import of the Expression, *to be found in Christ*. 2. The two sorts of Righteousness which he distinguishes one from another, and which he opposeth one to another, under these Characteristical Designations, *viz. his own Righteousness, and the Righteousness which is of God.* 3. The Description which he gives of both these; when he calls the *first*, that Righteousness *which is* ἐκ νόμου *of the Law*, or which ariseth from the Law, and stands in a Conformity to it, and which he opposeth to the *second* Righteousness, *viz.* the Righteousness which is of God; which he describes so, as to tell us, that it is *thro' the Faith of Christ*, and *is of God*, and that *by Faith*; which *three Characters* are connected together so, as to make up *one* only in the General, tho each of them has a peculiar Force in it, as we shall soon see. 4. The different Estimate which the Apostle has of these, and the different respect he has to them; seeing he disclaimeth the *first*, when he says, *not having, &c.* and is solicitous to be thoroughly possessed of the *other*, when he adds, *but that which is, &c.*

Now, as to the 1*st* of these, *viz. to be found in Christ*. It may not unjustly be supposed to denote, in a General Sense, the same thing as the former, *viz. to win Christ*. But yet, even upon this Supposition, there is this Difference; that, whereas the Phrase, *to win Christ*, does respect the *End*; this Phrase *to be found in Christ*, bears a reference to the *Means* which tend to the attainment of that End. Now whereas there are *two Phrases* made use of in the New Testament, *viz. Our being in Christ*, and *Christ's being in us*: It is proper that I should say this of them; that they are equivalent Phrases, and of the same importance, in the main; the one of them ever denoting, or supposing the other. For, 1. We are said *to be in Christ*; when, having been so

so assisted by Grace, in our devoting our selves to God and Christ, as to be truly united to him by Faith and Love, we act likewise so, as to bring forth Fruit to his Praise, walking thus, in the main, as he also walked. And, 2. Christ is said to be in us, when, as *Paul* says, *Phil.* 2. 5. *The same mind is in us, which was in Christ Jesus, i. e.* When Religion becomes the internal governing Principle of our Hearts, and when we act, by the Gospel-Rule, and for the same Ends which he acted for. So that for the Apostle to desire and endeavour, in order *to win Christ*, to act so, as *to be found in Christ*, is the same thing as to desire, to be so thorowly united to Christ in Principle and Design, and to be so enabled to walk as to adorn the Gospel, and thus to be useful to the best of Interests, as to attain at length to the full Reward of a faithful Servant, in the compleat and perpetual Enjoyment of his Lord and Master.

As for the 2*d* thing; it is plain from the whole of the Context, (1.) That by his *own Righeousness* he must mean, in the first place, the very same *Righteousness*, which he had told us before, he was so fond of, when a Jew and Pharisee; being then, as he says, *ver. 6. Blameless as to the Law of Moses.* But, in a secondary or consequential Sense, we may justly say, that any sort of imperfect Righteousness, which is short of Gospel-Righteousness, if trusted to, is disclaimed here, by this Expression; such as Knowledge, Learning, Orthodoxy, Justice, Charitableness, *&c.* For every such Righteousness may be said to be of the Law, according to the Letter; tho it reach not the full Design thereof, as to its spiritual import and meaning, which is to found on Christ; the Law of *Moses* being that to Men, during the Minority of the Church of the Old Testament, that παιδαγωγὸς, a Pedagogue, or Preceptor, or Tutor, is to young Lads that go to a Grammar School, *viz.* to fit them for the higher Academy of Christianity and Christ the chief Doctor thereof; as the Apostle tells us, *Gal.* 3. 24. ——To this home-spun *Righteous-*

ness

ness of his own; therefore, (2.) *Paul* opposes the *Righteousness of the Gospel*, which, by way of Eminence, he justly calls the *Righteousness of God*; as having *God* for its *Author*, its *Institutor*, its *Purchaser*, its *Rule*, and its *ultimate End*.

3*dly*. As for the Description which he gives of these two sorts of Righteousness; (1.) The Account given of the *first* is this; That it is a Righteousness, *which is of* (or from, or according to) *the Law*. And what that Law is, we have already said. But they that desire to know more, may consult *Rom.* 3. 20. *Gal.* 3. 10, *&c.* with many other places. (2.) And as for the *other* sort of Righteousness, I need but cite *Rom.* 3. 21, 22. in order to clear it up. Where the Apostle says, *But now the Righteousness of God, without the Law, is manifest, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, even the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all that believe, for there is no difference.* For this one place unfolds all the force of the threefold Character of this Righteousness; *viz.* 1. That it is, more eminently, than any sort of Religion or Righteousness, that ever was before, *the Righteousness of God*; 2. That this Righteousness is manifest in, or thro' the Gospel, or the Christian Faith, or as the Apostle here words it in the Epistle to the *Philippians, thro' the Faith of Christ*; which, as it is in the Citation mentioned, is said to be *witnessed unto by the Law and the Prophets, to be the Righteousness of God without the Law of Moses*, and therefore the Gospel-Righteousness: For lest any Doubt, this way, should remain, it is immediately added, that *it is the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all*, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*. But then, 3. It is also said *to be upon all them that believe*; which answers to the third part of the Character of this Righteousness in our Text, *viz.* That it is *by Faith*: For, as it is *revealed by Faith*, or by the Gospel, so it is to be *received by Faith also*. And thus the Apostle says, *Rom.* 1. 17. That *the Righteousness of God is revealed by Faith to Faith*: which,

which, according to the *Greek*, runs thus; *the Righteousness of God, which is by Faith* (or stands in Faith) *is revealed to beget Faith* in Men, (or is revealed in order to be received by Faith.) And therefore it is added in the same Place; *The Just shall live by his Faith*, i. e. in Christ and his Promises, so as to have this Faith to be a Principle to him of Righteousness and Obedience.

And now, as to the 4*th* Particular, it is easie to see, why the Apostle disclaimeth the *first* sort of Righteousness, and why he is so concerned to have the *latter*. For, (1.) as to his own Righteousness, he could not but disclaim that, which was now become inconsistent with the Gospel; as *Judaism* was then, in his Eyes, with *Christianity*; and, upon the Account whereof, he had lamented the Case of his Country-men the *Jews*, in the same Epistle to the *Romans*, in almost the same Words as here; as we see, *Rom.* 10. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Brethren, my Heart's Desire and Prayer to God, for* Israel, *is, that they might be saved. For I bear them Record, that they have a Zeal for God*, (as he himself had before his being acquainted with Christianity,) *but not according to Knowledge. For they, being ignorant of the Righteousness of God* (revealed in the Gospel) *and going about to establish their own Righteousness*, (*viz.* Judaical Righteousness, which stood in a Conformity to the Law of *Moses*,) *have not submitted themselves to the Righteousness of God: for Christ is the end of the Law for Righteousness, to every one that believeth.* Now here are the very Phrases of our Text again, *viz.* the Jews *own Righteousness*, and *the Righteousness of God*, &c. But not a Syllable is there of *Christ's Righteousness*, nor of *Imputation* in all this. Which, I say, not to reflect upon good Men, or their Notions this way, but only to caution them not to censure those that adhere more closely to the Scripture Phraseology than they do, and consequently may be supposed to understand its Sense better, as well as to judge of its Truths more impartially. For I have always observ'd, in all Parties, without so much as one Exception; that the most ignorant selfish,

selfish, and greatest Party-Men, make the most Noise, and run on the fastest, and the most furiously, in censuring, and even damning those that differ from them; tho this be commonly only upon the Account of the Modes of speaking. But, to return. As the Apostle renounced his *own Judaical Righteousness*: So (2.) He evidenceth his Concern, *to be found in Christ, having the Righteousness of God*, i. e. he is concerned to attain to the New Testament-Righteousness, or to be saved in the Gospel-way. For Christ's *Active and Passive Obedience*, by which he has merited Salvation for all that will accept of it upon Gospel-Terms, is that only, *for the sake of which* those that believe are saved. *For*, as *by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation; even so, by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift* (*viz.* the Gospel-Revelation, Offer and Promise) *came upon all Men* (in case they believe) *unto Justification of Life*, &c. *Rom.* 5. 18, 19. Now, I think, all good Men, of all Sides and Parties, do agree, that Christ's Merits are the only meritorious Cause of our Justification and Salvation; and that we are justified, consequently, by the Righteousness of Christ, or the Righteousness of God, and by no human Righteousness whatsoever: And if this be call'd, *Christ's Righteousness imputed*, I do as readily own the thing as any Man, disowning and disclaiming all Self-Righteousness, in the same manner as *Paul* did, when he says, *Rom.* 11. 16. that we are saved by Grace; and that *if it be by Grace, then it is no more of Works, otherwise Grace is no more Grace*, &c. tho I pretend not to understand, that *Christ's Merits*, or *Christ's Righteousness*, can thus be transferred to another, so as to be *imputed* to him, either in a *scriptural Sense*, or indeed in *common Sense*. For, if by being *imputed*, we mean *reputed*, i. e. judged by God, that we were the Persons that obeyed, suffered and merited; it is equally *blasphemous* and *nonsensical*. And, if by *imputed*, we mean no more than this, that we receive the Benefit of *Christ's Merits and Righteousness*, when we believe, as really

really as if we had acted, ſuffered and merited our ſelves; it is certainly true: But then, it muſt be ſaid, that the Word *Imputation* is uſed very improperly, in this Senſe: Nay, I will ſay likewiſe, (*b*) that it is never uſed, in this Senſe, in Scripture. But, as I ſhall never quarrel about Words, tho improperly uſed, where Truth is ſecur'd, ſo if it pleaſe God that I live I ſhall have occaſion to diſcuſs this Matter further in its proper Place. To return therefore, I ſay this, that the Sum of all I have ſaid upon this Verſe, amounts to this *Propoſition*, when drawn *ab Hypotheſi ad Theſin*, from *Paul*'s State, to that of all Chriſtians, *viz.* "That whoſoever is heartily and thorowly concerned "*to win him*, and is therefore deſirous to get to be ac- "quitted, approved and ſaved, in the great Day of "Chriſt's Appearance; muſt not be contented with, "nor truſt in a bare external *Righteouſneſs of his own*, "tho never ſo exactly agreeable to *the Law* of God; "but muſt make it his Buſineſs *to be found in Chriſt*, *ha-* "*ving the Righteouſneſs, which is thro' the Faith of Chriſt*, "*even the Righteouſneſs, which is of God, by Faith.* The Senſe of which Phraſes can, I think, be obſcure to none, that have conſider'd what I have ſaid. So that I hope, I may go on ſafely now to the next Head.

The

(*b*) *I deſire that the Reader, who may perhaps wonder at my ſaying ſo, would be pleas'd to conſider, the proper Meaning of the Original* Greek *Word,* λογίζεται, *and the Scope and Senſe of this Word, in all thoſe Places where it is tranſlated to* impute *in our Verſion, as alſo the Equivalent* Hebrew *Word, which is likewiſe ſo rendred by our Tranſlators,* viz. Lev. 7. 18. Chap 17. 14. 1 Sam. 22. 15. 2 Sam. 19. 19. Pſal. 32. 2. Hab. 1. 11. *But ſeeing all the Streſs of the Controverſy relates to the Senſe of thoſe Places, where this Word is rendred either to* impute, (*which I think are theſe only, viz.* Rom. 4. 6, 8, 11, 22, 23, 24. Chap. 5. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Jam. 2. 23.) *or otherwiſe, where it is rendred by Words of an* Equivalent *Senſe and Meaning to that of* Imputation: *For thus we find, that the ſame Word, that is rendred* to impute *in the Places mention'd, and, I think, in no other, is tranſlated,* Rom. 4.

The II. Thing which the Apostle aim'd at, in order to reach his End, and as consequential upon the former, was to *proceed well*, after he had once *set out well* on his heavenly Journey. And this he expresseth in these Words, *ver.* 10. *That I may know him, and the Power of his Resurrection, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death.* Where we have two things to consider.

1. The *General Account* which he gives of this, *viz.* τῦ γνῶναι αὐτὸν, *that I may know him, i. e.* so as to be further and better acquainted with him. By which,

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4. 3. counted unto, *ver.* 4. reckoned, *ver.* 5. counted for, *ver.* 9. reckoned to, *ver.* 10, reckoned, *and* Gal. 3. 6. accounted. *I have thus enumerated all the Places, where this Word occurs, in such a Sense, as to be capable to be thus translated: In none of which I can find any Foundation for such a Mystical Sense of the Word, as has not only been reckon'd the only one by some, but magnified to that degree, as if the* All *of Religion stood in it, and as if they were all Hereticks, that could not see this. And I hope none, that calls himself a Scholar and Divine, can be ignorant that the Verb* λογίζομαι *is most commonly used, both by* Greek *Authors, and by the sacred Penmen, in such a Sense, as is incapable to be rendred* to impute. *For it does most commonly signifie,* to reason, to esteem, to think, to reckon, *and* to repute. *For which, see* Mark 11. 31. & Chap. 15. 28. Luke 22. 37. Acts 19. 27. Rom. 2. 3, 26. Chap. 3. 28. Chap. 6. 11. Chap. 8. 18, 36. Chap. 9. 8. Chap. 14. 14. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Chap. 13. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 15. Chap. 10. 2, 7, 11. Chap. 12. 6. Phil. 3. 13. Chap. 4. 8. 2 Tim. 4. 16. Heb. 11. 19. 2 Pet. 5. 12. *Now if the Reader will consider all these things, and lay them judiciously together, he will find, that in those few Places, where our Translators thought fit to render the Original Word, by the* English *Word* to impute, *or its Equivalent Terms,* to reckon, to count, *or* to account; *the Sense of those several Texts, with the Scope of the Contexts, will ever direct us to understand them as denoting no more, but this, viz.* to repute; *and therefore, consequently God, who* reputes *and* reckons *infallibly, can never repute that to belong to another, which was done by Christ only.* When therefore *Abraham* believed God, his Faith *(tho originally God's Work and Gift)* is said to be reckoned to him for Righteousness, *i. e. reputed his own Act, as* formally *it certainly was. I have the rather taken notice of these things, because the unwary Expositions and Inlargements of some good Men, as to their Notion of the* Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, *has oftner than once, in the Compass of the last Age, given rise to endless* Antinomian *Errors.*

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no doubt, he means a farther Measure, both of Theoretical and Practical Knowledge.

2. The *special Account* which he gives of this, *viz.* in what Respects he was chiefly concerned to know Christ further than he had yet attained to do; where there are two Particulars specified.

1. He desires to know Christ farther, as to *the Power of his Resurrection.* Concerning which, let me premise this, that the Stress of our Salvation, as to the Hope of future Happiness, to be compleatly enjoyed, depends principally upon the Article of the Resurrection; as we must own, if we consult, *Rom.* 8. 34. & 1 *Cor.* 15. 14, 17, *&c.* Now, having premised this, let me observe, (1.) That by *the Power of Christ's Resurrection,* which *Paul* desir'd to know, he must mean, *That Power that was exerted by him, in his raising himself from the Dead, the third Day after his Death; and that Power, that he has now acquired, by that Act, and with which he is possessed, since his Resurrection, as* Loganthropos; *by which he is able, not only to bestow eternal Life, and all manner of Blessings upon his People, but also to raise others from the Dead, when and how he thinks fit.* And now, as I desire that every Word of this Proposition may be distinctly consider'd; so I would have it observed more particularly, That the Apostle insinuates a Desire to know or experience Christ's Power, in raising him from the Dead, in such a manner, as he was not yet ascertain'd of; seeing he only expresseth a Desire and Concern to attain this. And therefore, (2.) By his Concern, *to know* this Power of Christ's Resurrection, we must, of Necessity, understand; that he was solicitous to be raised, in some such manner, by Christ, as he himself was raised. Which will be manifest to every one that will allow himself to think over, impartially, what I shall say, when I come to explain the *next Verse*; towards the understanding whereof, all I have been upon, is no more than *an Introduction.* Now, so earnest is the Apostle to attain thus to know the Power of Christ's Resurrection; that he is willing to do

any thing, and endure any thing, rather than to fall short of it.

And therefore, 2. He immediately adds, that he was willing, in order to this End, *to know* also *the Fellowship of Christ's Sufferings*, even so *as to be made conformable unto his Death.* For, as he says, *Rom.* 6. 5. *If we be planted together in the Likeness of his Death, we shall be planted also in the Likeness of his Resurrection*; which Words have, as I conceive, a further Look, than as they are usually explain'd, in a spiritual Sense, *of a Death to Sin, and Resurrection to Righteousness*; tho I am far from excluding that Sense. But the Apostle does certainly speak, in the Strain, (wherein I have explained this Text, which we have now before us, in *ver.* 10.) *Rom.* 8. 17. when he does not only say, *If we be Children, then Heirs, Heirs of God, and Joynt-Heirs with Christ*; but adds immediately, *If so be we suffer for him, that we may be also glorified together.* For that he respects a special Resurrection, and a special Reward, the following Part of the Chapter does sufficiently insinuate; particularly these Words, *ver.* 19. *The Manifestations of the Sons of God*; and these, *ver.* 21. of the rational Creature's *being delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*; and these Words, *ver.* 23. where the Apostle says, that he, and other good Men, *groaned within themselves, waiting for* υἱοθεσίαν, *the Adoption*, that is, says he, *the Redemption of the Body.* And, I think, the same Apostle insinuates this Truth, 2 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. *If we die with him,* (*i. e.* in a violent way of Martyrdom) *we shall also live with him,* (*i. e.* be raised, in some way that shall bear a Likeness to his Resurrection, as he says, *Rom.* 6. 5.) *If we suffer* (as Christ did) *we shall also reign with him,* (at the Beginning of the *Millennium:*) (but) *If* (thro' Persecutions) *we deny him, he also will deny us,* (as he says himself, *Matth.* 10. 23.) And I cannot but think, that the Apostle *Peter* was also apprized of this Notion of the Apostle *Paul*, viz. *that there was to be a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints,*

Saints, at the beginning of the Millennium, when he says, 1 *Epist.* 2. 12, 13, 14. *Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery Tryal, as tho some strange thing happened unto you. But rejoyce, in as much as you are Partakers of Christ's Sufferings* (*i. e.* call'd to be conformed to him, as to the Painfulness and Reproach of his Sufferings and Death,) *that so when his Glory* (or he himself as the *Shechinah* or *Glory of God*) *shall be revealed* afterwards (*viz.* in the more flourishing State of the Church on Earth, during the *Millennium*;) *Ye may be glad also with exceeding Joy,* (*viz.* by reason of your being then privileg'd to be peculiarly raised from the Dead, to enjoy Christ in Glory.) *If* then *ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of Glory* (*i. e.* of Christ the Shechinah) *and of God* (the Father) *resteth upon you,* &c. (*i. e.* you have this way the Spirit given as a Pledge of your future happy Resurrection and Glory.)

Now, if these Expositions of the scriptural Passages, quoted here, do appear strange at first View, as probably they will to many; I humbly beg, that my Readers would be so favourable, as to suspend their passing any definitive Sentence as yet, in reference to this Notion; and so kind, as to carry it along with them, in their own Minds, without either assenting to it, or dissenting from it, until first they have understood what I have to say, by way of Proof, for it. And, in hope of obtaining this reasonable Request;

I proceed now to the III*d* Thing, *viz.* To the *great End and Scope,* which *Paul* had in view; and in a Reference to which the *two former Heads* come under the Consideration of the *Means* only, which he proposes to use, in order to reach this *End.*

I come therefore now, after premising some Account of the *preceding Part* of the Apostle's Discourse, by way of Preliminary; to treat distinctly of *this Subject,* (which hitherto I have only touched upon incidentally and by the by,) as we have it spoken of, in

the *Eleventh Verse*; which is the *main Text*, that I propose, not only to speak from, but to discourse of, in this Place. After which, I shall proceed, but more briefly, to explain the remaining Part of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

Philip. Chap. III. *ver.* 11.

The Words, in the Original, are these following.

εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν.

Which our Translators render, after this manner,

If, by any means, I might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead.

Strange Words! Especially if we consider what the Apostle immediately adds, *ver.* 12, &c.

Not, as tho I had already attained, ——— *But I follow after, if that I may apprehended,* &c.

Indeed, my Friends, I must tell you, that I was exceeding puzzled, for a considerable time, what to make of these Words of the Apostle *Paul.* I consulted all the best Expositors, and the most famous Criticks, without receiving any Satisfaction, or so much as a just hint of that which the Apostle had in his Eye here; which, in *ver.* 14. he calls τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως, the *Prize of the High Calling of God, in Christ*; which he represents to himself, in Allusion to the Olympick, and other *Grecian* Solemnites, and particularly the Races there; upon which Occasions a βραβεῖον, *i. e.* a Prize or Garland used to be hung up, upon a σκόπῳ, *a Mark*, at the End of the Race, which was conspicuous even at a Distance, and which the Racers had in View, more and more, as they drew nearer it, until

until the Prize it self came to be seen, which was bestowed upon him that reach'd the Mark first.

The Question therefore, with me, which no Author could satisfie me in, was; *What this* βραβεῖον *could mean?* For if by the σκόπος the Apostle meant Happiness or Perfection, in general, he must be supposed to mean, by the βραβεῖον, some appropriate and peculiar Reward, which many, tho they run well to the Mark, fell short of: For as he says elsewhere, *Tho many run, yet one only obtain'd the Prize.* But that which increas'd the Difficulty, yet more, was this; that the Apostle does plainly tell us, that he had no particular Certainty or Assurance of his obtaining this *special Prize*; but that he apprehended rather, that unless he was very careful, he might possibly fall short of it. For he represents it as attainable indeed, but as attainable no other way but by great Diligence, eminent Faithfulness to Christ, and extraordinary Usefulness to the World and Church. And yet, at the same time, his Idea of this *peculiar* and *glorious Prize* is so vast, that he thinks all the Services he could do, and all the Sufferings he could undergo, in promoting and propagating Christianity, were all too little, in Comparison of this *Reward*, which was to be appropriated to none but the first Christian Worthies, and the most Eminent Saints and Martyrs. And it still tends to increase the Difficulty; That the Apostle, notwithstanding of his being fully certain, that such a special Reward was to be attained; yet did not look upon this as such an Article of Christian Faith, as was to be believed as a thing absolutely necessary to Salvation. And therefore, tho he himself believed, and had taught it in the *Philippian Church*: Yet, as he taught it only, as his own Opinion, there being, as yet, no universal Revelation thereof to the Church; so we find, that there were several of the Christian *Philippians*, that were of another Opinion, and *otherwise minded*, ver. 15. Nor does the Apostle challenge them upon this Account, but prophetically tells them, that *God would after-*

wards reveal this to the Church himself; which *Paul* had only commission to speak of as from himself; the Publication thereof, as a Truth (revealed so to the Church, as to be enjoined upon us, in order to be believed) being reserved for the Apostle *John*, as we shall quickly see. In the mean time therefore *Paul* desires, that, seeing both they and he were agreed in the Belief of the *last and general Resurrection*, they might walk accordingly, *viz.* with due regard to *that whereunto they had already attained*; for, tho the *peculiar Resurrection*, which he had in View, was, as yet, no part of the Christian Creed, yet the *General Resurrection* and *Christ's coming to judge Men and Angels*, were received and approved Articles thereof. And this is the Reason, why he winds up this Chapter and Discourse, with a Repetition of these great Articles of Faith, *ver.* 20, 21.

Hence it is plain, that what the Apostle calls βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως, *the Prize of the High Calling*, in *ver.* 14. is that which he calls *the Resurrection of the Dead*, in *ver.* 11. And that consequently, this *Resurrection* cannot be the *general Resurrection*, but a *special one*, antecedent to it; which is to be the appropriate Reward only of a few, (speaking in a comparative Sense) and those the most-eminent of the Saints; and which the Apostle represents as inclusive of a higher Reward, than others shall ever share in, tho, at last, they come to be raised also to Life Everlasting.

And thus I came to attain to form some tolerable Notion of the Apostle's Meaning. For I reason'd thus with my self. When *Paul* says, that his great Concern was, to use his utmost Endeavours, to see, *If by any Means, he might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead*; surely, (1.) He could never be guilty of such a lank Sense, as to mean no more than this, *If by any means I might obtain to rise to Life eternal at the last day: Not as if I had already attained*, &c. For what News had it been to tell the *Philippians*, that he had not as yet got to Heaven. When therefore our Divines say, that the Apostle means this only, that *he could never be too sure of getting*

getting to Glory; they say what is very accommodable to dull and languid Christians: But they forget the Apostle's Character and Attainments, and represent him as speaking weakly and insipidly, and indeed inconsistently with himself. (2.) And, as *Paul* could never be supposed to speak, in this dull and lank manner; so I consider'd, that it was impossible, that he could be under any Doubt of a *Resurrection of the Dead*, in *general*; who had ever asserted that there was to be a Resurrection of *all Men, both of the Just and Unjust*. For this was one main Article insisted on by him, both in his Sermons and Writings, as we see not only here, *ver.* 20, 21. but in the 15*th* Chapter of the 1*st* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, throughout the whole Chapter; as also, *Acts* 17. 18. *Chap.* 23. 6. *Chap.* 24. 15, 21. 2 *Tim.* 2. 18. And therefore this cannot possibly be the Sense; *If by any means I might attain to rise from the Dead, at the last Day.* (3.) And I consider'd withall that the Apostle could not be supposed, in reason, to mean, that he was concerned to attain to a full Certainty and Assurance, as to his being raised in Glory, and to Eternal Life. For he had attained this already, in so full and compleat a Sense, as that it is not conceivable, that he could be further assured this way, than he was already. For I defy any Man to tell me of any one Expression of his, but what breaths forth the Plerophory of Faith, and the fullest Confidence. Does he not glory in this, *Rom.* 8. 25, *&c.* that *nothing could separate him from the Love, Service, and Enjoyment of Christ*; and that he was satisfied, *That he should be more than Conqueror*, at last, *thro' Christ who loved him.* Whereas, by the way, *more than Conqueror* seems tacitly to look to the special Prize, or special Resurrection, which he speaks of here; as if, at that time, he had some fair Prospect of obtaining it. But that, he had full Assurance as to a future Happiness, without any Doubt or Hesitation that way, is evident from all his Writings. Hence he tells us that he long'd even almost to some Degree of Impatience, to exchange Mortality for Immortality, that,

by getting rid of the Body, he might get home to Christ, 2 *Cor.* 5. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* Nay, does not the Apostle say as much, in this very Epistle? Does he not tell us, *chap.* 1. *ver.* 21. that *for him to die would be gain?* And does he not, *ver.* 23. *desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which was far better, than to be here?* Nay, does he not here say as much as this, in the very same Breath, wherein he declares his concern to attain what he had not yet obtain'd the Certainty of? For he proposes this as one of the Means, towards reaching this End, *viz.* the dying a violent Death, in conformity with the Death of Christ; which he calls *a knowing Christ, as to the Fellowship of his Sufferings, by being made conformable unto his Death.* So that, when we have laid these things together, we may be assured that this can as little be supposed to be the Apostle's Sense here, in *ver.* 11. *If by any Means I might attain to rise, at the last Day, to eternal Life*; or this, *If by any Means I might attain to Assurance, that I shall rise to Life and Glory, when the General Resurrection comes.*

It being therefore certain, that none of these can possibly be the Apostle's Meaning; and it being equally certain, that the thing which he had in his Eye, was that which the Bulk even of good Men might fall short of, and which the Apostle himself had only the Hope of obtaining, but no Certainty or Assurance this way: I concluded, that the Apostle had his Eye fix'd upon *a peculiar Resurrection*, which was to be the ἔξαιρετον and *Reward*, not of all true Christians, but only of some of the most gallant and useful Saints and Martyrs; *which Resurrection*, I did suppose, must not only be long before the *General Resurrection*, but must also be supposed to include and take in the highest Reward of Glory and Happiness.

And I remember, that after I had imbib'd this Notion, I had occasion to propose it, at several times, to several Persons of great Learning and Judgment; who all agreed, at last, to approve of it so far,

far, as to grant me two Material Points; (1.) That none of the Opinions I mention'd before, could be, in reason, suppos'd to be that which *Paul* runs upon; (2.) That, by supposing my Notion to be true, the Apostle's Words and Reasoning came to be very clear and easy, both with respect to the Sense of every Word and Phrase, and the Connexion of the whole. And hence they concluded, that if I could prove the special Resurrection, I talk'd of, from Scripture, they should be ready to think that I had found the *only true Key*, to unlock this otherwise dark and mysterious Portion of Scripture. And, as this incited me to dive as deep as I could into this Point, so it occasion'd some of my learned Friends to take the like pains. One of whom fell upon a very peculiar Notion; which was this. He suppos'd, that the Apostle was of this Mind; "That "he might, thro' Grace and Care, attain so high, as "to be made an Exception from the Common Lot of "Mortals, either by being translated, that he might "not see Death, as *Enoch* and *Elias* were, or by being "raised from the Grave, after he had been dead for "a little time, by a singular Resurrection, such as "that of *Christ* was. But, as all the Company rejected any Supposition of a *peculiar Translation*, since Christ himself dyed; as that which was inconsistent with the *Christian Scheme*: So some of the Company thought that such a *singular Resurrection*, was also the peculiar Property and Privilege of the *Messiah* only, and that even this Supposition did not agree with the Christian Scheme any more than the first. But, for my part, I could never admit any such Supposition; unless it could be shewed from Scripture, that the Apostle *Paul* had any ground to expect this, more than *Peter*, *James* or *John*, or the *Virgin Mary*. But besides I desired, that it might be considered, that the Apostle spoke of such a Resurrection, as was attainable by others, as well as by him, when he says, *ver.* 15. *Let therefore as many as are perfect be thus minded*, &c. The meaning of which, to me, is plainly this; *Let as many as are of the same Opinion with*

with me, be thus minded likewise as I am, viz. *to act so, as they may also hope to attain to the first, special and most glorious Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints.*

My Notion therefore, which is the *only Key* of *ver.* 11, 12, &c. is this; *That the Apostle* Paul *did believe, that there would be a special Resurrection of the more eminent Servants of Christ, which would include a very peculiar Reward; and that this Resurrection would be long before the General and last Resurrection.* And this is, I am confident, that very Resurrection, and Reward which he is so earnestly solicitous and concerned to partake of.

And I do humbly suppose, that this might be of the Number of those ἀῤῥητα ῥήματα, *secret Words* or Phrases, *which it was not lawful for him to utter,* (which the Apostle had revealed to himself only, 2 *Cor.* 12.4, *&c.*) that is, as I understand his meaning (tho without limiting it to this Sense only) *which the Apostle was forbidden, at present, to publish to the World, as an Article of Faith, but which he had Liberty to propose to Men as his own Opinion;* it being reserved to *John,* to discover and publish it, in the Name of God, and as *an Article of Faith,* in its proper time and place, in the last Book of the Bible; as we shall quickly make it appear, that it is to be found there, in express words. But seeing the Apostle *Paul* had no such Commission, but only a Dispensation to publish it, as *an Article of Opinion* only; we need not wonder, that some of the *Philippians* were *otherwise minded,* as being like the *Bereans, Acts* 17. 11. who were resolved to believe the Apostles themselves no farther than they could demonstrate their Doctrine from the Scriptures of the Old Testament; which seeing *Paul* could not do, as to this Article, in such a manner as intirely to satisfy them; and seeing likewise he proposed it, as an Opinion only, and not as necessary to be believed, and concerning which he pretended not to have any Divine Commission: I say, these things being considered, we need not wonder, that some *Philippians* could not agree with him in Opinion, as to this matter; at the same time

that

that others, from a vaſter Eſteem of the Apoſtle's Judgment, or from a deeper Penetration into his Reaſoning, or from ſome peculiar Illumination of the Spirit, as to his Point, fell intirely in with his Notion. For I do ſuppoſe that the Apoſtle manag'd himſelf, in his Reaſoning upon this Subject, much after the ſame manner, as he does elſewhere, in things that he propoſed barely as *a Man*, and as far only as his Reaſon and Opinion might go, and not as *an Apoſtle*, ſpeaking authoritatively and in the Name of God. An eminent Example of which we have, 1 *Cor.* 7. 25. *Now concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord: yet I give my Judgment, as one that have obtained Mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I ſuppoſe therefore that this is good*, &c. So alſo he ſpeaks, *ver.* 40. inſinuating a Revelation; but pretending to no Authority to injoin the ſame to be believed by others; for both theſe are equally denoted, when he ſays, *But ſhe is happier if ſhe ſo abide, after my Judgment; and I think alſo that I have the Spirit of God.* And indeed I cannot but think, that the Apoſtle ſpoke of this Subject of the *firſt and ſpecial Reſurrection*, to the *Philippians*, in this very ſtrain; telling them, *that he had no Commandment of God, to propoſe this to be believed; but that he gave his Judgment, as one that obtain'd Mercy to be faithful*; inſinuating this alſo modeſtly, *that he had reaſon to think, that he had the Spirit of God, and knew the mind of Chriſt, in what he himſelf believed, tho he only propos'd it to their Reaſon and Meditation.* However it deſerves our Conſideration, how wiſely the Apoſtle words himſelf, that he might reach his main end, both as to thoſe that were of his Opinion, and thoſe that diſſented from him; incouraging the one Party to continue in *the like mind with him*, and exhorting the other Party to agree with him and them, ſo as to ſtrive likewiſe, *if by any means they might attain, not only to be happy at laſt, but to reach unto as high degrees of Happineſs as others.* For tho they might have no ſuch Notion, as he and ſome others had, of a *ſpecial Reſurrection*, nor any Belief this way; yet their equal diligence

gence with his, might bring them to obtain that Privilege also; as it would certainly, whether they attain'd this or not, lay a Foundation of their being truly happy at last. And here, by the way, let us observe, how far different *Paul*'s Spirit was, from the Spirit of some Modern Churches and imposing Church-men; nay how diametrically opposite these are. He, tho certain of this and such-like Truths, nay tho he had the Spirit of God with him, in what he said; yet did not, durst not, impose any thing upon Christians, either in point of Faith or Practice, for that very reason, that it was indifferent, and therefore to be left to Mens own liberty; as knowing that it was not in the Power of one, or all the Apostles, to require any thing either to be necessarily and universally believed by the Church, or practis'd in the Church; this being the unalienable Prerogative of Christ the Head of the Church (which he was never to give to any after him) to give Law to the Conscience. But, to return;

I hope, by this time, you begin to think, that *this special Resurrection* is a probable Notion (for no Man in his Senses can question its possibility, seeing it is as easy for God to raise some Men sooner, as to raise all Men at last;) and that therefore, if I can but produce certain Proof for it, I may be supposed to do some considerable Service to Christianity and Christians; by bringing in new Light, not only to this memorable Discourse of *Paul*, but likewise to the whole of the Christian Scheme.

In order therefore to give you all the Satisfaction I can, in reference to this weighty Point, which I do, for my own part, look upon as *an Article of the Christian Faith*, tho a *secondary one*, and not *absolutely necessary* to *Salvation* as some others; (for I suppose every one knows, that every Article of Faith is not a fundamental and essential one, *E. G.* that it is an Article of Faith, but not a fundamental One, to believe, that *Paul* was an Apostle of the Gentiles; whereas to believe that *Jesus Christ* is the only Messiah, Saviour, Mediator,

or

or Redeemer, is altogether essential to Faith and Salvation:) I propose to discourse as distinctly and fully of this Subject, as I can; and the rather, that it has never been properly treated of, or so much as understood before, even from the Times of the Apostles to this Day.

And in doing this, I intend to treat of it; (1.) *Doctrinally* and largely; and then, (2.) *Practically* and more briefly; which *last* Consideration will lead me forward, to pursue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

(1.) I propose to treat of this Subject *Doctrinally*. And in doing this, I intend to proceed in this Method. 1. *To inquire into the Grounds that I go upon, in believing, that there will be such a special Resurrection:* With which *first* and principal *Inquiry*, I shall have Occasion to interweave, what otherwise might have been considered as a *second* one, *viz. What Foundation is laid in Scripture, by which we may attain to form a tolerable Idea of this.* And then, 2. I shall distinctly *inquire, when this Resurrection may be probably supposed to be.*

I. INQUIRY.

What are the Grounds or Reasons, from whence it can be collected, that there will be a special Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints, antecedent to the General One; so as to lay a just Foundation of our believing it, and of our forming a Genuin Conception of it, *as a scriptural and revealed Truth?*

In order to answer the End of this Inquiry, I intend to propose my Thoughts gradually to the World, by proceeding according to the following Steps.

1*st*. I desire it may be considered, that there has been already, *a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament:* So that it is very congruous to what has been done already, to suppose, that there will

will also be *a special Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the New Testament.*

Now, in order to prove the Antecedent, I shall adduce a plain, tho very short, historical Account, which is given us, *Matth.* 27. 50, 51, 52, 53. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω· καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσείσθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν· καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῳχθησαν· καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη· καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων, μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς. *Now Jesus, crying again with a loud Voice, yielded up his Spirit. And behold the Vail* (that parted the Holy Place from the most Holy) *of the Temple, was rent in twain, from the Top to the Bottom,* (see *Heb.* 10. 20.) *and the Earth did quake, and the Rocks rent; and the Graves were opened; and many Bodies of Saints which slept, arose,* (or were raised up;) *and they going* (or having gone) *out of their Graves, after his own Resurrection* was over, *went into the Holy City, and appeared to many.*

Here there are *Three memorable Things* observable.

1. That just (*c*) as Christ breathed out his Soul, with a loud Voice; all Nature eccho'd it round, by Thunders and Earthquakes; and that so, as to own his conquering Death and Mortality, by his dying, and by rending the Rocks, Vaults, Sepulchers, and other Dormitories of the Dead, so that all Graves, of all sorts, were thrown wide open.

2. That yet none of the Dead arose at that time, tho all external Hinderances of their rising were removed: For it was necessary that Christ should first take Possession of *Hades*, or the Regions and State of the separate Souls. Which, when he had once done, he was then to demonstrate his intire Conquest over the Dead, both as to their Souls and Bodies; *first* by raising

(*c*) *See this critically consider'd, in the* 2d *Volume, and* 3d *Book of* Christol. *Chap.* 3. *Page* 271.

him-

himſelf, and *next* by raiſing ſuch a ſelect Number of others, as he thought proper to raiſe up. And therefore it is expreſly ſaid here, (1.) That *Saints* were raiſed, and no others; (2.) That *many* Saints were raiſed; and (3.) That *they came not forth out of their Graves, till Chriſt's own Reſurrection was over:* For it was neceſſary, that he, as Sovereign and Captain-General, ſhould lead the Way, and be *the firſt Fruits of them that ſlept,* and *the firſt Bringer back* (or as our Verſion has it, *the Firſt-Born*) *from the Dead.*

3. That the *many dead Saints,* which then aroſe, were not raiſed to live again on Earth, tho they were allowed to appear to *many ſelect Witneſſes,* in order to aſſure them of the Reality both of Chriſt's Reſurrection and their own. This is plain from the Words of *Matthew,* who ſays not, *that they went into the Holy City,* (as *Jeruſalem* is ſometimes called, as in *Matt.* 4. 6.) *to dwell there,* or to converſe with any, or all the People, but *that they went into it ſo, as to appear to many.* So that, as Chriſt appeared, now and then, to ſelect Witneſſes, during his 40 Days Abode on Earth; ſo did thoſe Saints alſo, under the Conduct of Chriſt, during the ſame time, as I humbly think. For, as it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Saints, who had been uſed with the divine Converſe of Paradiſe, and who were free from Sin, and made immortal, by Chriſt's raiſing them, could ever be ſuppoſed to be raiſed to Sin and Sorrow here, in order to die again: So it muſt be concluded to be equally certain, that they muſt be raiſed to be Chriſt's Attendants, when he aſcended to Heaven, in order to be Monuments and Witneſſes there of his having conquer'd *Death, Hades* and *Satan*; and of his taking upon him the Sovereignty over Death, and the inviſible State and Country of ſeparate Souls. And, if it was neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould riſe before them from the Dead; ſo it was, as leaſt, as neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould aſcend firſt to Glory, and that they ſhould follow him in thither, as his Train.

And

And indeed we have here a plain Account of the exact and literal Accomplishment of a very memorable Prediction; which we have, *Isa.* 26. 19. *Thy dead Men shall live: Together with my dead Body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the Dust; for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs,* (that revive after a Winter's Death,) *and the Earth shall cast out the Dead.*

And, as this Prophesie plainly points out the precise Time of this Resurrection, *viz.* that it should be, when Christ's own Body should be raised (for of no other Body could it be said, by a peculiar Appropriation, that it was *God's Body*, or *the Body of the Logos*, the God of *Israel*,) so we find, that Christ himself, a little before his Sufferings, did expressly predict the same thing, *John* 5. 25. *Verily, verily, I say unto you; the Hour is coming, and now is,* (*i.e.* is just about to take Place,) *that the Dead shall hear the Voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live.* Upon which Words, Dr. *Whitby*'s Observation deserves to be exactly considered. "That Christ, says he, speaks here, not "barely of a spiritual Resurrection, is evident: "(1.) Because he speaks of it as a Thing shortly fu- "ture; whereas the spiritual Resurrection was, in "some, already past. (2.) Because he promiseth this "Resurrection, not to them that should hear *his Word*, "but φωνὴν, *his Voice.* And that he speaks of a proper "Resurrection, appears, (1.) From the Gradation he "*here* makes, from the Resurrection of *some*, to the "Resurrection of *all*, ver. 28, 29. *viz.* when he adds, "*Marvel not at this*, (Resurrection, which is to be "so soon,) *for the Hour* (also) *is coming*, (*viz.* that of "the last and general Resurrection,) *in which*, (tho "at several Periods thereof,) *all that are in the Graves "shall hear his Voice*; and shall come forth, (tho at se- "veral times, as I shall afterwards prove:) *Those that "have done good*, (if more eminent, first of all, but if "less eminent, afterwards) *unto the Resurrection of "Life*; and then, *they that have done evil* (shall come "forth, last of all) *unto the Resurrection of Damnation.*

"(2.)

" (2.) Because he adds, that *they who hear, shall live;* " and that, because *the Son*, whose Voice they hear, " *hath Life in himself*, ver. 26. I therefore think, that " our Lord speaks of that Hour, when, he rising from " the Dead, *many Bodies of the Saints arose with him*, " Matth. 27. 52.

But, tho the *Doctor* and I are perfectly agreed in this Matter; yet I differ from him, when he says, in his Note on *Matth.* 27. 52. " My Conjecture is, that " they (who rose from the Dead) might be some of " those that believed in Jesus, (as *old Simeon* did,) and " died before his Resurrection, *&c.* For it is said, " *that they went into the Holy City, and appeared to many*; " whence it is probable, that they were Persons " known to them, to whom they did appear, and, if " so, they must be Men that lived in the Time of their " Knowledge. For, if the *Doctor* mean, as his Words seems to insinuate, that no others rose, but those that were Christ's Contemporaries, I must say it is a Conjecture indeed, but such a one, that carries no just Probability along with it. For (1.) seeing the *Doctor* owns, by what he cites from *Albo in Libro Ikarim*, Par. 4. c. 35. that the *Jews* believ'd, that, when their *Messiah* came, there should be a Resurrection of several pious Men; I know not why those pious Men should be confin'd to one Generation, more than to former ones. (2.) When he supposes, that they must be known to have been such and such Persons, he might have remembred, 1. That the Text says not, that they were known, or did discover what Persons they had been; but only, in the general, *that they appeared to many*; *i. e.* that they appeared, as the Angels us'd to do, with Majesty and Light, or in some such manner as discover'd them not to be the proper Inhabitants of this World; and that they did also give some Evidence and Indication, that they had formerly dwelt on Earth, but that they were now raised from the Dead, and allowed to appear to some select Men, as Witnesses of Christ's Resurrection, and of his Power

in raising them. Besides, 2. It ought to be remembred, That, when Christ was transfigured upon the Mount, the three Apostles were illuminated, without being informed by Christ, (as the Circumstances of things, as I explain'd them in the *First Book* of *Christology*, gives us just Ground to conclude,) that the two Persons, that talk'd to him, were *Moses* and *Elias*. So that, in case Christ thought it proper, that any of the New-rais'd Saints should be known to any of those to whom they appeared; it was as easy for him to impress their Minds, that it was *Abraham*, or *Samuel*, or *Daniel*, &c. and no other, that they saw. But I see no Reason to think it necessary, that the Persons that saw and convers'd with the New-rais'd Saints, should know, in particular, what or who the Person was, with whom he or she convers'd; tho I take it to be absolutely necessary, so far to know them, as to be satisfied, that they belong'd to the human Family, and had been formerly the Inhabitants of this World; seeing the very End of their appearing, was to bear Evidence, that Christ had conquered Death and the Grave, of which not only his own Resurrection was a Proof, but the Resurrection of many others, of which Number they were. (3.) And indeed, so very degenerate was the State of the *Jews*, as well as of the rest of the World, when Christ was on Earth, by what we can judge from the Evangelical History; that it is hard to think, that there were so many Eminent Saints, of that adulterous and wicked Generation, that died before Christ's Resurrection, as to give Reason to the Spirit of God, to call them by the Name of *many of the Saints*. For, besides *John the Baptist*, and his *Father* and *Mother*, (in case both were then dead) and old *Simeon* and *Anna*, we can hardly find any *true Israelites*, at least of very eminent Note, so much as hinted in all the Four Gospels, who died before our Saviour. (4.) And seeing Dr. *Whitby* does justly suppose, that this Resurrection was the Fulfilling of that remarkable Prophesie of Christ, *John* 5. 25. it is very odd to confine Christ's general Words of

Raising

Raising the Dead, to a few of that last Generation. (5.) Especially seeing, if there be any Sense in that memorable Prediction, *Isa.* 26. 19. we must believe, that many of those that were dead before that Prophet's Days, were to be raised up, at Christ's Resurrection. (6.) And therefore, as the *Jews* believed, that the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament were to be raised by the Messiah, at his Coming, it is no wonder, if Christians did early believe, that this Resurrection, mention'd by *Matthew*, was a Resurrection, tho not of all the dead Saints, yet of all the most Eminent ones, that had liv'd before his Coming; as appears by what the *Doctor* does himself cite out of (*d*) one of the Epistles ascribed to *Ignatius*; who says, *That they were the Holy Prophets, who were his Disciples, and expected him, thro' the Spirit*, and who are said, *to enter into the Kingdom with* Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob, *Luke* 13. 29. & *Matth.* 8. 11. And here, that these Places come in my way, I cannot but say, that it is highly probable to me; That Christ design'd not only to let us know, that many under the Gospel, from all Quarters and Regions, should partake eminently of the spiritual Privileges of *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*; but also to insinuate, as the remoter and ultimate Sense, that *many Eminent Saints* should, in after-times, be raised from the Dead, in like manner as those Ancient *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* were to be, in a very little time. Nor can this be strange to any that is acquainted with the Prophetical Dialect; *where what is spoken of one thing, in a nearer Sense, and with Respect to a first Accomplishment, is designed further, as to a remoter Accomplishment afterwards.* And, if it please God, that I live to accomplish some things which I have in View, I shall make this very plain, and thereby clear up the Extent of many things in Scripture, which Men have perplex'd, by a limitted and confined Interpretation of

(*d*) Epist. ad Magnes. §. 9.

them. But, as a Specimen of this, I desire the Reader may consult *the 2d* of my *four Discourses*, which treats of *God's dwelling with Man*, Page 61. &c.

And here let me say, That I am very apt to believe, that the Spirit of God has given us a Hint of both these special Resurrections, that I am now discoursing of, as well as of the last General One, when after he had given *Daniel* this Account of the General One, Chap. 12. 2. *That many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt:* He adds, by way of Distinction and Peculiarity, this Account of the more Eminent Saints, and their special Reward, *ver.* 3. *And they that be wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever.* By which, I do humbly suppose, that the Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, at *Christ's Resurrection*, and that other special Resurrection also, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, are denoted: Tho it was not proper, at that Time, to inlarge upon the peculiar things referr'd to. However, that something very peculiar is pointed at, is plain from the following Words, *ver.* 4. *But thou*, O Daniel, *shut up the Words, and seal the Book, even to the Time of the End*, i. e. be contented with general Hints; until God shall be pleased gradually to clear up the Particulars, that are wrap'd up in this general Account. For he immediately subjoyns, *many shall run to and fro*, (by close Study and Contemplation, as others in another Sense, by Travels and Journies,) *and Knowledge shall* (come thus to) *be increased.* And I thank God, that I (tho poor and despised) am one of those whom God has honour'd this way, to promote and increase Divine Knowledge; and particularly this Part of it, that relates to the Discovery of the special Resurrections I am now discoursing of; which will be further manifest in the Sequel of this Inquiry. And, tho Party-Men, of more sorts than one, may from Envy, Prejudice, and secular or factious Ends, detract from

from me in this, as in other Respects; yet I dare venture to give forth this Prophesy; *That the Divine Providence will excite some unprejudic'd Person, or Persons,* (when I am gone, and either forgot, or prosecuted by Lies and Calumnies, even long after I am dead,) *to clear up my sullied Memory; as one,* (how despicable soever, in other respects,) *whom God has be pleased to illuminate, excite, qualifie, and make use of, in order to discover the Mind of my blessed Master, further than ever was done before, both in this, and in several other considerable Points; and that so remarkably, as that it will be matter of wonder to Posterity, that so many important Truths should have continued unknown in the Church, for so many Ages, notwithstanding of the various Hints given, this way, in the sacred Oracles.* But when the *Millennium* comes, but especially when afterwards *Christ himself* shall come and comment upon his own Word; How poor will those Labours of mine, as well as those of others, appear? But, Oh! Let him hasten that happy Day, when his truly meridian and resplendent Light may be brought in! How delightfully shall I triumph, to be thus obscur'd, (as the Stars are when the Orient Sun arises in the East, to shine with his own immediate Beams,) in order to learn his Truths, to greater Perfection, from his own Mouth?

In the mean time, I write as intirely devoted to himself and Truth, as far as I can find both out. And I do here honestly say, before I proceed to further Steps of this Inquiry; that I do not, in the least, doubt, but that the Resurrection of the Saints, mention'd by *Matthew*, Chap. 27. ver. 52, 53. was the Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints of the Old Testament. As therefore *Enoch* and *Elijah* were translated, and *Moses* raised, by a singular Resurrection, as I have shewed (*e*) before; so I question not, but that *Abel, Noah, Shem* or *Melchisedec, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job,*

(*e*) Christol. Lib. 1. *Page* 67, &c.

Samuel, Elisha, Isaiah, Daniel. with many more, are raised from the Dead, together with *John the Baptist*, old *Simeon* and others that liv'd afterwards. But I proceed to another Step. Therefore,

2*dly*. I desire it may be consider'd, That, if the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, or first Times, were raised to Glory, by a special Resurrection; whether it be not rational to conclude, from all the Ideas we can form to our selves of Christ, as a just and impartial Judge, *That the more Eminent Saints of the New Testament, who liv'd and dy'd under Sufferings, should be rewarded in like manner, by a special Resurrection to Glory, at that time when Christ shall give universal Peace and Prosperity to the Church, during the Thousand Years Reign, of which* John *gives us an Account in the* 20*th* Chap. *of the Revelation.*

For, if we once grant the *real Resurrection* of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, and own likewise the Verity of the *Millennium*; I see not, how the Force of this Reasoning can be evaded. If any pretend to do so, they are oblig'd to assign some just and relevant Reason, why one, that is as eminently Religious as another, should not be as eminently rewarded as he, (especially if he live under a better Dispensation, than the other did) by him that judges without any respect of Persons. Which to me were an Attempt to prove a Contradiction and Impossibility.

If therefore, the Eminent Saints of Old, were privileg'd with a peculiar Resurrection, and special Reward, as included therein: And if the New Testament Church, in after Ages, is to enjoy a sort of Heaven upon Earth, for about a Thousand Years, and for the Enjoyment whereof they are eminently oblig'd to the Apostles, Evangelists, Confessors and Martyrs, whose Labours and Sufferings were the Means of their enjoying such Privileges: I ask, Whether it be not highly consonant to the closest Reasoning; nay, and to the very Nature of God, and the Procedure of his wise Providence,

vidence, to think; That those who laid the Foundation, and were (*f*) laid at the Foundation, (next and under Christ) of the Churches Exaltation and Triumph, and were perhaps more holy and serviceable than any of them, that are to live during the *Millennium*, should receive some peculiar Reward, that may be, at least, equivalent to that wherewith they shall then be privileg'd.

But, seeing the Stress of this Reasoning does not only lean upon the *Supposition* of a *real Resurrection* of the Eminent Saints, who died before Christ's Resurrection, but likewise upon the *Supposition* of the Verity of the *Millennium*: It may perhaps be expected, that I should prove the *Latter* of these, as well as the *Former*. But, that I may not cut out too much Work for my self now, I desire the Reader may consult Dr. *Whitby*'s learned Treatise on this Subject, which is added to the second Volume of his excellent Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. For, tho the Doctor and I differ pretty considerably in some things, relating to the Explication of this Point; yet I agree with him in all his Proofs, so far as they relate to the Subject in general. For we agree, (1.) That there will be a happy and flourishing State of the visible Church on Earth, (above whatever it enjoy'd before,) for about 1000 Years Continuance. (2.) That there will be no local Descent, or visible Appearance of Christ, in order to his reigning on Earth, after the manner of temporal Monarchs, during that Period; as many formerly fancied. (3.) That neither will there be any such Resurrection of any Saints departed, as denotes *such* a Return to Earth, *as* includes the Notion of a real Living and Continuance in this present World. (4.) That this Fullness of the *Gentile-Church* will begin with, or, at least, take in the *Jews*, who shall then generally, if not universally, be converted

(*f*) *See* Col. 1. 24.

to the Christian Faith and Religion, who shall then be *as Life from the Dead*, as such a *Resurrection of an old dead Church* will then be to Christians; for which see Dr. *Whitby* on *Rom.* 11. 15, 25. However I must here ingenuously own, that the *Doctor's* Reasonings carried me too far, when I did from hence conclude, in (*g*) a former Discourse, *That the Revival of the antient Jewish Church is understood by the Resurrection of the Martyrs*, Rev. 20. 4. For, tho I believe that the *Jews* will be converted during the *Millennium*; yet I am now satisfied, (as I hope quickly to demonstrate to others) that the Resurrection of the Martyrs, which commences then, is to be a real and corporeal Resurrection of the Apostles and other most eminent Saints of the New Testament, who died before the *Millennium* began. However, excepting only this one Particular, I do agree with what I said formerly, in the Discourse referred to, in relation to the *Millennium*; to (*h*) which, in Conjunction with what I have said further on this Head, (*i*) in the 3*d Book* of *Christology*, *Chap.* 4. I do refer the Reader.

The Sum therefore of my Thoughts, in relation to the *Millennium*, as far as is needful to say here, amounts to these Conclusions (which I think are plain from *Rev.* 20. 4, 5, *&c.*) (1.) That there is a time a coming, when Satan shall be restrained, for about 1000 Years, from seducing the Generality of Men, in that manner which he was permitted to run on in before. (2.) That during that time the Church shall have Peace and Renown on Earth; many real Converts being brought in, and others finding it Policy to comply outwardly with the same, as the prevailing Interest. (3.) That, towards the end of the *Millennium*, there will be a very considerable Apostacy from Christianity. (4.) That

(*g*) *The* 1st *of the* four Discourses, viz. *that which is intitled*, Concerning the Rise and Fall of Papacy. (*h*) *See* Pag. 79, & 91, &c. (*i*) *See* Pag. 338, 344, &c.

this

this Apostacy will issue at length in an Universal Combination to root out the Saints that shall continue faithful to their Lord; *ver.* 7, *&c.* (5.) That this Combination will be so formidable, as to bring the Church to the last Extremity, even as that of a long *besieged City*, so shatter'd and ruin'd, as that the Enemy is just ready to take it, Sword in hand, in order to cut off all that are within, *ver.* 9. (6.) That Christ shall come, at the very last and critical Hour, and *consume all his Enemies with Fire from Heaven*, ver. 9, 10. as he did *Sodom* of old, or as he destroyed the *Ante-diluvians* by the Flood; and that therefore with this Fire, the *General Conflagration* of the World will begin. (7.) That, during this Consternation, while the wicked are consuming, the *General Resurrection* will commence; which will be followed with the *Great Judgment* of the last Day, *ver.* 11, *&c.* Now of this I conceive there will be two Periods. (1.) The Resurrection of the dead Saints, who were not raised in the former special Resurrections; together with the Immortalizing Change, that will pass upon such Saints, as shall then be alive: which will be followed by the *Ascention* of both. Of all which the Apostle speaks, 1 *Thess.* 4. 15, 16, 17. (2.) The Resurrection of the Wicked afterwards; and I humbly think long afterwards; perhaps as long as it was between our Saviour's first Publick Appearance, and the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *viz.* 40 Years. In the Trial, Conviction and Condemnation of which vast Multitude, we may well suppose (as I have formerly said once and again) that the far greatest part of a thousand Years will be taken up. Having thus hinted these things, I now proceed to another, and indeed the Principal Step, in order to the Probation of this Point. Therefore,

3*dly*. I desire that it may be considered, that we have, as I think, *a plain Revelation of the Truth and Certainty of this Point*, Rev. 24. 4.

But in order to understand this Expression of Scripture, I think fit to premise another, to which this does certainly

certainly bear a reference, *viz.* *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11. To see the whole therefore together, I shall cite these Places, as they lie in order, so as to include my Sense of them, within so many Parentheses, as may clear up the Sense of the Words.

Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. *And [he] had opened* (*i. e.* Christ the Lamb, who opened all the Seals, as we see, *ver.* 1.) *had opened the fifth Seal; I saw, under the Altar,* (of Sacrifice, where the Blood of Sacrifices used to be poured out, *Lev.* 4. 7. compare *Phil.* 2. 17. with *Rev.* 6. 9.) *the Souls of them* emblematically represented *were slain for* (the sake of Christ, who is) *the Word of God, and for the Testimony* (*viz.* the Christian Profession) *which* (in opposition to all Temptations) *they held;* (*viz.* firm to the End.)

And they cried (instead of the four Angelical or Evangelical Voices, that cried successively under the former Seals) *with a loud Voice* (denoting their Number, the Importance of their Complaint, and their Concern to be heard,) *saying, How long, O Lord* (Jesus) *Holy,* (and therefore detesting the barbarous Usage and Murders of thy Friends) *and true* (to thy Promises, as that in *Luke* 18. 7, 8.) *dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood, on them that dwell on the Earth;* *i. e.* so, as that we may now be raised from the Dead, seeing the last Pagan Persecution is almost over, and Christianity is just about to become the prevailing Interest of the Empire, under *Constantine.*

And white Robes (denoting a new and peculiar degree of Honour and Glory) *were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they must rest a little time further* (for that the special Resurrection which they expected was not yet to be) *until these,* (*i. e.* the remaining Ages of the next Period of Papal Persecutions) *should likewise be fulfilled, and until their Fellow-Servants also, and Brethren, should be killed,* (as they had been under Pagan Persecutions.

Rev. 20. 4, 5. *And I saw* (upon Satan's being restrain'd for 1000 Years, *ver.* 3.) *Thrones,* (*i. e.* New and solemn Christian

Christian Erection) *and they* (*i.e.* the Saints of the Most High, *Dan.* 7. 9, 13, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27. *Zech.* 14. 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21.) *sat upon them,* (*i.e.* Christianity was universally Regnant and Prevalent, Jews and Gentiles owning it) *and Judgment was given to them* (*i.e.* to Christians.)

And I saw (at the same time) *the Souls of them that were beheaded* (*i.e.* the more eminent Saints and Martyrs, who suffered under *Rome*-Pagan, and who were mention'd, *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11.) *for the Witness of Jesus, and for* (Christ) *the Word of God.*

And (together with them, I saw likewise the Souls of those) *who had not worshipped the* (*Papal*) *Beast, neither his Image, neither had received his Mark in their Foreheads, or in their Hands.*

And they (*i.e.* both the former and later eminent Witnesses and Martyrs) *lived,* (being raised from the Dead for that End, pursuant to the Promise made to the former, *Rev.* 6. 11.) *and reigned with Christ,* (not on Earth therefore, but in Heaven) *a thousand Years* (sooner than the other Saints of meaner Character; who were not to rise until the thousand Years were ended; for this is immediately added,)

But the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the thousand Years were finished. At which time, the general Conflagration will happen. And then good Men, who were not privileg'd to be rais'd before the *Millennium,* shall be raised (and raised first) before the Wicked shall be raised up, as *Paul* assures us, 1 *Thess.* 4. 15, 16. Tho it is remarkable also in that same place, that the Apostle insinuates, *ver.* 14. that others were raised long before Christ's coming to Judgment, when he says, *that Christ, when he comes to judge the World, will bring those along with him, that slept in him,* which supposes their having been rais'd before; and then he adds, *ver.* 16. *that the Dead in Christ,* (viz. such as were raised by the Power of Christ's Coming, and the Voice of the Archangel) *shall rise first*; and that, at the same time, those Saints that are alive *shall come under the immortalizing Change,*

Change, (spoken of, 1 *Cor.* 15. 51, 52.) *and so caught up, together with them*, (*viz.* the last rais'd Saints, for the former did not ascend, but descend from Heaven with Christ) *to meet the Lord*, and his Glorious Train, *in the Air*. And now, if these things be duly weighed, we shall find a new Light, in order to our right apprehending of the Apostle's Meaning, 1 *Cor.* 3. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Which, seeing it was never understood fully before, I shall not grudge to copy out here, as I have done the former Texts, so as to interweave the true and genuine Sense of the Apostle therewith. *Now, if any Man build upon this Foundation* (*viz.* upon Christ himself, the only true Foundation, as *Paul* says in *ver.* 10.) *Gold, Silver, precious Stones*, (*i.e.* Materials proper for the Christian Superstructure, and suited to the Divine Foundation thereof) or *Wood, Hay, Stubble*, (*i.e.* corruptible Materials, neither proper for the Building, nor consonant to the Foundation;) let it be remembred, that *every Man's Work shall be made manifest. For the Day* (of Recompence) *shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire*; *i.e.* by the fiery Trial, during the Conflagration of the World, where Christ will sit as a Refiner, to try Men and their Works, as Metals are tried by the Fire of the Furnace) *and the Fire shall try every Man's Work* (in order to discover) *of what sort it is. If any Man's Work* (therefore *abide* (this Probation in the more eminent Sense,) *which he hath built thereupon; he shall receive the Reward*, (*i.e.* of the Prior Resurrection.) *But if any Man's Work shall be burnt* (*i.e.* be adjudged to be fit to be rejected,) *He shall suffer loss* (by being excluded a share in this special Resurrection and Reward;) *But* (however, seeing he has, in the main, founded upon Christ the true Foundation) *he himself shall be saved; yet so as by Fire*; (*i.e.* by seeing and feeling, in some measure, the great Conflagration, out of which he shall escape as a Man that has his House on Fire, and all his Goods burnt, tho he himself mercifully escape with his Life, tho perhaps sing'd and scorch'd.) Now these things will direct us to understand, with advantage, the remaining part of the Account

count given us of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints, and their special Reward, who *have built no Hay or Stubble on the true Foundation*, but *Gold, Silver and precious Stones*. To come back therefore to *Rev.* 20. 5. It is said of the special Resurrection, which is to be at the beginning of the *Millennium*; That,

This (*viz.* the Resurrection of the Eminent Witnesses of Christ) *is the first Resurrection* (*viz.* under the Gospel Dispensation.) And of the Specialty of this Resurrection, and the peculiar Reward annexed to it, we have this memorable account, *ver.* 6.

Blessed and holy is he, that hath part in the first Resurrection: For on such Persons the second Death, (*i. e.* eternal Death which begins upon the wicked, at the same time with their being raised during the Conflagration of the World,) *hath no Power*; (which is spoken not only in opposition to the wicked, upon whom the second Death has full Power, but also in Contradistinction to those, who are indeed *saved at last, but yet so as to feel that Fire*, and to be under some dread that way, for a time,) *But they shall be Priests of God and of Christ* (*i. e.* shall be exalted to the highest Glory and Dignity,) *and shall reign with him,* (in Heaven, where he is and must continue, until the *Millennium, &c.* be over) *a thousand Years*. So that while Christians are the regnant Party on Earth; the eminent Saints and Martyrs are to be rais'd to live and reign also; but not with the Church on Earth, but with Christ in Heaven.

And now I do humbly suppose, that I have given the only true Exposition of these Texts; and that in so natural and easie a Connexion and Chain of Thought, as seems to shine above all Contradiction, with such an Air of Truth, as no Errour can be like it; as the Reader will own, if he has but allowed himself clearly and impartially to go over this Paraphrastical Explication, which I have given.

But, in order to the further clearing up of this Point, I desire that it may be considered, that we have *three* distinct Things to consider in these two Texts, which have a close Reference one to the other. (1.)

(1.) *The Prayer of the Souls of the Saints and Martyrs of Christ*, who are represented as shelter'd under the Altar.

Now this Prayer is, (as appears from the Answer,) That Christ would fulfil his Promise, in raising them from the Dead. And the Reason of it is this; That the Christian Church was now just about to be rais'd out of its Grave, by *Constantine*, to be the Regnant Interest of the Empire. Seeing therefore they had believ'd, that they should be raised up at that time, that Christianity should begin to prevail; they had agreed jointly to put up this humble Petition, that, as the living Saints now were about to reign in Peace and Glory on Earth, God would fulfil his Promise, that they should be also raised to reign with Christ in the celestial Glory above; for that it was Matter of Wonder and Concern to them, that there had been no Step taken, as yet, this way. For this I take to be the real Scope and Substance of their Petition; when they say, *Rev.* 6. 10. *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth*, i. e. by raising us from the Dead, as a Proof of thy detesting those who murder'd us, and of thy bestowing upon us that Honour and Reward, which we had such Ground from thy Self to expect.

Now this Interpretation I do not oppose, but superadd to that, which I gave formerly of the Meaning of the *5th* Seal, in my (*k*) *Apocalyptical Discourse*. For, whereas I did then interpret the Design of their Prayer, to relate to the Resurrection of Christianity on Earth; I still think that they meant this in Part; and that consequently, what I give in that Place, as the Meaning of the Answer is true. But I own, that I was in a Mistake, when I confin'd the Sense of both, as I did. Which proceeded from hence, that I had not, at that time, been so far inlightned, as I have been

(*k*) *Page* 41.

since,

since, in understanding this memorable Point, that I am now discoursing of.

My Notion therefore is this; That the Eminent Saints and Martyrs departed, understanding by these Martyrs that were, every Day, going upwards from Earth to the Paradisical State (during the Massacres and Persecutions under *Diocletian*, and his *Collegiate Emperors* and *Cæsars*,) in what a desperate State Christianity then was; and understanding, at the same time, by Revelation from Christ, that Deliverance was just at the Door; and that the Church on Earth was about to be exalted on Earth, under *Constantine*: I say, the Souls in Paradise understanding both these, and having a general Idea of this; That there was to be a special Resurrection of the Saints and Martyrs, at or before the Exaltation of the Church on Earth, did suppose, that this was that Period of Time, wherein they were to be raised from the Dead. But not being fully and perfectly informed of this Matter, and wondering that no Hint was yet given them of this Resurrection, tho they were informed of the Revival of the Church on Earth: It is agreed among them, to put up this Petition; wherein they pray for both these things; of which memorable Transaction, *John* has here given us, from Christ, such a Revelation and Representation, as gives us the summary Account, both of their Petition, and the Answer that is returned to the same. Now,

(2.) *The Answer to this Prayer of the Souls of the Eminent Saints departed,* follows. And this is remarkable, upon this Account, that it contains, (1.) *A Rectification* of their *Mistake*, in thinking, that this was to be the Time, when Christianity was to be universally Regnant on Earth, and consequently the Time, when the special Resurrection was to commence; (2.) *A Confirmation* of the Truth of their *Idea* of both these, in the *General*; their *Mistake* being only as to the *Circumstance* of the *Time*, when both these should be brought about; (3.) *A Specification*, (inclusive of *a Promise*

mise and *Assurance*, as to the Thing it self,) of the precise Time, when Christianity should be Regnant over all the Earth; and when they also should be rais'd again, to reign in Heaven with Christ, *viz.* that both these should come to pass, when the Church had waded thro' Papal or Antichristian Persecutions, as now it had waded thro' all the *Pagan* Persecutions; for that they and the latter Martyrs were to be raised together, upon the Destruction of the Antichristian Kingdom; which was about to take Place gradually in the World, in a Succession to the *Pagan* Religion and Empire. But then, (4.) We have here also an Account of a special Reward given them, which was to compensate the Delay of answering the Thing petition'd for; as being, tho not a Grant of the Thing it self, at present, yet a material Answer; by giving them an Equivalent to it, at least such a Favour, as did fully answer the End of their Petition, at that Time. This is express'd, under the Figure of *White Robes*, (such as Princes wore of old) *a luminous Garment being given to each of them*, as a Badge of an higher Exaltation in the Service of the *Shechinah*, as well as of a nearer Relation to him. ——— Now as *this* is plainly express'd, in the *Beginning* of *ver.* 11. So the former *Three Particulars*, are equally insinuated, in the Sequel of that Verse, *viz.* the 1*st.* and 2*d*, in these few, but comprehensive Words, *That they must rest further* (without being rais'd from the State of the Dead) *for a little Season*, i. e. a Season comparatively little and short, if the State of the rest of the Dead be considered, (especially such who died before the Flood) who were not to be raised until the end of Time; and the 3*d.* in the Words following, explanatory of the Length of this Season; *Until their Fellow Servants and Brethren also*, (*viz.* such as were to suffer under *Rome*-Papal) *should be killed as they had been*, (under *Rome-Pagan*,) *and thus until* the compleat *Number* of the *Saints* to be raised, in the special and first Resurrection, *should be fulfilled.*

And

And thus I have sufficiently, tho briefly, explained both the *Question* of the Souls under the Altar, and the *Answer* returned. But before I proceed, let me take Notice of those important Truths, that result from them, according to this speculative Comment, which I have given. And, (1.) This confirms, what I have (*l*) formerly proved, *viz.* That Souls departed are neither annihilated, nor in an unactive or insensible State; (2.) That tho they are out of this lower State of Sin, Trial and Sorrow, they are not so compleatly happy, but that they are capable of higher Degrees, both of Knowledge and Advancement in Glory; (3.) That they are neither altogether unacquainted with the State of the Church below, nor unconcern'd for their Brethren and Fellow-Servants, in this Militant State; (4.) That Eminent Saints departed, do not only believe that there is to be a Time, when Christianity shall be the universally prevailing Interest, in this World; but likewise that they are then to be privileg'd with a special Resurrection of their Bodies; (5.) That, upon some Eminent Advancements of the State of the Militant Church on Earth, the Saints in Paradise, who liv'd and dy'd under Trouble and Persecution, have a peculiar additional Advancement in Glory; (6.) That the *special Resurrection* is neither to commence sooner, nor to be delayed later, than the Time of the Papacy's being destroyed, and the very first Beginning of, or rather Preparation for, the *Millennary Reign.*——But now, to proceed, I come to consider,

(3.) *The fulfilling of the Promise and Assurance formerly given, as to the special Resurrection, and that punctually in the precise Time, which was specified*; as this was represented to the Apostle *John*, Rev. 20. 4, *&c.*

And indeed, if any Person will collate this with the former Text, *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11. He will need no o-

(*l*) *See the* 1st Book *of* Christology, *and my Discourse on the Death of King* William.

ther Proof; especially if he will take my Paraphrase along with him, in Conjunction with the Words. For I am sure, nothing of this Nature can be plainer than this; *That both Parts of the Petition of the Saints* (viz. *that* relating to the universal Regnancy of Christianity on Earth, and *that other*, relating to their own special Resurrection at that Time, or rather previously to it,) *and consequently both Parts of the Answer and Promise made to that Prayer, are particularly and distinctly answered here in this last Place.*

For, 1. Here a short, but plain Account is given, of all that's necessary, both to assure us of the Truth of the *Millennary Reign* of *Christianity* on *Earth*, and to assist us to form a genuine Idea thereof. But seeing I have already given an Account of my Thoughts, this way, above, in the 2*d* Step of this 1*st* Inquiry, as also formerly both in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, and in the 4*th Chap.* of the 3*d Book* of *Christology*; (to the very Pages of both which Discourses, I have also referr'd the Reader:) I hope I may be excus'd from saying more, upon this Head again, in this Place.

2. And no less distinct an Account is given here, of the *special Resurrection* of the Eminent Witnesses and Martyrs of Christ: Whose Resurrection must be a real and corporeal One, (according to the Rule of Contraries, and according to all the Methods of Reasoning,) seeing it is distinguish'd from, and opposed unto the *General Resurrection*; seeing it is said of the Former, *that they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand Years*, before *the rest of the Dead*, of whom it is said, *that they lived not until the thousand Years were finished*; besides that the former Resurrection is called the *first Resurrection*, in Contradistinction to the general One, which therefore comes under the Notion of the *last Resurrection*. And, in what Sense these things are to be understood, I have sufficiently hinted above: So that there is no need to insist upon the Words further.

Only, in case any Person should *object* and say, That the Revelation being all compos'd of Figures and Allegories,

legories, it does not seem proper to give so literal an Exposition of this Subject, as I have done: I *answer*, (1.) That I readily grant, that the Bulk of the Revelation is Figurative, and ought accordingly to be thus explain'd; (2.) But yet we must own, that there are some Passages therein, that cannot be understood wholly in an Emblematical Sense, as particularly *Chap.* 1. 1—11. *ver.* 17, 18. *Chap.* 2. 5, 11. *Chap.* 3. 5, 10, 19. *Chap.* 14. 13. *Chap.* 17. 18. (3.) And tho some Figurative Words are made use of in the Texts cited, to keep a Decorum with the rest of the Revelation; yet, as Truth is at the bottom of the Whole, so it is easie to be seen, that the Truths I have mention'd are thus also at the Bottom of these Texts; nay, so plainly denoted there, that they cannot possibly be rightly understood, unless my Sense, in the Main, be received. Nay, I will venture to say further, That if my Interpretation be intirely rejected, I defie the most learned and ingenious Man in the World, to find out so much as a plausible Interpretation of these Texts, that shall be consistent, at once, with the Words and it self. (4.) But I desire, that it may be considered, in a more special manner, That *Prophetical Time* runs out before the *Millennium* begins. This I found upon the Oath, as well as Promise and Publication of the Angel, made mention of, *Rev.* 10. 5, 6, 7. which allow me to recite with some Paraphrastical Explication, as well as with some small Variation from the *English* Version. *And the Angel, which I saw* (in Vision) *stand upon the Sea* (with one Leg and Foot) *and upon the Earth,* (with another,) *lifted up his Hand* (in the Posture of taking God to witness,) *to Heaven* (as God's Throne;) *And* (in this Posture of solemn swearing, as we see, *Gen.* 14. 22. *Dan.* 12. 7.) *swore by him, that liveth for ever and ever, who created Heaven, and the Things that are therein, and the Earth and the Things that are therein, and the Sea and the Things that are therein, that there should be* (such) *Time no longer;* (*viz.* such Time, as *Daniel* was taught to use, in a Prophetical Sense, *Chap.* 7. 25. & *Chap.* 12. 7, 11,

12. and *John* likewise, *Rev.* 11. 3. *Chap.* 12. 6. *Chap.* 11. 2. *Chap.* 13. 5. & *Chap.* 12. 14. where Days are put for Years, *&c.*) *But that in the Days* (*i. e.* Ages *of the Voice* (or Sound) *of the seventh* (Trumpet) *Angel*, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, *when he is about sounding* (and whose sounding, as I have proved in my Apocalyptical Discourse, doth include all the seven Vials, in some Sense, *viz.* as it is productive of them,) *the Mystery of God* (or the Mystical Prophesy, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Paganism, which is represented by the *seven Seals*; the Mystical Prophesy also, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Antichristianism, which is represented by the *seven Trumpets*, and *seven Vials*,) *should be finished*, according to his Declaration *made to his Servants the Prophets*, (for which, see *Dan.* 12. 5, 6, 7. & *Acts* 3. 24, 25, 26. & 2 *Thess.* 2. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. (5.) And let me add this one Thing further, That, as it is plain, that in all the preceding Part of the Revelation, there is no Calculation by *Years*, but by the indefinite Period, called *Time*, *Times* and *half Time*, and that of *Months* and *Days*, (by which it is easie to see, that the Dialect is altered, *Rev.* 20. 4.) so should any Man be so foolish, as to suppose that every Day of the 1000 Years, must be understood of a Year, I can only say, that he may be a good Arithmetician; but he will hardly perswade People of Sense, to believe that the present Race of Men are to continue on Earth, for so many Ages, as this is like to amount to; and much less will it ever obtain Credit, that the Christian Church is likely to continue pure, in a State of Sin and Trial here below, for so vast a Tract of Time.

And now, I might justly have hop'd, that I had demonstrated this Point, were it not, that the Learning and Fame of a very learned Man, who has written on this very Head, may be opposed to what I have said. And therefore I find it necessary to consider Dr. *Whitby*'s Arguments against this; especially seeing the very Title of his learned Discourse tells us, that it was a main

main Part of his Design, to refute this Opinion, which I contend for; not that he knew this Opinion, in any such manner as I have represented it in, (otherwise I hardly think he would ever have opposed it;) but, according to that gross Notion of some former Authors; who imagin'd, *that the dead Saints were to rise, at the* Millennium, *to live again here on Earth.* Whereas, as I said before, under the *2d Step* of this *1st Inquiry*; he and I are agreed, 1. That there will be an happy State of the Saints on Earth for about 1000 Years. 2. That Christ will not visibly reign on Earth then. 3. That there will be no Resurrection of the dead Saints, so as to live and reign on Earth. 4. That the Church on Earth will consist of the Jews, as well as Gentiles; by the Accession of which to the Christian Profession, the Fulness of the Christian Church will be brought in; as well as by a more universal Conversion of Gentile Nations.

However, tho he and I are agreed in these things: Yet, seeing we differ in our Answers to this Question? *Whether there will be a real and corporeal Resurrection of the eminent Saints and Martyrs at or before the* Millennium? He holding the Negative, and I the Affirmative: It is reasonable to consider his Arguments, so far as they concern my Notion, and the Interpretation which I have given of *Rev.* 20. 4, *&c.*

And here let it be noted; that as I am not concerned, in the least, with what the Doctor speaks of, in the *1st* and *2d* Chapters (as being agreed with him, almost in every thing;) so I am less concerned with his Argument, in *Chap.* 4. which militates indeed strongly against such a Resurrection, as supposes a Reign of the Martyrs raised to be here on Earth, for 1000 Years. So that I am only concerned with what he says in *Chap.* 3. But not with all of it neither. For, as to what relates barely to some Texts, that some have interpreted with reference to some peculiar Notions of the *Millennium*, I have nothing to say at present. But the first part of that Chapter being purposely levell'd against

any manner of Corporeal Resurrection; it is fit, that I should consider it, as far as concerns me. Now, what the Doctor says, amounts to these three things.

1. He says, that is not the *Bodies* but the *Souls* of the Martyrs, that are said to be raised, *Rev.* 20. 4, *&c.* and that *Soul*, in the Revelation, denotes either the *Soul in Separation*, or the *living Soul* in distinction from the Body. See *Pag.* 686.

2. That a proper and literal Resurrection is never, in the whole new Testament, expressed or represented to us, by *the living of the Soul. Ibid.*

3. That the *first Resurrection* must be understood of all good Men, in the general, *Pag.* 687. From whence he proceeds to explain things, relating to the *Millennium* and figurative Resurrection then; which I need only refer the Reader unto, desiring him to compare his Notions with mine, and to reject which he pleases. For indeed I barely cite these things here, to avoid Repetition; seeing the Author himself goes over them again, in what follows, *Pag.* 687, and 688, and more particularly in *Pag.* 889. In *which Page* he tells us of *a Reverend and worthy Person*, of more than ordinary Skill in matters of this Nature, who is of Opinion; *1st. That the first Resurrection will be a literal Resurrection of them that have lost their Lives for the Testimony of Christ to enjoy eternal Life in Heaven, a thousand Years before the general Resurrection; as the Martyrs of the Old Testament arose with the Body of Christ*, Mat. 27. 52. *They shall reign* (says that worthy Person, as the Doctor represents his Sense) *with Christ, not on Earth, but in Heaven, where Christ is, and shall be, till he come to Judgment.* 2*dly.* He is of Opinion also, *That not only the Martyrs shall then rise to heavenly Bliss, but that their Murtherers shall then also rise to Eternal Punishment.* Which he gathers from these words of *Daniel*, *Chap.* 12. 2. *And many of them that sleep in the Dust shall arise, some to everlasting Life, and some to everlasting Shame and Contempt.*

Now, as for this second Notion of that worthy Gentleman, seeing he founds it only upon *Dan.* 12. 2. I must

must crave leave to differ from him: For which I need give no other reason than this; that I have given another Interpretation above of that Passage; which I do humbly judge to be more consonant to the Christian Scheme, and indeed to his first Notion also.

But, as to his first Notion, I cannot but say; that I am exceedingly pleas'd to know from Dr. *Whitby*, that there is so eminent a Person, whose Thoughts do so intirely harmonize with mine. For, tho he be *Incognito* to me, yet it seems he has been directed to have the same Notion I have, in the main, as to this Point; wherein I was ready to think I was intirely singular. And therefore, seeing Dr. *Whitby* goes over the Sum and Strength of his former Arguments, in order to produce them again here, towards the Refutation of this Notion of this eminent Divine, tho he names him not; I thought it proper to defer answering his Arguments, against *a literal first Resurrection*, until I should come to his own Repetition of them, in opposition to what *this Learned and Worthy Person* advances. Now all that Dr. *Whitby* says here, (which, materially considered, is all he had said before,) is, as follows:

1. He says, That St. *Matthew* speaks not one Word of any Martyrs, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, but only of *the arising of some Saints that slept*, &c. *Answ.* I have cleared up that Passage, *Matth.* 27. 52. already, and fully refuted the *Doctor's* Notion, which is; *that none arose then, but a few Saints, that died in* Jerusalem *and* Judæa *a little before Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection.* So that I shall only take notice of two things further here. 1. That I wonder why the *Doctor* should call the Saints raised then, by the Name of *some Saints*; when it is said in the Text, as he himself cites it, in his next Argument, that *many Bodies* arose. 2. That there is not the least Ground, from the Text, to think, that the *many Saints that arose and appeared*, were known particularly, by reason of any knowledge, that the Persons, to whom they appeared, had of them formerly; but

only that they were so far known, as to be known not to have been of the number of the present Citizens, or Inhabitants of this World. But I refer the Reader to what I have said above on this Text.

2. He says, That the Phraseology of St. *Matthew* and St. *John* are different; for that the former says, That *many Bodies arose*, but that the latter says only, *That many Souls lived*: So that, tho the first Expression denotes a real Resurrection; yet, that it cannot be infer'd from thence, that the second Expression denotes any such thing. *Answ.* (1.) Tho the Scripture speak ordinarily of the Resurrection, under the Phrases, of *raising the Dead*, or *raising from the Dead*, or of *the Resurrection of the Body*; yet the Doctor knows, that it was common with the Hebrews, to call *living Men*, by the Name of *Souls*, as we see, *Gen.* 46. 26. *Gen.* 12. 5. *Lev.* 18. 29. *Josh.* 10. 28. and in many other places. (2.) It was indeed very consonant to an Historical Relation of things past, to speak of the Resurrection of the Saints, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, under the Phrase of *the arising of their Bodies out of their Graves*. But it was equally decorous to the Emblematical Representation, which *John* had of this matter, to represent the Resurrection of the Saints, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, as he has done; when he says, that he saw *their Souls alive*, or so, as to see them to *live again*. For, 1. This Expression of *Souls*, was consonant to his former Vision, *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11. of which this *Rev.* 20. 4, 5, &c. is a completion. 2. This Epithet of *Living*, in this last Place, was consonant also to his own Phraseology in both Places, as to the Rationale or Reason of his altering his Stile so far; as to add *living* to *Souls* in this latter Place. For tho, in the first place, he represents the separate Souls, not only as existing, but living, and reasoning, and praying: Yet he does not use the Phrase *living*; because that was used appropriately, to distinguish *separate Souls* from *Souls imbodied*. So that, when he comes to say, that the *separate Souls* came to *Life again*, or to live again;

no

no sense can be made of the change of the Phrase, unless we allow of their being raised from the dead. 3. And indeed this Phrase was all that the Apostle could possibly use in reason, at this time, if Circumstances be duly considered. For, seeing it was not actually raised Persons that he saw, but only a Visionary Representation of Persons to be raised, who were at that time separate Souls; it had been unreasonable and contrary to the Prophetical Stile, to have spoken in the Dialect of *Matthew*; nay it had carried along with it an Appearance, at least, of Falshood, to have spoken in the Historical Stile, as if these Souls had then actually assumed Bodies, at the time when *John* wrote. As therefore the Spirit of God was to guard against Errors on both hands, by representing this *as a Real Resurrection, and not a Metaphorical One*, on the one hand, and yet as *a Resurrection, that was not past, but future*, upon the other hand: So it is worthy our serious Observation, how wisely he directs the Scene of this Vision, and directs the Apostle *John* to word himself. (3.) But that Persons are meant, by *Souls living again*, is plain, if it were only, as I said before, from the opposing *the living of those Souls*, to the living of *the Remainder of separate Souls*, when it is said, *ver.* 5. *but the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the* 1000 *Years were fulfilled*. So that, seeing it is said of them, that they *really arose*, ver. 12. *I saw the Dead, small and great, stand before God*, &c. It is equally certain, that the *first Resurrection* was designed to denote, not a *Metaphorical*, but a *real one*.——By all which we may easily see, why the Spirit of God used a different Phrase here, from those commonly used, in Doctrinal Discourses, to denote the Resurrection of the Dead: So that all Arguments drawn from these are of no Force, to invalidate what we are now defending.——And consequently we may justly conclude likewise, that the Doctor's consequential Reasoning, drawn from the ordinary Phrases, used to denote the Resurrection of the Dead, in order to prove, that the Apostle *John* meant, by

by the *first Resurrection*, not *the special Resurrection of the eminent Saints and Martyrs*, but the *general Resurrection of all good Men*, in opposition to *the general Resurrection of all the Wicked*, is a very precarious and unconclusive way of Reasoning: At the same time, that I understand not, how it is consistent with the *Doctor's* own (*m*) Opinion, that the *first Resurrection* is a metaphorical one only. However certain it is, from *John's* Account, that the *rest of the Dead*, who lived not until the *Millennium* was fulfilled, is a Phrase, that denotes *good Men*, (*i. e.* those good Men that were not raised before the *Millennium*) as well as *wicked Men*. For as these who are called, *The rest of the Dead*, are all that are said to be *judged*, (which those that rose, before the *Millennium*, are exempted from, by reason of their known and undoubted Eminency;) so it is added, that they *were judged out of the Books that were ope-*

(*m*) *For seeing the* Doctor *owns no other Resurrection at the* Millennium, *but only that there will be an eminent Revival, then, of the Christian Church; it looks very odd, to oppose this to the general and real Resurrection of the Wicked only; when, according to him, the general Resurrection is inclusive of all the Godly as well as Wicked. When therefore he tells us, under his third Argument, that there is to be an Apostacy after the* Millennium; *it does indeed prove, that there is to be such a glorious State of the Church on Earth, as He and I are agreed in; but it says nothing against the Resurrection we speak of,* viz. *of those that are to reign with Christ in Heaven. For those that reign on Earth, are* the Nations freed from *Gentile, Mahometanism, and Popish* Delusions, *ver.* 3. *over whom Christian* Thrones *or Governments are erected,* ver. 4. *But, besides this earthly Reign of the revived and increased* Militant Church, *we are also told of the Resurrection of others, even of separate Souls, who were made* alive, (*i. e. by being rais'd from the separate State; for as Souls, tho not as compleat Persons, they were* alive *before,*) and who reigned with Christ, (*and therefore not on Earth, but in Glory,*) *during that time, that the Church Militant reign'd on Earth*) *i. e.* for a thousand Years *before the Resurrection of* the rest of the Dead. *From all which, it is easy to see, That there is no Contradiction between this Opinion, and the common Current of the New Testament, which asserts* one General Resurrection only: *Seeing this Resurrection, which I am treating of, was never asserted to be* general, *any more than that Resurrection was, which is mentioned,* Matth. 27. 52.

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ned for this end, (a Phrase taken from the Custom of exact Human Judicatories) *according to their Works.* And the Conclusion of the Sentence upon both, is thus expressed; *And Death and Hell* (or Hades) (taken in the worst Sense) *were cast* (i. e. *1st* Imperfection, with all Things and Persons that were imperfect, and belonged properly to these) *into the Lake of Fire,* (*i. e.* into *Gehenna,* or that Place that is properly called Hell, as being a Phrase taken from the Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah,* by being swallow'd up in a burning Lake.) *This is the second* (or eternal) *Death.* And therefore it is added, *And whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast* thus *into the Lake of Fire.* Which plainly supposes, that all those that were judged, were not cast into that Lake. However, the Spirit of God seems rather to *insinuate* this, than *express* it; for this wise and just Reason, *That all Christians that regard Salvation, might be excited, to such a Christian and Heroical Diligence, in minding Religion, that they might attain to the first Resurrection,* (pronouncing, for this end, a *special Blessing* upon those that attain to the same, *ver. 6.*) and that so, as not to run the Risk of the narrow Search of the last Judgment; seeing, (as I said before,) if they were indeed to be saved then, at all, yet it was to be only, with a *scarcely,* and *so as by Fire.*

3. But the *Doctor* adds, that it is not said, That the Martyrs are to reign with Christ 1000 Years before the general Resurrection, but only that they shall reign with him 1000 Years; which, he says, is an odd Expression, when applied to them, that are to reign for ever with him. *I answer,* that it is very odd to me, that so great a Man should use such a kind of Argument. For, *1st.* It is plain, that *John* only marks out this Period, in Contradistinction to them that were not to be raised, till the 1000 Years were expired. *2dly. John* tells us, at the same time, in Words equivalent to the reigning of those Saints *for ever,* that they were *so blessed,* that the *second Death should have no Power over them, but that they should be Priests of God and Christ.*

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3. He might as well have objected against Christ's being said *to reign* 1000 *Years*, (together with his Saints,) as if it founded so odd, as if it were not consistent with his being said elsewhere, to *reign for ever*.

As for what the *Doctor* adds, in the *last Place*, viz. *that it contradicts many Scriptures, which expressly teach, that the Time of the Punishment of the Wicked shall be, after the Sentence of Absolution hath been pronounced on the Blessed*, (such as *Matth.* 25. 41—46. *John* 5. 5, 28, 29. *Rom.* 2. 8, 9, 16. 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. 2 *Thess.* 1. 6—9. 2 *Pet.* 2. 9. & 3. 7. *Jude* 14, 15. *Rev.* 1. 7.) I say, that this militates only against that 2*d* Branch of his *worthy Apocalyptical Friend's Opinion, That the Murtherers of the Martyrs shall arise, as well as the Martyrs themselves, before the Millennium.* An Opinion, I confess, very odd, and, I think, inconsistent with the Christian Scheme. So that having nothing to do with it, I take leave of the *Doctor* at present. Only I hope I may be allowed to say; that seeing so learned and judicious a Divine, as Dr. *Whitby*, could produce no stronger Arguments against this Opinion of mine; it confirms me, not a little, in the firmer Belief thereof.

But, tho I have done with Dr. *Whitby*, I find my self oblig'd to take some Notice of a very singular Notion, on this Head: For tho it do not directly militate against me, yet it is so foreign to my Scheme, and indeed, I think, to the scriptural Scheme in general, That it were not proper to pass by it, in silence, in this Place. It is a small Discourse, publish'd by the Revernd Mr. *Staynoe*, in the Year 1700, as additional to a Treatise intitled, *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone.* The small Discourse (with which I am only concerned) bears this Title: *A short Inquiry, Whether it does not appear from the Scriptures, that the Gospel of Christ shall be made known to those Men, after their Resurrection, to whom it had never been made known before their Death.* In which Inquiry, he maintains the Affirmative.

I shall not spend time upon every thing said in this Discourse. For, (1.) When he supposes, That the

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Conflagration of the World, together with the *General Resurrection* and *Judgment* of all Men that liv'd before the *Millennium,* is to be Prior to, or rather to commence with that Millinary State, *Page* 366. He seems to have forgot the whole Tenure of the Context, *Rev.* 20. and may see his Notion fully refuted by Dr. *Whitby,* in his above-mention'd Treatise. And consequently, (2.) His third and last Resurrection must fall to the Ground, *viz.* that of *Gog and Magog:* For of them only he explains what is said, *Rev.* 20. 11, *&c.* which all Expositors, before him, have understood of the general, as well as last Resurrection; as I believe later Expositors will do, in all time coming; for I do not think that ever Mr. *Staynoe* will have many Scholars. For he says expressly, *Page* 367. *I exclude all who shall be saved, out of this third and last Resurrection.* (3.) And, I hope, there is no need to refute that old and obsolete Notion, which he revives, when he makes *the risen Witnesses* (*viz.* those that are to rise actually from the State of the Dead) *to live and reign, not in Heaven, but on Earth*; and consequently his Notion, as to *Christ's personal and visible Reign upon the same.* For besides that I have again and again shewed the Falshood of both these Notions, Dr. *Whitby* has done it largely and unanswerably.

However, I am oblig'd to take notice of his *Threefold Resurrection,* as he mentions them, *Page* 344, & 366.

Now, I humbly suppose, that he ought rather to have spoken of three Periods of the Resurrection; and then, in speaking to the *First,* he might have divided it into *two sorts* of *Resurrections* that belong'd to that Period. For I am sure, tho he proposes *three* Resurrections only, yet he actually treats of them, as if they were *four.* For we are forced, in following his Method, to reckon so many.

The 1*st* Resurrection is that of all the Faithful, *Page* 344. And *this* he supposeth to be, not only Prior, as to its beginning, to the *next,* but so, as that it must be fully over before the *next* begin, *Page* 348.

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The 2*d* Resurrection is that of the Wicked or (as he calls them) Reprobates. And his Opinion of them is this; that they shall, all of them, be destroyed by the general Conflagration, some time after that the Resurrection of the Saints is over. I confess he writes so confusedly, and in the dark here, that it is not easie to apprehend what he means: And no wonder, seeing the Notion it self is so perplex'd. But this must be his Meaning; seeing otherwise no Sense at all can be made of his Words, *Page* 348, 349. But however, he immediately interweaves with this Resurrection of reprobate Christians, who are to be destroyed by the general Conflagration, that other Resurrection, (the 3*d* in Reality, tho he calls it his 2*d* Resurrection, as we see by what he says, *Page* 349.)

The 3*d* Resurrection therefore, tho call'd, by him, the Second, he supposes will be just after the *Millennium* is run out; and he reckons, that this will be of those, that never heard of Christ or the Gospel.

For we must remember, that his Notion is this; That those, whom he calls Reprobates, who were the Subjects of the *former* Resurrection, (tho by him confounded with the first Resurrection of the Saints,) were those that had the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, but liv'd contrary to it.

Now he supposes, that the Design of God, in raising those Heathens and Infidels, who shall be raised after the *Millennium*, (which is the 3*d* Resurrection, according to his Scheme, tho he calls it the Second only) will be to put them in a salvable State, by revealing Christ and his Gospel to them. For this is the great Spring of his Inquiry, *viz.* to reconcile two opposite Scriptural Notions, (as he thinks them to be, unless solv'd by this supposed Resurrection,) *viz.* That *none can be sav'd by Christ, who have not the explicite Knowledge of him*; and that, at the same time, *Christ must be the Saviour of all Men*, so as to furnish them with the formal and distinct Knowledge of his Gospel; and so, that if they perish, it must be thro' their own Perverseness.

verſeneſs. That both theſe are his Principles, is plain from what he ſays, *Page* 350, 351. as well as from his preceeding Diſcourſe, to which he refers his Readers.

The 4*th* and laſt Reſurrection, (which he calls the 3*d*) is, (as I obſerved before,) *That* of *Gog and Magog*; and out of which he excludes all good Men.

But here he groſly contradicts himſelf. For, in the ſame Paragraph, he ſays, that ſome of the Heathens raiſed in the former Reſurrection, which is to be after the *Millennium*, ſhall be ſaved. And yet he concludes, and that with a [Therefore] too, that *he excludes all that ſhall be ſaved from this laſt Reſurrection*, Page 367. ſurely, he was in a ſtrange Dream when he wrote this. For he ought to have concluded the very contrary of this, *viz.* That [Therefore] *there ſhall be a Reſurrection at laſt, of thoſe Gentiles that believ'd before,* (unleſs he will make thoſe Heathens, raiſed before, to be, at once, in a State of Trial here on Earth, and yet immortal;) *as well as of the wicked Rabble, who are called Gog and Magog.* Or otherwiſe, he ought to have made ome Proviſion for thoſe *Gentiles*, that were raiſed before, in a State of Probation; that ſuch of them, at leaſt, might be raiſed from the Dead to Glory, as believed, during that Period, and who died again before the laſt Reſurrection of *Gog* and *Magog*. And, if he had done ſo, (as was but neceſſary to have been done, purſuant to his Scheme) we ſhould have had *Five* Reſurrections in all. Now my arguing, in this, is unanſwerable. For thoſe Heathens, who were raiſed only after the *Millennium*, cannot be confounded with the former Sorts, who were raiſed before the *Millennium*; both upon the Account of the Diſtance of the Time of, at leaſt, a thouſand Years; and upon the Account of the different Nature of this Reſurrection from the Former; thoſe, before the *Millennium*, being raiſed to Glory or Miſery; and thoſe, after the *Millennium*, to a new State of Probation here on Earth, under the Means of the Goſpel. Seeing therefore *thoſe Gentiles*, who are to riſe to be in a like State to that, which we

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in *Britain* and *elsewhere*, are now in; and who therefore must die as well as we, and be rewarded or punished as they behave, in like manner; and seeing he reckons it certain, that some of those *Gentiles* will believe and be saved; and yet does exclude them from rising at the last Resurrection: It is certain, that either they must rise by themselves, or not at all. I must therefore ingenuously say, that so confused a Scheme I never yet met with, from so ingenuous a Man, as Mr. *Staynoe* is reckon'd to be, and appears to be, by some things in the Discourse preceding this Inquiry.

But the main thing I have to do with him, is to shew the Weakness of that Foundation, which he builds up that Resurrection upon, (the 3*d*, in order, tho called the 2*d* by him,) which is to be of Gentiles and Heathens that never heard of Christ, in order to their being brought under a new State of Trial, by having the Gospel of Christ to be revealed to them; and which the Author reckons will be after the *Millennium* is over, and of which he treats, *Page* 344, &c. and *Page* 349, &c.

Now the only Thing, upon which he founds his Notion of this Resurrection, is the Expression of *John*, Rev. 20. 5. *But the rest of the Dead lived not until the* 1000 *Years were finished.* This Expression, he says, is brought in, in a sort of *Parenthesis*: Which I readily grant. But when he adds, (*Page* 345, 346. That this Expression is *Proleptical*, and that it ought to be removed (in explaining the Context) from the Place wherein it stands, and be placed between the 6 and the 7*th* Verse, I say, that this is *gratis dictum*, a mere precarious Supposition, without any Authority, Reason or Reading to back it. Besides that, were it indeed granted, that the Text should run on, in his Method; he were still as far from having any Ground for this his Resurrection, as before. For there is, indeed, an Account of *Satan's being let loose*, after the *Millennium*, *to deceive the Nations*; as well as an Account, that *the rest*

rest of the Dead, (who were not raised with the Martyrs, before the *Millennium*,) *lived not, until the thousand Years were finished.* But, *quid hoc ad Rombum?* What of all this? As long as there is no Account of two Resurrections; or of any *immediate* Resurrection, just as the *Millennium* expires; far less of any *separate* Resurrection *then* of such Gentiles, as had never heard of Christ and the Gospel. So that no more can be deduced from these Words, even when plac'd in his Order, than this; that we are given to know, that, when *John* spoke of a Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs, he was not speaking of *the last General Resurrection*, but of *a first and special one.* And therefore, as soon as he had said, *This is the first Resurrection*, he immediately adds in a Parenthesis, *But the rest of the Dead lived not, until the* 1000 *Years were finished*: Which is as much as if he had said, *But let none mistake me, for I am not speaking of the last general Resurrection; for that is not to be before, but after the* Millennium.

And indeed so plain and obvious is this, that these very Words which he founds upon, contain a Refutation of the whole of what he advances on this Head. For, if *the rest of the Dead* are certainly opposed to the *Martyrs that rose again* before the *Millennium*; and if, as he says, *all the Saints*, that were dead before the Millennium, *rose at that time*: It follows, that by [*The rest of the Dead*, &c.] we are to understand all the Wicked that died before the *Millennium*, as well as after it. Now this over-turns *three* main Points of his Scheme, and consequently the whole of it, in as far as he differs from me. For, (1.) It over-turns his second, or as he calls it, first Resurrection of Christian Reprobates, whom he supposes to be raised from their Graves, before the *Millennium*, tho after the Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs: For not only is there no Account of the rising of any Reprobates *then*; but such an Account, as is inconsistent with, and subversive of any such Notion. (2.) It over-turns his other Resurrection of such Gentiles, as never heard of Christ,

and who died before the *Millennium*, tho not raised till after it: For it is plain, that the Words are general, including all that ever had died, excepting only those eminent Saints, who were made Partakers of the first special Resurrection. (3.) It over-turns his Notion of the last Resurrection; out of which he excludes all good Men, not only without any Shadow of Reason, but in Opposition to the plain Current of Scripture; for which we need only compare, 1 *Cor.* 15. 23. 1 *Thess.* 4. 16. with *Rev.* 20. 11, &c.

But further, his Scheme involves these Absurdities: (1.) That some Men are to be raised, without any immediate or direct Reference to Judgment and an eternal State, but so as to be brought into a salvable State, (having, it seems, been no more in a salvable State before this, than the very Devils) in order to live, as we do now; and consequently to die again, in order to rise again; and consequently, in order then (after their second Resurrection,) to be judged, in order to be eternally rewarded or punished. Which is a Notion, not only unknown in Scripture, but so awkward, in the very Proposal of it, that it is not a little odd to think, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head. (2.) It is no less odd and contradictory to Scripture, to suppose the Conflagration of the World to be prior to the *Millennium*, and to the second Resurrection also, *viz.* that of Christian Reprobates, as well as prior to the third and fourth Resurrections. But it is endless, either to consider or refute Wildness and Confusion, —— I shall therefore only say further;

(1.) That *two Resurrections*, and no more, are plainly set down in *Rev.* 20. 4, &c. *viz.* 1. The *special Resurrection*, not indeed of all good Men that shall be saved, but of the most eminent Saints and Martyrs of Christ; which is to commence with the *Millennium*, or rather to precede it. 2. The *general Resurrection* of all *the rest of the Dead*, whether good or bad; after the *Millennium* is over; together with the Wars and Devastations of *Gog and Magog*; to whose Regnancy, in Con-

Conjunction with the Duration of the World, an end is to be put, by the general Conflagration, *Rev.* 20. 8, 9, 10. which is to be followed by the last and general Judgment, *ver.* 11, 12, *&c.* which it seems Mr. *Staynoe* did either altogether over-look, or forget, when he wrote his *Inquiry*.

(2.) That, at the *General Resurrection*, all those Men, whether good or bad, that did not rise before the *Millennium*, as I have said, are to be raised, as the Scripture assures us, 1 *Thess.* 4. 15, 16, 17. not to mention other Places. Therefore, 1. Those Men, who, tho not so eminent as to obtain the special Reward, by being raised before the *Millennium*, yet were Righteous, in the main, shall be then made alive from the Dead; together with those that liv'd and dy'd, during the Continuance of the *Millennium*; as also together with those that liv'd and dy'd after it, *viz.* between the Expiration of the *Millennium*, and the *General Conflagration*: I say, all those are to be raised at the end of Time, when Christ comes as universal Judge. And together with them, when raised, shall all the Saints, who shall be then alive, admit an immortalizing Change, and shall thus come, together with them, to be caught up, to meet Christ, and his formerly raised Saints, (as well as Angels,) in the Air, *viz.* both the Old Testament Saints, raised after Christ's Resurrection, and the New Testament ones, who were raised before the *Millennium*. 2. And when all the Saints are seated with Christ, in the Air, surrounding his Throne; and when from his Light and Fire, as the *Shechinah*, this lower World is set on Fire, and the combustible Matter thereof, being kindled this way, increases the Conflagration, by innumerable Eruptions, from vast *Vulcano's*, such as *Hecla*, *Etna* and *Vesuvius*: Then shall the Wicked be raised up, with Terror, as if they were already in Hell. But their being rendred immortal, and their being wafted upwards into the Air, at a vast Distance from the Effects of the Conflagration, tho within View of it; will render

them capable of being distinctly heard, judged and sentenc'd.

And this is that rational Scheme, which I presume humbly to offer to the World, as the only genuine and consistent Account of this weighty Subject, which I propos'd to discuss, as far as my Thoughts can reach it, by way of Deduction from Scripture.

And now, I question not but that every one will be apt to conclude, that I have said enough in answer to this *first Inquiry*. And indeed I think that I have sufficiently prov'd it, as far as the Nature of the Subject will allow. But, I hope it will not be tedious to the Reader, if I proceed to one Step further with him; if it were only, that I may come back to my Text, with new Advantage. In order therefore to this;

4*thly*. I desire, that the Text, in *Phil.* 3. 11. may be further considered. For I am very much mistaken, if we do not find some considerable, tho short Hint, of the first and special Resurrection therein.

For this End, let us observe, that the Greek Word, which the Apostle makes use of here, and which our Version renders, *the Resurrection*, is not the usual Word made use of that way, but a peculiar one. For *Paul* does not say; *if by any means I might attain*, εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν, *unto the Resurrection*, but εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν, (into the meaning whereof we must therefore enquire) *of the Dead*.

And indeed it has hitherto been the Opinion of all Criticks and Interpreters without the Exception of one; that this Word is not to be found again, in all the New Testament. Nor dare I venture positively to assert, that they have been all under an Error in this Assertion of theirs. However I hope I may be allowed to say, that it is not improbable, but that the Apostle uses this Word, in the like Sense, *viz.* as denoting a *Prior and special Resurrection*, in one place more; tho the Conciseness of his Stile may have occasion'd After-Scribes, to use the Word *disjunctively*, which I am apt to think he himself wrote *conjunctively*, as here in our Text.

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The Place I refer to, is *Rom.* 1. 4. where he says, that *Christ* was declared to be the Son *of God, with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness,* ὃς ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, which we render, *by the Resurrection from the Dead.* Where one, that compares this and the Original, is non-plust to find no mention made at all of what follows in the Greek, viz. of these words, *of Jesus Christ our Lord.* And a Man is no less surprized, when he finds, that our Interpreters have render'd them indeed, not as the concluding Words of the 4*th* Verse, but as the first Words of the 3*d* Verse. Which I confess is such an Inversion, as I know nothing parallel to it, in any Translation in the World. For, according to the Greek, the Context runs thus; *Paul a Servant of Jesus Christ, a called Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God; (which he had promised before by his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures;) concerning his own Son, (who was made of the Seed of* David *according to the Flesh) even him that was declared the Son of God, in the Power, (by the Spirit of Holiness) of the Resurrection of the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord.* For if we do but put these words, *by the Spirit of Holiness,* in a Parenthesis, to answer the first Parenthesis, in *ver.* 2. we shall soon see the Connexion clear. And what could be more proper, than for the Apostle, after he had mention'd *Christ as promised by the* Prophets, to make application here, by adding, *ver.* 4. *He was declared* actually *to be the Son of God, by the Spirit of Holiness;* The rest of the Verse being designed to shew us, *how he was declared, by the Spirit of Holiness to be the Son of God,* viz. *in* or *by the Power of the Resurrection of Christ's Dead;* which was then, when *he himself rose from the dead,* and when *he rais'd up those Saints, mentioned,* Matth. 27. 52. who are elegantly said, by way of Emphasis and Peculiarity to be *Christ's Dead,* or *the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord.* And indeed this was the exact Verification of that eminent Prophesy, which was mention'd before, *viz. Isa.* 26. 19. *Thy dead Men shall live: Together with my dead Body shall they arise,* &c. Justly therefore might

Paul say, that what was promised by the Prophets, was now fulfilled by the same Spirit of Holiness, which inspired them to foretell such things; this Spirit having now declared Christ to be the Son of God by that Power, by which, not only he himself, but his own Dead also were raised up to Life again. And had not our Interpreters been altogether ignorant of my Notion of this special Resurrection, I do not think they could have been so confounded, as it is plain they were, when they translated this Piece of Scripture. And indeed I must say further, that the Ignorance of the two special Resurrections (*viz.* that, after *Christ's Resurrection*, of the most eminent Old Testament-Saints, and that, before the *Millennium*, of the most eminent ones under the New Testament) has been the Occasion of the Confusion of all Interpreters hitherto, not only in their Interpretations of these first Verses of the Epistle to the *Romans*, but in their Glosses upon abundance of other Places of Scripture. And, as I have given a Specimen of this already, in several Hints, in what I have said above: So I may discover this more fully, before I have ended this Dissertation. But, to return; if my Interpretation of *ver.* 4. be received, which I think is the only natural and plain one; then my Conjecture must be true, that the Apostle did at first write, not ἐξ ἀναστασεως νεκρῶν, &c. but ἐξ ἀνυκστάσεως νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, &c. So that the Connexion of the whole 4*th* Verse is what I represented it to be. And thus the Sense can be this only; that *Christ was declared to be the Son of God*, (viz. *by the Spirit of Holiness* or the Holy Spirit) *in the Power of the Resurrection of the dead Saints* (as well Body) *of Jesus Christ our Lord.* For the Expression is no less expressive than concise; seeing every body knows that ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, is the common Scriptural Phrase, that is used to denote the *Resurrection* of *dead Men*, νεκρὸς denoting *literally* a dead Person, whether it be used *substantively* or *adjectively.* But now, if my Conjecture hold, (as I see nothing that can be said of any great Force against it) there is something very peculiar in it.

it. And as I am now upon a Critical Survey of the meaning of ἐξανάστασις; so I shall only previously say this here, that it must, I think, denote as much as this amounts to, *viz. a Prior, special and eminent Resurrection:* For certainly, such was the Resurrection of Christ himself, and such also (in comparison of the last and general one) was that of those Saints who arose out of their Graves, after Christ's Resurrection was over. And I am much mistaken, if this Text, *Rom.* 1.4. thus explained, be not of great use to help us to understand something of the peculiar Notion, which the Apostle labours to convey to our Minds by this Word ἐξανάστασις, in *Phil.* 3. 11. where all Copies agree, in Writing it one way, and all Interpreters likewise in this General Truth; that something very peculiar is meant by it.

But to proceed; let us remember, that this is an approved Rule of Criticks in the Greek Tongue; ἐξ, *in Compositione, non solum ornatum denotare, sed etiam significationem Augere: i. e.* That the Greek Particle ἐξ, when it is joined to a Word, so as to make it a Compound, is not be look'd upon to be so joined merely for the sake of Ornament, but so as to increase and inlarge the Meaning of that Word with which it is joined. Of the Truth of this Rule we have innumerable Instances. But I am not willing to detain the Reader, by such kind of Speculations; with which those that please may entertain themselves plentifully, if they please, from what our best and largest Lexicons will furnish them with; *E. G.* let these Verbs be consider'd, ἐξαφίεμαι, ἐξαναδίομαι, ἐξανακολυμβῶ, ἐξαποστέλλω, ἐξανευρίσκω, ἐξαποροῦμαι, ἐξανίσταμαι, ἐξαναφέρω, &c. together with these Nowns, ἐξέρυθρος, ἔξωχρος, &c. And hence we have Reason to conclude, that the Apostle did purposely choose to use the word ἐξανάστασις, to put us upon this Conclusion; that it was not a bare ἀνάστασις, that he was now speaking of, which did indifferently denote any sort of Resurrection, in a general Sense, and which did, when applied to the Resurrection of

dead Men, equally take in both the Resurrection of the Wicked and of the Godly.

And, seeing the Apostle's Notion is so very singular, and that no Heathen had ever the least Idea of this matter; hence we can expect little or no Illustration of his meaning, by any or all the fam'd Authors of *Greece*. And indeed I cannot find, that ever this Word was used almost at all by the best Grecian Writers. I find it once indeed made use of by *Polybius*, *Lib.* 2. (nor can I remember to have read it any where else.) But then he means by it, *Expulsion* or *Eversion*; in that Sense, wherein a Man is said, to drive another out of his House, or Estate, or to overturn him, by forcing him out of his Pretentions or Attempts.

The Verbs ἐξανίστημι and ἐξανίσταμαι, are, I confess, pretty often to be met with: But then they are used in such Senses, as afford little light, as to this peculiar Notion, which we are speaking of, which is no where to be found but in the New Testament. The neareſt Signification, that either of these Verbs can be supposed to have to the Apostle's Notion in the General, is when the Author denotes thereby, to *arise out of ones former Seat*, or *Habitation*, or *out of sleep*, and ones *Bed*; or when the meaning is, *to exalt* or *raise a Man to an higher Sphere*, and that so as singularly to prefer him above other Men: or (which answers the Apostle's Notion best of all) when the Word is used to *flit* or *remove*, in the Sense wherein the Latins say, *castra movere*, to remove from one Camp to another; or when the Author speaks by way of Pathetick Exhortation, as *Isocrates* seems to do, when he says, ἐξανίστω πρὸ μέθης, *arise* (*i. e.* arise quickly) *before thou get'st drunk*; *i. e.* break off from thy Cups, without delay, by taking this and the other Sip more.

Nor have we any more Satisfaction from the *Septuagint Version* of the Old Testament; where I find no use made at all of this Word of the Apostle; nor indeed of the Verbs, which I mention'd just now, excepting that the former occurs in one Passage; but in

in such a Sense, as is quite foreign to our purpose, and serves not in the least, to illustrate the Apostle's Meaning. Those that please, for Curiosity's sake, to know what I refer to, may compare the Hebrew Text with the *Septuagint Version*, of *Gen.* 19. 32, 34.

Having therefore no Assistance, this way, from the Classick Greek Authors, nor from any or all the Criticks and Lexicographers, that have been the most industrious and successful, in reviving and cultivating that Language; and finding as little Satisfaction from the *Septuagint*, I betook my self to the Greek Fathers; moved by this Reason, that tho neither Jews nor Gentiles could be supposed to have any thing like a distinct Notion of the special Resurrection which the Apostle speaks of, and that consequently it could be no wonder, that they had no peculiar Word or Phrase to express such a thing by; yet it might be rationally expected, that the Christian Doctors, whose Native Language the Greek Tongue was, might furnish us with some Critical Account of this word of the Apostle, in order to explain the Specialty of his Notion. But all my pains this way were in vain; not one of all the Antient Greek Fathers ever dreaming of any such special Resurrection, but only of the general one at the last Day. So that, tho I have already proved the Truth of a special Resurrection from the Apostolical Writings; yet it seems that the many Persecutions, that the Christian Church labour'd under, for the three first Ages, had so universally obliterated the Notion of *Paul*, as to this Point, from the Minds of Men, that no Vestage of it remains now in any Writing, since the Days of the Apostle *John*. And when afterwards Christianity prevail'd under *Constantine*, we find that the Authority of the Great *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and President of the *Nicene Synod*, occasion'd the very Title of the Book of the Revelation to be call'd in Question. And, tho this was at last decided; yet that dark Book was little studied and less understood. So that we need not wonder, that subsequent Doctors (of whom we have hardly

ly one, that can be thought to have been a judicious or exact Critick) never were able to revive the Apostolical Notion of a special Resurrection. Which we have the less Reason to think strange of, if we are acquainted with Church History. For there we see, that the exact Knowledge of the Bible, was the least Part of the Study or Care of their great Men: For Prelacy and secular Titles, Authority, Grandeur and Riches, had got so into their Heads, that Learning and Religion too, were no otherwise minded by most of them, than as they might be of use, to give them a Name and Handle, to aspire higher in this present World. Hence it came to pass, that Christianity lost Ground daily; so as to sink, at length, into the Abyss of Papal Errours and Superstitions. No wonder then, if so considerable a Man as *Theophylact*, should give us this Gloss, (*Page* 178.) upon *Matth.* 27. 52. (where the Account is given of the Resurrection of many of the Saints) Πρόδηλον ὅτι πάλιν τεθνήκασι, &c. *It is manifest that they died again. Some indeed say, that after Christ rose, they rose also, and that they did not die afterwards. But I do not see, that this Opinion ought to be imbraced.* But, as I am glad, that some of old were so judicious, as to have a contrary Notion, to that of *Theophylact*: So I am more pleas'd to find, that the ancient and judicious Author of the Book of *Orthodox Questions*, commonly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, and indeed not unworthy of such an Author, has given us the genuin Sense of that Passage; when he says, *Quest.* 85. *Page* 44. *Edit.* Paris, Οὐδὲ ἐτελεύτησαν πάλιν, ἀλλὰ μείσονες ἀθάνατοι, &c. *Therefore those Persons* (being raised from the State of the Dead) *did not die again, but do now remain in Immortality, together with* Enoch *and* Elias; *with whom they are in Paradise, waiting until the last Resurrection be over, and the universal Restitution of things be accomplish'd, wherein, as the Apostle says, all Men shall be changed.* Adding this judicious Remark; *That*, (tho those Saints be now in Paradise, both in Soul and Body, yet) *none is yet so raised from the Dead, as to partake*

of

of that incorruptible and immortal Life, (*viz.* in the fullest and most compleat Sense, so as to be in Heaven with God, which is reserved to the Consummation of all things,) *excepting Christ only: It being his Prerogative to be* (there, in order to approve himself) the πρωτοτόκος, *the Raiser of Men from the Dead,* and the ἀπαρχή, *the Supreme Ruler* (as I have (*n*) elsewhere explained these Words) *of those that sleep, viz.* in their Graves.

But however, finding my self still disappointed, in the main, as to any Satisfaction, from Christian Antiquity, with respect to the special Resurrection, of which I am discoursing; I thought I would search our best modern Criticks and Expositors. But, in doing so, I found my self equally disappointed as before. I confess, I was not a little pleased with what *Grotius* says, in his short, but learned and judicious Notes on *Phil.* 3. 11. where he observes, (1.) That εἴ πως (which we render, *If by any means*) does denote, that the Thing, which *Paul* was desirous to attain, was both *difficult* and *uncertain,* as to its being reach'd. (2.) That καταντᾶν εἴς τι, denotes *to attain* to such or such a Thing (*viz.* so as to be possessed of it;) for which end he refers to the Sense of the same Word, in 1 *Cor.* 14. 36. & *Eph.* 4. 13. (3.) That the Apostle chose rather to use the Word ἐξανάστασις, than ἀνάστασις, because he would have us to observe, that he was speaking of *that full Resurrection, which no sort of Death or Evil does,* or *can follow.* Which Word, says he, answers to the *Hebrew* Word, חיות. (4.) That whereas the common Copies do only say, ἐξανάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν; his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Now, as I have already materially confirm'd his 1*st* and 2*d* Criticism: So I shall consider and improve this 4*th* Observation, joyntly with the 3*d*, which I am now upon. But, in the mean time, let me observe, what

(*n*) *Christol.* Lib. 2. Chap. 6. *Page* 211.

a Loss that learned Man was at, by reason of his not knowing the special Resurrection. For, tho his Notion of the genuin Sense of ἐξανάστασις be exactly true, and, *in general*, the same with mine; yet, by reason of his Ignorance of the special Resurrection, he is forc'd to assert an obvious Contradiction; when he supposes, in his 3*d* Observation, that no more was meant by *Paul*, than a Concern to rise, at last, to Happiness and Glory; at the same time, that he makes him, in the 1*st* and 2*d* Observations (taken in their Connexion) to be *uncertain* whether he should ever attain to be thus happy; which (as I have already demonstrated) is altogether false, and refuted by the Apostle himself, even in this very Epistle. For, as I have said again and again, it was not possible for the Apostle so much as to call this in question. So that he must mean a special Resurrection, prior to the general one, and inclusive of a peculiar Reward; which was to him, indeed, certain, as to the thing in general, as being attainable; but was not, certain, as to his own attaining it; tho he might conditionally expect it, or hope for it; provided that he acted as he ought to do, towards reaching it. Of this, therefore, he might be uncertain, at the same time, that he had a Plerophory of Assurance, as to a Resurrection to Life eternal, in the general. Whence it is plain, that this Notion, which I contend for, is the only one, by which the Apostle can be supposed to speak consistently with himself.

Having therefore experienc'd, by all my Inquiries into modern Expositors of the New Testament, as well as by my laborious Searches into ancient Authors of all sorts: That I was not to expect any Light, this way, from Men: I turn'd my self, (abstractly from all these) to the sacred Oracles themselves, and particularly to this very Text. And indeed, I have eminently found, by doing so, that the Scripture is its own best Interpreter; especially in things of this kind.

What

What therefore I have observed, this way, I present the World with the Result of, in the following Gradation.

1. That I find that ἀνάστασις, *the Resurrection*, (1.) Is sometimes used *Metonymically*, for the Author thereof, as in *John* 11. 25. And, (2.) Sometimes *Metaphorically*, for Conversion, or a spiritual Vivication of the Soul, as in *Eph.* 5. 14. (3.) Sometimes for being vivified and raised, to farther and more eminent Degrees of Sanctity; for so I understand, *Rom.* 8. 11. as I think the Context will make good. And, (4.) Sometimes *Synecdochically*, or by way of Eminency, for the Resurrection of good Men, in Opposition to the Resurrection of the Wicked, as in *John* 6. 40.

2. That *ordinarily*, where ἀνάστασις is used properly to denote a Resurrection, or the Resurrection, and nothing is added to limit its meaning; it does signifie the general Resurrection of all Men at the last Day; as in *Matth.* 22. 23, 28, 31. *Mark* 12. 18, 23. *Luke* 20. 27, 33. *Acts* 17. 18.

3. That when the Word ἀνάστασις is not simply made use of, but with the Addition of νεκρῶν or τῶν νεκρῶν, I find that as it does sometimes denote the Resurrection both of good and bad Men; so it does sometimes denote the Resurrection of good Men only. For, if in the *1st.* Sense, it be used, *Acts* 24. 15, 21. 1 *Cor.* 15. 12, 13, 21. *Heb.* 6. 2. It is certain, that this Phrase is used in the *2d.* Sense also, in an appropriate manner, so as to denote the Resurrection of good Men only, in Opposition to that of the Wicked; as is plain, 1 *Cor.* 15. 42, *&c.*

4. That when we read of *the Resurrection of the Just*, Luke 14. 14. or of *the better Resurrection*, Heb. 11. 35. or of *the Resurrection of Life*, John 5. 29. We are obliged to take such Expressions, not only in an exclusive Sense, to that of the Wicked, (which is called, *The Resurrection of Damnation*, or of Judgment, *John* 5. 29.) but also in so general a Sense, in relation to good Men, as that we ought not to appropriate any of these Epithets,

thets, either to the special Resurrection before the *Millennium*, or to that last Resurrection of other good Men, at the end of Time.

5. But then I cannot but think it, at least, highly probable; That where-ever we read, ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, the Spirit of God designs to give us either a more direct or more oblique Hint of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints. To give Instances of this, let the following Passages be duly considered. And, (1.) I cannot think, that less than this is meant, *Luke* 20. 35, 36. where, after the Sadducees had spoken of the Resurrection in general, and therefore of the last Resurrection, inclusive both of good Men and bad, (which was the Notion of the Pharisees, as we see *Acts* 23. 6. *Comp.* with *Chap.* 24. 15. and which therefore the Sadducees argue against;) our Saviour takes Occasion here to suppose indeed the Certainty of the general Resurrection, but to describe the special Resurrection, (for the Proof of this, was Demonstration of the Reality of the Thing in general:) which he does, after this manner. *The Children of this present Age*, or (as our Version has it) World, *do indeed marry, and are given in Marriage. But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that happy Age*, (*viz.* to obtain the peculiar Reward of the most eminent Saints,) ἡ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, *and the special Resurrection, even that which is to be out from the other dead Persons*, (who are not yet to be previleg'd so as to be raised up;) such Persons *neither marry, nor are given in Marriage. Neither can they die any more*; (*i. e.* be liable to the second Death, as the far greatest part of those Men shall be, who shall rise at the great Day; so that this is a parallel Expression to that in *Rev.* 20. 5.) *For they are* ἰσάγγελοι *the Angels Equals*, (from that time forth,) *being now become God's Sons, by reason of their becoming the Children of the* (first and special) *Resurrection.* (2.) And I think it equally probable, that a special Resurrection, (tho not that at the *Millennium*) is pointed at, *Acts* 4. 2. For the Account is this, *Peter* and *John* having miracu-

lously

lously cured the Man, that had been lame from the Womb, *Chap.* 3. 1, 2, *&c.* which they ascribe wholly to the Power of Christ, *ver.* 12, 13. take Occasion, to preach up Christ's Resurrection, *ver.* 14, 15, *&c.* wherein it is highly probable, that they took some Notice of his having raised many of the Saints also, mentioned, *Matth.* 27. 52. Now both Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of those Saints, being recent in Mens Minds, and well attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses; it needs not appear strange, that when the Priests and the Captain of the Temple came upon them, *Chap.* 4. 1. that the *Sadducees*, who made up a great Part of that Company, should *be grieved, that these Apostles should teach the People, and preach, thro' Jesus, the Resurrection,* τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, *even a special Resurrection from the Dead*, thro' Christ, as the efficient Cause. For, as I said before, it was the common Notion of the *Jews*, (excepting only the Sect of the *Sadducees*,) that when the Messiah came, there would be an eminent Resurrection of many from the Dead. No wonder then, if the *Sadducees* were allarm'd, to hear both of Christ's Resurrection, and of the Resurrection of so many others raised up, thro' his Power; especially now when this Doctrine was published, in so publick a Manner, and to such a Multitude of the common People; and confirmed by so indisputable a Miracle: For they knew very well, that their Rivals, the *Pharisees*, had the fairest Opportunity immaginable, to establish themselves, this way, upon their Ruin. (3.) And, if this be admitted, I cannot but think, that good *old Simeon*, who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with the true *Jewish* Opinion, taken from the Prophetical Writings, that his Coming would bring along with it vast Changes; and particularly, that as many would be ruin'd by their Infidelity, so he would evidence his Character and Commission by this Miracle, (as well as others,) *viz.* of his raising many Saints from the Dead: I say, I cannot but think, from these Considerations, that the good

good old Man had this very thing in his Eye, when he said, *Luke* 2. 34. *Behold, this Child is set for the Fall, καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν, and for the Resurrection of many in Israel.* For we are told, not only that *he was a just and devout Man, who waited for the Consolation of Israel,* which was to come by the Messiah; but likewise, that *the Holy Ghost was upon him, and that it was revealed unto him, that he should not see Death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ, and that he came in the Spirit, into the Temple,* ver. 25, 26, 27. where, under a special Prophetical Spirit, he uttered this memorable Prophesie. (4.) It is also highly probable to me, that Christ has his Eye upon the two special Resurrections which I contend for, (*viz.* that of the Old Testament Saints, Historically related, *Matth.* 27. 52. and that of the New Testament ones, Prophetically spoken of, *Rev.* 20. 3, 4, 5.) but more directly upon the First of these; when he was about to raise *Lazarus*: For it was consonant to that particular Resurrection, which was to be Emblematical of the special Resurrections, which were to follow, as well as demonstrative of Christ's Authority and Power, to raise whom he pleased, and when he pleased; to give some Hint, upon this special Occasion, of what he was further to do. When therefore *Martha* says, *John* 11. ver. 21. *Lord, if thou hadst been here, my Brother had not died*: Christ answers, *ver.* 23. *Thy Brother shall rise again. Martha* having no Notion of any other Resurrection, but the last general one, replies, *ver.* 24. *I know that he shall rise again in the Resurrection of the last Day.* No, says Christ, *ver.* 25, 26. Some shall rise sooner, of which I will give a Demonstration very quickly. *For I am the Resurrection and the Life,* (as having Power to raise whom I will, and when I will, without being confined to raise none before the end of Time; therefore) *He that believeth in me,* (or, a Believer in, *i. e.* so eminent an one as *Lazarus* was) *tho he were* (never so really) *dead; yet he shall live again,* (long before the general Resurrection.) *And whosoever liveth* (or is alive now) *and believeth*

(eminently,

(eminently, as thy Brother did) *in me*, (tho he must indeed die once, as it is appointed for all to do, yet) *shall not continue dead*, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *for ever, or to the end of Time*, (but shall rise sooner.) *Believest thou this?* *Martha* seems to have been exceedingly surpriz'd at this new Doctrine; but not being capable, rightly, to comprehend his Meaning, vents her Faith, in general, thus, *ver.* 27. *I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the World.* Which is as much as to say, Lord, tho I cannot comprehend the Meaning of thy Words, in particular, as to Resurrections, previous to the general one; yet I believe, that thou art the true Messiah, and the Son of God; and therefore capable to make good thy Words, when and how thou pleasest.

Now, 6. Having premised this *Climax* or Gradation of these *Five* Steps, is there not just Reason to think, That the 4*th* Observation, or Chriticism of *Grotius*, respects a special Resurrection, previous to the general one. For, besides that his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads, in *Phil.* 3. 11. *The Resurrection* τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, *i. e.* which is *out from the Dead*; and therefore a Resurrection special to some, in Contradistinction to those, that are still kept to remain longer in the separate State, even until the general Resurrection; we find that the Famous *Alexandrian Manuscript* hath also preserved to us the same reading. So that, if we come now to put all the Force together, which the Apostle's Words contain, in this our Text, we shall find it to be such, as that there is no Parallel to it, in the New Testament; I mean in reference to the Resurrection; and far less any thing to compare with it, in any other Writing. And therefore,

In the 7th and last Place, having got up to this Expression, as the highest Step; Let us observe, as every way memorable, how wonderfully all the other Steps are included, as so many Pleonasms, additional one to another, in this one Expression; but with superadded Energy. For, (1.) Here is ἀνάστασις, a Resurrecti-

on; (2.) Here we read ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν, but with greater force still; (3.) For here we read ἀνάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν; (4.) And that with the additional Energy, of adding the Particle τὴν before ἐκ νεκρῶν; Nay, (5.) By using it twice, *viz.* by prefixing it also before ἀνάστασις; (6.) And I may add, that it is not simply said νεκρῶν, but τῶν νεκρῶν. But, (7.) The main Force is chiefly discerned, in prefixing the Particle ἐξ before ἀνάστασις, in making thus a complex Word of it. So that *Paul*, by joyning all these things, when he says, that he labour'd, *if by any means he might attain to* (or *run before* others, as the best Racer, unto the Mark and peculiar Prize, as he speaks, *ver.* 12, 13. for indeed καταντήσω εἰς τὴν, *&c.* signifies as much, and therefore *Arias Montanus* has justly render'd the first Words thus, *Si modo Occurram ad, &c.) the peculiar* or first *Resurrection, which is that which is to be out from the rest of the Dead*; as I may justly translate the Force of the Words, as well as understand the Apostle's Sense. So that, if εἴ πως and καταντήσω, together with the Particle εἰς, be considered, in that Emphasis which they carry along with them, as they stand connected with what follows, we have an 8*th*, a 9*th*, and a 10*th* Criticism to inforce the Sense of the whole Verse. But, if after we have carried all these along with us, in our own Minds; we proceed to make a like critical Survey of the 12*th*, 13*th*, and following Verses, both in the Emphasis of each Phrase, and in the Connection and Scope of the whole; I cannot but presume to think, that every intelligent and unprejudic'd Person must own, that the Apostle could not design to mean less, than what I now contend for.

And now, tho I think I have said enough upon this Head, to evince the Truth of the Sense of ἐξανάστασις, I hope it may not be unuseful to quote one Passage, besides that of *Rom.* 1. 4. (mentioned before) where it seems very probable to me, that the Apostle *Paul* uses the same Word. It is in *Acts* 26. 22, 23. where *Paul* concludes his Apology for himself, before *Agrippa* and *Festus*,

Festus, thus; *Having therefore obtained Help of God, I continue unto this Day, witnessing both to small and great, saying no other things, than those which* Moses *and the Prophets did say should come*, viz. *That Christ should suffer, and that he should be* πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, *the First of the special Resurrection of the Dead.* For I am sure of this, that the Words run much more smoothly this way, and that the Meaning flows hence more naturally also, than according to the vulgar Reading. If any *object*, and say; But *Paul cannot mean any special Resurrection; because he says*, that he spoke nothing, but what *Moses* and the Prophets had spoken of before: I *answer*, 1. That *Paul* might have used these words very justly, tho thy had, indeed, hinted nothing particular of any special Resurrection; because the Prophets spoke of Christ's Coming, and of his particular Resurrection, as well as of the Resurrection of others in general. For the Apostle might justly explain such general Words, by a particular Reference to Matters of Fact, (as included under the general Notion of a Resurrection,) *viz.* so as to apply them to, and illustrate them by Christ's own Rising from the Dead, and that special Resurrection of others, mention'd, *Matth.* 27. 52. For tho the Prophets themselves knew not the full Extent of their own Prophesies, (as it is certain they frequently did not,) yet the Spirit of God knew the same: And Facts, we know, are ever the best Expositors of Prophesies. 2. And besides this general Answer, I might shew that there are several Hints, in the Old Testament Writings, that seem to insinuate a special Resurrection. But I am not willing to swell this Discourse so much, as such Citations, when critically considered, would lead me unto. Let the two Passages therefore, which I cited in the beginning of *this Inquiry*, serve at present, as Instances of this, *viz. Isa.* 26. 19. & *Dan.* 12. 2, 3. but especially the first of these; which I think is full and cogent this way; especially if that solid and generally approved Rule of Divines and Expositors be followed, viz. *That we*

ought never to desert the literal Sense of Texts, unless where an Absurdity, or other necessary Reason does occur to oblige and force us, to think of another sort of Interpretation.

Objection. But, *Sir*, (may some say,) Tho it is generally true, That the Apostle speaks, not only in his other Epistles, but even in this Epistle to the *Philippians*, with the utmost Assurance, as to his own future Happiness; yet why may we not suppose, that some Cloud might be over the Apostle's Mind, as to this Matter, when he writes what we have in this Third Chapter? For, as he represents himself as under some Cloud, this way, *Rom.* 7. 24. *O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* So it seems to be very plain, that he doubted of his Salvation, or was at least uncertain this way, when he says, 1 *Cor.* 9. 27. *I keep under my Body, and subdue it, least while I preach to others, I my self should be* ἀδόκιμος, *a Reprobate*, or, (as our Version renders the Word) a *Cast-away*.

Answer. I think I have demonstrated, that as the Apostle was under a constant Plerophory of Assurance, as to Salvation; so that he was eminently so, when he wrote this Epistle to the *Philippians*. And seeing he expresly tells us so, *Chap.* 1. 21, 23. It is a very odd Supposition, that he should be under a Cloud this way, when he comes to write what we have here in *Chap.* 3. Especially seeing he sufficiently insinuates the very contrary of this, even in this Chapter it self, as we see, *ver.* 17, & 20, 21.

But, seeing the Stress of this unreasonable Supposition is laid upon two Passages taken out of two other Epistles, it is fit that I should examine them. And truly, the 1*st* Passage has nothing at all in it, to the Purpose. For, tho the Apostle, in his breathing after a farther Conquest over Sin and Lust, says, *Rom.* 7. 24. *O wretched Man that I am*, (to give so much way to vain Thoughts and Temptations,) *who shall deliver me* (more perfectly) *from the Body of this Death*; (*i. e.* the Remainder of Corruption, that is still in me:) Yet that

that the Apoſtle did not there call his Grace or Salvation in Queſtion, or ſo much as heſitate this way, is plain from the Anſwer, which he returns immediately to his own Queſtion, in *ver.* 25. *I thank God, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Which, as it ſhews his Aſſurance, ſo the whole of the 8*th* Chapter following, is a Comment on that ſhort Text. For he begins it thus, *ver.* 1, 2, 3. *There is therefore now no Condemnation, to them who are in Chriſt Jeſus,* &c. *For the Law of the Spirit of Life, in Chriſt Jeſus, hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death. For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak thro' the Fleſh, God ſending his own Son, hath done,* &c. Whence it is plain, that the main Scope of *Paul,* in *Chap.* 7. is to ſhew, (in the Example of himſelf, conſidered as a *Jew* and *Phariſee,*) how impoſſible it was to obtain Aſſurance of Salvation, by the Ceremonial Law, without Chriſt, as it is equally plain, that it is his Scope, in *Chap.* 8. to ſhew, (in the Example likewiſe of himſelf, as he was now a Chriſtian,) how naturally the Aſſurance of Salvation might be attained, by any ſerious Perſon, that had a mind to judge of himſelf by Goſpel Rules. So that this Paſſage, *Rom.* 7. 24. inſinuates the very contrary to that for which it was adduced. For the Apoſtle, as he intimates his Aſſurance, even in the 7th *Chap. ver.* 15, 17, 20, 22, & 25. So he triumphs ſo high this way, in *Chap.* 8. *ver.* 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, & 39. as to inſinuate, that he neither was, nor indeed could poſſibly be, under the leaſt Doubt of Salvation, or under any Fear or Cloud this way.——— But the 2*d* Paſſage does look more favourably, I confeſs, with Reſpect to the Suppoſition, which the Objection runs upon: And, indeed, the Apoſtle's Words, 1 *Cor.* 9. 27. are the only ones in all *Paul*'s Writings, that ſeem, at firſt View, to militate againſt my Expoſition of *Phil.* 3. 11. and to favour the common one. Let us therefore examine the Meaning of the Words a little more cloſely. For this end, let us remember, that the Apoſtle diſcourſes, in *Chap.* 7

Chap. 8. & *Chap.* 9. of the Prudence that Christians ought to study, in Relation to the Use of things that were *indifferent*, tho *lawful*. When therefore he had given his Advice, as to the Points following, *viz.* when it was proper to marry, and when to live a single Life, in *Chap.* 7. and how far Christians might use their Liberty, in eating things offered to Idols, and when and in what respects, they were oblig'd to put a Restraint upon that Liberty, in *Chap.* 8. He proceeds in *Chap.* 9. to make Application of this, exemplifying his former Advices, and the Reasons of them, by his own Conduct and Practice this way. Therefore, *ver.* 1. he says, *Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free*, as well as others? and *ver.* 4. *Have we not Power to eat and drink? viz.* what, when and how we please; and *ver.* 5. *Have we not Power, to use our Liberty to marry, as* Cephas *and other Apostles have done?* and *ver.* 6. *Or I only and* Barnabas, *have not we Power to forbear working? i. e.* in order to get our own Bread; by demanding a Supply from you, this way, as the other Apostles have done. And upon this Subject he runs on, from *ver.* 6. to *ver.* 19. From whence he proceeds to shew his Concern to gain Men over to Christianity, by a prudent compliance with innocent Customs, of People of all Sorts and Sects, not standing up rigidly for some things, which tho *lawful*, were not *expedient*, in some Companies, because such Usages and Practices were likely to beget Prejudices in Mens Minds, as to the very main Points of Religion it self, the Promotion whereof was his great End and Design. Now as this is plainly the Sum of what he says, *ver.* 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. So he proceeds to illustrate the Reasonableness of this Part of his Conduct, in the *sequel* of this Chapter, by a Similitude drawn from the *Isthmian* Solemnities, that were celebrated once in five Years upon the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, which joins *Peloponesus* to *Greece*: the particular Place, of these Solemnities, being just by the *Temple* of *Neptune*: which was at

Cen-

(*o*) *Cenchrea* (*p*), a little way from *Corinth*. As therefore, we shall quickly see, when we come to consider, *Phil.* 3. 12, 13, *&c.* that the Apostle *Paul* does often allude to the *Olympian*, and other Solemnities of *Greece*, so well known unto and so generally frequented by Persons of all Ranks and Sorts, not only from all the Parts of *Greece*, but from all Parts also of the Roman Empire: So, seeing he had liv'd long at *Corinth*, and is writing here to the *Corinthians*, it was reasonable for him, to allude rather to the *Isthmian* Games, than any other; for every Boy of *Corinth* was acquainted with these. But, let us further observe here, (1.) That, of the *five Games* used there, called the *Quinquertium*, or *Quinquennales Ludi*, *Solin. Cap.* 13. (which were, 1. *Running*, either on *Foot*, or on *Horse-back*, or in *Chariots*. 2. *Throwing* the *Discus*, *i. e.* a round Stone made for that purpose. 3. *Leaping* or Jumping. 4. *Wrestling*. 5. *Fighting* either at *Handecuffs* or *Fists*, or with *Battoons* made for that purpose, in imitation of Fighting with Broad-Swords;) the Apostle alludes only to *three*, *viz.* to *Running*, or *Racing*, *ver.* 24, 26. to *Wrestling*, *ver.* 25. and to *Fighting* or *Cuffing*, *ver.* 26, 27. (2.) That he that *run*, whether on Foot, or Horseback, or in Chariot, was oblig'd to observe the Laws of *Racing* or *Running*, by keeping within the *white Line*, by which the Judges of the Games marked out the Path or Compass of Ground within which they were to run; for tho such a Man might win the Race otherwise, he was in hazard still, by any neglect of this kind, of falling short of the *Prize*; which illustrates the Apostle's Meaning, *ver.* 26. *I therefore so run, not as uncertainly*; (*i. e.* as those run, who regard not to keep within the Lines and Marks.) So that when he adds, *ver.* 27. that he acted, with this Caution, and *not as uncertainly*, lest otherwise *he might come to be* ἀδόκιμος; it is easy to see, in what respect he means this, *viz.* that he acted

(*o*) *Of which* Mela *speaks*, Lib. 2. Cap. 2. lin. 75. In eo (viz. Isthmo) est Oppidum, Cencreæ Ludis, quos Isthmicos vocant, celebre.
(*p*) *For* Cenchrea *was not above* 70 *Furlongs from* Corinth.

with this Concern, lest the βραβευταὶ, *i. e.* the Judges of the Solemnities, should adjudge him *a Cast-away*, or *one that had not run so, as to deserve* the *Prize*. For ἀδόκιμος signifies no more here, than to denote a Man's being *rejected*, by having the *Prize* adjudged from him, by reason either of his not coming up, the *first*, to the *Mark*, or because of his transgressing the Laws of the Race, and so by coming up, the *first*, to the *Prize*, only thro' his taking a shorter compass, than he ought to have done. (3.) That he that fought by *Cuffing*, or otherwise, used to prepare himself for the Exercise, by a σκιομαχία, *i. e. by thrusting or throwing out his Arms into the Air*, as it were to bid defiance to his Enemy, as well as to exert the Vigour of his Arms, against his coming to close with him. In allusion to which Custom, *Paul* says, *ver.* 26. *So fight I, but not as he does that beats the Air*. But when the two Combatants ingag'd heartily, to maul one another by Blows; each of them strove to beat the other on the Face, and especially on the Eyes, as the most sensible and tender Parts. In allusion to which the Apostle, *ver.* 27. uses the Phrase, ἀλλὰ ὑπωπιάζω, *I beat my own Body under the Eye*, &c. i. e. *I treat my Body* (viz. the Body of Sin and Death; for this must be his meaning in Conformity to his own Dialect, *Rom.* 7. 24. *Col.* 2. 11. especially if we consider, in how opposite a manner to this he speaks of the natural Body, *Eph.* 5. 29. and 1 *Cor.* 6. 19.) as my Adversary, in order to conquer the same, and that so, as to level at the tenderest part most, by mortyfying that Lust, that is naturally most dear to me. (4.) That it was the Custom of the *Athletæ*, who were to combate together, at the Exercise of *Wrestling*, to observe *a set Diet*, both as to the Quantity and Quality of their Meat; using nothing but those things, that had a Tendency to render them light, nimble and agile, and abstaining from clogging, heavy and dull things. Unto this the Apostle refers, *ver.* 25. when he says, That *every one that striveth for Mastery* (in wrestling) *is temperate in all things*. (5.) That the Reward of all these

theſe Exerciſes, was no greater matter, than that of ſome green Herb or Plant, or ſome Branch of a Tree, coil'd round and platted into the Form of a Garland or Crown, with which the Head of the Victor was wreath'd. And this the Apoſtle juſtly calls a *corruptible Crown*, *v.* 25. (which, in the *Iſthmian* Games, was made of the Branches of a Pine-tree) to which he oppoſes the *incorruptible Crown* which true Chriſtians contend for.—Now, as our beſt Expoſitors, ſuch as Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Whitby*, *&c.* are agreed in theſe things with me; ſo I hope, by this time, the Reader is ſufficiently apprized of the Senſe of this Paſſage. And I am ſure, if he be ſo, he will readily own, That the Words of the Apoſtle in 1 *Cor.* 9. 27. are ſo far from making againſt my Notion, that they are a very conſiderable Proof for me: and they will yet appear to be further ſo, when I come to conſider the Sequel of the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe, *Phil.* 3. from *ver.* 12. to the End; which is a Portion of Scripture exactly Parallel to this. So that it is evident to me, that the Apoſtle was only afraid, that if he did not act wiſely and faithfully, he might come to be a *Caſt-away* ſo far, as related to the attaining to *the ſpecial Reſurrection and Reward*, which he had in view; and which he could no otherwiſe expect than by a careful Obſervance of Chriſt's Laws, which he has in his Eye, when he ſpeaks of the *Iſthmian Races*, and other Solemnities, to the *Corinthians*, who knew them too well to need any particular Relation of what related to them.

And now, as I have been led occaſionally to clear up the meaning of ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, during this my Inquiry, which I preſume were not underſtood hitherto by either Ancient or Modern Divines: So I might take occaſion, from what I have ſaid, to illuſtrate ſeveral other Expreſſions. But I ſhall content my ſelf with *two* only; which lie ſo level to my purpoſe, that I cannot find in my Heart, to let them paſs, without ſome Obſervation. The (1ſt.) is, That Expreſſion, *Rom.* 11. 15. *For if the caſting away of them, (i.e.* the Jews) *be* (the occaſion of *the Reconciling of the* (Gentile) *World: What ſhall* πρόσλημψις, *the Aſſumption of them again*

again be ; (i. e. the receiving of them into Grace and Favour*)* εἰ μὴ ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν ; *Can it be any thing less than* (or accompanied with less than) *Life from the Dead* (or a new Resurrection of the Dead.*)* For the Reason which the Apostle founds upon, seems plainly to be this ; if the Christian Religion was confirm'd, at first, not only by Christ's *own Resurrection*, but *the Resurrection also of those* mentioned, *Matth.* 27. 52. Is it not reasonable to believe, that when the ἄκμη of Christianity is brought in, at the *Millennium*, and when the Jews are converted to the same Religion ; there will be a *special Resurrection then* of eminent Saints, who shall rise from the Dead ; by which Jews and Gentiles will be so convinced of the Truth of Christianity, as readily to imbrace it. And indeed, were it not for the sake of Brevity, I might inlarge upon the Reasonableness of this Conjectural Exposition from several things in the Context. And, tho Dr. *Whith* had no such Notion, as this of mine when he wrote his *Annotations* upon this 11*th* Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, together with his *Discourse of the calling of the Jews to the Christian Faith*, which is *appended* thereunto : Yet I cannot refer my Readers to a more Judicious and solid Account of those Matters, than is to be found there. For if, together with what he says, both in his *Annotations*, and in his most elaborate *Appendix* to the same, this *Notion* of mine, and what I have said upon it, be carried along, in the Reader's Mind, by a close and strict Inquiry into the Subjects which he and I treat of ; I am bold to say, that these things will appear in so full and clear a Light, as that Men can hardly expect much more before the Dawn of the *Millennium* appear ; nay, that it will be just matter of wonder that so clear a Discovery of such dark things should already break forth upon the Church, so long before the time of that *glorious Period* of *Christocraty*. ——— But I proceed, *(2.)* To illustrate the other Passage of Scripture, which I humbly think has never been *fully* understood hitherto. The Passage I refer to, is that in 1 *Cor.* 15. *Else, what shall they*

they do who are baptized for the Dead, if the Dead do not rise at all? (For, in case this be indeed true,) *Why then are they baptized for the Dead.* These Words have ever been look'd upon to be very dark and obscure: Which has occasion'd Criticks to suggest abundance of Senses, not only very different from, but sometimes even opposite unto one another; as any one will see, that compares them, either in the *Biblia Critica*, or in *Pool's Synopsis* of them; not to mention any of the many Annotations and particular Treatises that have been publish'd, with Design to explain this Passage.——— Now, in order to give my Thoughts of this Expression of *Paul*; I must premise *two* Things, by way of *Preliminary*. In the 1st *Place* therefore, let us consider the Sense of the *Præposition* ὑπὲρ, which is made use of here. It is joyn'd sometimes with the *Genitive*, and sometimes with the *Accusative*, but never with any other *Case*; as every one knows, that is acquainted with the *Greek* Language. With the *former* of *these* it is used here: So that we have nothing to do with the Use of it, the other way. And in this Use of it, as connected with the Genetive, we find that Authors do, (1.) Sometimes mean by it, what the *British* Writers do express by, [*For*;] (2.) And sometimes by, [*In the Room of*, or *in the Stead of*, or *upon the Account of*, or *for the Sake of*, or *with a Reference unto*, such or such a Person or Thing,] (3.) And sometimes, they are oblig'd to translate it by, [Of, or By.] In this *last* Sense, it is obvious, that this Prepositon cannot be used here. For it were Nonsense to read, *Of the Dead*, or *By the Dead*. But, in either of the *former Senses*, the Words may be understood. Now, I do humbly suppose, that the Apostle used it, in its utmost Plenitude, in this Place; and that Mens confining it to one Acceptation only, from various Hypotheses, has been that very thing, that has hitherto confounded Mens Minds, in relation to a Sentence, otherwise obvious and plain. For the Apostle having *several Resurrections* in view, in Conjunction with the *Nature* and *Scope* of *Baptism*, expresses himself

in

in this general and concise Sentence, *What shall they do that are baptized* ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, *&c.* without any Limitation whatsoever. And now, let me also *premise*, in *the* 2d *Place*, that we ought to consider the *Scope* of the *Context*, in Conjunction with the *Sense* of the *Preposition*; for which I refer the Reader to Dr. *Whitby*. Now when therefore we consider both these, we have Reason; (1.) To think, that the Apostle had his Eye backward, upon Christ's Death and Resurrection; and therefore Dr. *Whitby* justly renders, *for the Dead*, by adding, *for a dead Jesus*. For the Apostle argues for the Resurrection of the Dead in general, (against those that denied it) from Christ's being raised from the Dead. And, in this Sense, the Apostle says, *What shall Christians do*, (in Case there be no Resurrection; for if there be none such, they must be miserably mistaken,) *who are baptized for a dead Man, as he must yet be, in case there be no Resurrection. For thus no Reason can be assigned, why a Man should be baptized at all.* Now, Dr. *Whitby* says, that οἱ νεκροί, (tho usually of a plural Signification, as well as it is a plural Phrase, considered Grammatically; yet) is sometimes used to denote one single Person: For which he cites, *ver.* 12, & 13. & *Luke* 7. 15, 22. But I presume he is very much mistaken, in both Places: For tho both Christ and *Paul* speak indeed, upon the Occasion of the Resurrection of a single Person, yet they speak of a plural Resurrection; each of these Instances being made use of in a Reference to a Resurrection of others. So that, tho I have mention'd this Sense, I am far from thinking it to be the *full Meaning*: Nay, if taken separately from other Senses, not to be the *true Meaning* neither; and I know not, that ever any *Greek* Author used this Phrase, after this manner. And therefore, (2.) I do believe, that the Apostle look'd back upon that Resurrection of Eminent Saints, mentioned, *Matth.* 27. 52. in Conjunction with the Resurrection of Christ. And, in this Sense, as the View is complex, so is the Apostle's Meaning; which must be this:

If

If there be no Resurrection, whence is it, that we Christians are baptized, with a firm Belief, that as Christ rose from the Dead, so many others have been raised by him already, which we believe, and reckon, as a certain Proof of our own Resurrection afterwards, in God's Time. So that, by a Conjunction of these two Sentences, we have several of those Expositions of ὑπὲρ. For, in the *first Sense*, in Relation to Christ, we may render the Phrase, either *for the Dead*, as our Version does, or *upon the Account of the Dead*, or *for the Sake of the Dead.* And, in the *second Sense*, in Relation to the Saints, who arose after Christ's Resurrection, we may render it thus; *with a Reference to the Dead.* But then, (3.) We have just Reason to think, that the Apostle did not only look *backwards*, when he used this Phrase, but that he look'd *forwards* also; both to the special Resurrection before the *Millennium*, and to the Resurrection of the rest of the Saints, at the *end of Time*; and consequently *their own* Resurrection to eternal Life, in one or other of these Periods. And in this respect, the Words may be rendred, as in the second Sense, *viz.* thus, *with a Reference to the Dead*, or those that were, as yet, in the State of the Dead, but that were to rise again. But, (4.) There is one Sense still behind, *viz.* that this Expression bears a special Relation to the *Nature* and *Scope* of *Baptism*, as it is plain it does from the Words themselves. Now it is evident, that the Scriptural Notion of Baptism, bears a special Reference to the Death and Burial of Men in the general, and Christ's own Death and Burial in particular. And the Rite of Baptism, then in use, (as all that know Scripture and Antiquity must own, was that of Immersion or dipping of the whole Body, which continued for about 13 Centuries, tho afterwards altered into that of sprinkling, or washing the Face,) was a plain Emblem of this. For, when the Body was plunged into the Water, it was a Representation of Death and Burial. And the Threefold Immersion, then used, was to denote Christ's being three Days and Nights

Nights in the Grave. When therefore the Person baptized came from under the Water, and walk'd out again, it bore a Reference to dead Mens rising out of their Graves, and particularly to Christ's Resurrection on the third Day, after his Death. So that for *Paul* to speak of *those that were baptized for the Dead*, was as much as to say, that Christians then were baptized, in Faith of their own Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others, with the same Assurance with which they believ'd that some had risen before, but more especially their Lord and Master. And we have reason to think, that a Declaration to this purpose, was requir'd of all Converts to Christianity, either from Judaism or Gentilism; and that those Converts did accordingly give an explicite Account of their Faith this way. Whence it came to pass, that those Men, when they were baptized, were, by an easie Figure, represented as dead and buried Men, for a while, as afterwards to be raised from the Dead. In Regard to which, to *be baptized for the Dead*, was as much as to say, that they were then *baptized in the Room of the Dead*, or *in their Stead* or *Place*; they, at that time, being look'd upon, in a figurative Sense, to *sustain the Persons* of the Dead, as being (mystically and spiritually considered) real Emblems of them, as well as Confessors of Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others. And indeed, I must own, that, of all particular Senses of this Text, I take this to be the most natural one. But as I said, I cannot see, why we ought to limit the Apostle's unlimited general Expression, to one particular Notion only. And therefore, as the Pharse allows of all these Senses, in Conjunction one with another: So I think, that βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, denotes this: "Those, who have been baptized, professing that "they believed, that as Christ was once dead, so he "was now risen from the Dead, as well as many of "his eminent Saints; and that they had no greater "Assurance of these Facts, than of the certain Ac-"complishment of the Promise which Christ had "made,

" made, that there would be a Resurrection of all " Men at last, both good and bad; as also, that they " hoped to be made Partakers of the Resurrection of " good Men, or of the better Resurrection, *viz.* of " that which is to Life eternal; with a Reference to " all which things, they did firmly believe, that Bap- " tism was appointed; and therefore with Relation to " all these, and in Obedience to the Commandment " of Christ, (who ordered the Apostles to disciple " Men, by baptizing them, *&c. Matth.* 28. 28.) they " readily came under this Ordinance of Baptism, " wherein *they were baptized for the Dead*, in all the " Senses and Acceptations of that Phrase, which I " mention'd before. And I think, this Account which I have given of this Text and Subject, is the very same which the Apostle himself gives us, *Rom.* 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, *&c.* Which therefore I cannot but look upon as a full and clear Comment upon it, especially if the Strain of the Context, in *Chap.* 5. and in the remaining Part of *Chap.* 6. and in the following Chapters, be duly considered. In a Connexion therefore with what the Apostle had said, in *Chap.* 5. he begins the 6th *Chapter* thus. *What shall we say then? Shall we continue in Sin, that Grace may abound? God forbid! How shall we, that are dead to Sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many of us, as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his Death? Therefore we are buried with him, by Baptism, into* (a Conformity to his) *Death; That like as Christ was raised up from the Dead, by the Glory of the Father;* (*i. e.* by himself, who is the Glory or Shechinah of the Father, as being the Brightness of his Glory, or his expressed Glory, and the express Image of his Person, *Heb.* 1. 3.) *Even so we also* (being dead with him in Baptism) *should* (rise with him and) *walk in Newness of Life. For if we have been planted together, in the Likeness of his Death: We shall be also in the Likeness of his Resurrection: Knowing this, that our Old Man is crucified with him, that the Body of Sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve Sin.* For he *that is dead, is*

freed

freed from Sin. Now, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. Knowing that Christ being raised from the Dead, dieth no more: For Death hath no more Dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto Sin once: But, in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also, your selves, to be dead indeed unto Sin, but alive unto God, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ. Let not Sin therefore reign in your mortal Body, &c. And in the same Dialect does the same Apostle say, *Col.* 2. 12. That we are *buried with Christ in Baptism, wherein also we are arisen with him, thro' the Faith of the Operation of God, who raised him from the Dead.* See also his Words, to the same Purpose, *Eph.* 1. 19, 20. & 1 *Thess.* 4. 14. as also those Words of *Peter*, 1 *Epist. Chap.* 1. 3, 4. *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who* ——— *hath begotten us again unto a lively Hope*, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ *from the Dead, &c.* which compare with his Words, *Chap.* 3. 18, 19, 20, 21. *For Christ hath once suffered for Sins,* ——— *being put to Death in the Flesh, but quickned in the Spirit;* ——— *the like Figure, whereunto, even Baptism doth now also save us,* &c. Now it was our Saviour himself, that was the Author of this sort of Dialect. For speaking of his Death, Continuance in the Grave, and Resurrection from thence, *Luke* 12. 50. he says, *I have a Baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitned* (or pressed, or pained) *till it be accomplished.* To which Expression, *Paul* seems to allude, *Acts* 21. 13. as Christ himself, to his own Words formerly, *Psal.* 40. 6, 7, 8, *&c.* Consider also Christ's Words to his Disciples, *Matth.* 20. 22, 23. & *Mark* 10. 38, 39. *Are ye able to be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with,* &c. *i. e.* to be immersed in such Waters of Affliction, as to be overwhelmed with them, for a Time, even so far as to die a violent Death. For the Metaphor of Baptism, or Immersion in Waters, or being put under Waves or Flood, was a common Phrase under the Old Testament, used to denote a Person overwhelmed with Affliction. Hence the *Psalmist* cries out, *Psal.* 42. 7. that *the Waves had*

gone

gone over his Soul; and *Psal.* 69. 2. *that he was come into deep Waters.* And so we read the Phrase, *Psal.* 88. 7. *Cant.* 8. 7. *Jer.* 47. 2. *Ezek.* 26. 19. *Dan.* 9. 26. *John* 2. 3. See Dr. *Whitby* on *Matth.* 20. 22.

And now, after all I have said, I hope I may be allowed to think, that I have demonstrated the Verity of *this special and prior Resurrection*, as far as the Nature of the Subject can be supposed to be capable of Demonstration, from those scriptural Proofs thereof, which I have founded this my Opinion upon.

And as I have proved this Point largely, so I have not been deficient to interweave and intersperse what will be, I think, sufficient to assist the Reader to form as clear an Idea, both of the *Millennium* and the *special Resurrection* then, as can be reasonable for us to venture upon our selves, or expect from others, seeing we live so long before both these. For, as I now write this, *December* the 10*th*, 1707. So I hope quickly to shew it to be highly probable to me, that the *Millennium* will not commence sooner than the Year 2000.

But, before I proceed to the *next Inquiry*, Let me desire the Reader, in order to his forming an Idea of the *Millennium*, and the *special Resurrection*, which is to be then, to look back upon what I said, towards the beginning of the 2d *Step* of *this Inquiry*; and particularly, those *four Things*, wherein Dr. *Whitby* and I are agreed, *Page* 39, together with those *seven additional Considerations*, which follow the former, *Page* 40. And when he has done so, let him proceed to consider, with second Thoughts, my Paraphrastical Exposition of *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11. and *Chap.* 20. 4, 5. with which I began the 3d *Step* of this *Inquiry*, Page 42. not to mention other things, both in that 3d *Step*, and in other Places of this Inquiry.

But, besides all this, let what I said in the four Propositions, explanatory of *John* 14. 2, 3. be duly considered, as they are to be found towards the End of the 5th *Chapter* of *Christology*, Page 517, *&c.* as well as

what I supposed might be one of the Ends of Christ's continuing for 40 Days on Earth, *viz.* that which is proposed in the same 5th *Chapter*, in the 1st Place, *Page* 508.

However, let me add these few things further, in order to help us still to form, if possible, a more full and genuine Idea of the Resurrection at the beginning of the *Millennium*. And, (1.) I think, That as the Saints mentioned, *Matth.* 27. 52. rose before the *Effusion* of the *Holy Ghost*, on the Day of *Pentecost*, with which the *New Testament Dispensation* did most properly begin; the time preceding, from Christ's *Birth*, to Christ's *publick Appearance* being only *Preliminary* to it; and the *few Years* and *Days*, from thence to the *Effusion of the Paraclete*, being only taken up, in laying the *Foundation* of the *Gospel Dispensation*: So I do think, that the Resurrection of the Saints, at the *Millennium*, will be, to speak properly, some time before the beginning of that Period. And thus, as the time of Christ's Abode on Earth, from his *Birth* to his *Ascention*, and *sending* of the *Paraclete*, (and in a farther Latitude, to the *Destruction* of *Jerusalem*,) was the *central time* between the *Old* and *New Testament Time* or *Times*: So it is reasonable to believe, that the *Time* of the *Resurrection* of the *eminent Saints* before the *Millennium*, together with the *final Extirpation* of the *Papacy*, at the same time, and the *begun Reign* of Genuine *Christianity* on *Earth*, will be a kind of *Central Period* of the *New Testament Times*. See my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 34. and what I said above, in the 5th *Chapter* of the 3d *Book* of *Christology*, under the second *Observation*, particularly *Page* 342, &c. (2.) I do think, that as Christ did not raise those former Saints, until after his own Resurrection: So likewise that he went into the *happy Hades*, sometime after his being raised from the Dead; in order to take Possession thereof; and that, at that time, he evidenc'd his Power over it, by bringing from thence many eminent Saints. And therefore, I think it highly congruous, to suppose also, that,

that, tho Christ will not go personally into *Hades*, at the *Millennium*; yet that he will appear there, by some eminent Manifestation of his Glory and Power to separate Souls, when he raiseth his most eminent Saints from the State of the Dead. (3.) That, as it is highly probable, that the former Saints, did not only appear to *many*, as it is expresly told us, but that they appeared often, during the greatest Part of the Time of Christ's 40 Days Continuance on Earth: So, it is equally probable, that the Saints, who are to be raised before the *Millennium*, will appear to many, and that often for some considerable Time, before the *Millennium* commence. (4.) That as it is more than probable, that the Appearance of the former Saints to so *many*, was of eminent Use to prepare Men for the Reception of Christianity, against the Time of the Effusion of the Holy Ghost, and what followed it: So it is equally probable to me, that the special Appearance of the later Saints, for a considerable time, and to many Witnesses of Note and Fame, will be a very great Mean towards the Propagation and Establishing of the Christian Religion in the World, for a Thousand Years. (5.) That, as Christianity was eminently confirmed and propagated at first, by the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Gifts of Miracles, and of Tongues, together with other eminent Qualifications and Endowments, conveyed, that way, to the Apostles, and Apostolical Men of that first Age: So we have just Reason to think, that an eminent Effusion of the Holy Spirit will be, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, by which abundance of excellent Persons will be qualified with more than ordinary Grace, Knowledge, Parts, Learning, Zeal, Holiness, Utterance and Activity; by whom Christ will so eminently appear and act, as that *Antichristianism* shall be universally destroyed, and true Christianity be so confirmed and propagated, as to become, in a little time, the prevailing Interest of the World. (6.) But I am far from thinking, that the eminent Saints, raised at or before the *Millen-*

nium, are to be rewarded then as highly as they shall be after the Final Judgment is over: For I do suppose, that what I said in the preceding Book of Christology, *Page* 529, *&c.* will be found to contain a sufficient Refutation of such an Opinion. And therefore, I refer the Reader back to what I said there. And, (7.) I am likewise far from imagining, that the *Eminent raised Saints* will appear *generally* to Men then; any farther than the *Saints raised*, Matth. 27. 52. did appear to the *Jews*. For Men must ever be under a State of Tryal in this present World: With which, such an universal Appearance is inconsistent. Nay, (8.) I have no higher Opinion of the *Millennary State* (as I have said formerly) than this; That it will be a State and Time, wherein the Church, comparatively with its former State, during *Paganism* and *Antichristianism*, will enjoy great Peace and Prosperity on Earth. For as there will be Sin then, so there must be Troubles too, such as Wars, Quarrels and Commotions; Perfection and Happiness being appropriated to Heaven only. However, it will be a happy State, when compared with that of former Times.

And now, as I think these are rational, and therefore justly supposable Conjectures, as being not only consistent with Scripture as well as Reason; but congruous to a parellel Resurrection, which is recorded, *Matth.* 27. 52. So I desire they may be considered in Conjunction with, and as additional unto, those other Considerations offer'd before; whether in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, or in the 3d *Book* of *Christology*, or in the *preceding Part* of *this Dissertation*; to the Pages of all which I have already refer'd the Reader. For, by laying those things together, we shall be able to form to our selves as clear an Idea, both of the *special Resurrection*, and of the *Millennium*, as can be rationally expected. So that having attain'd both Ends of this *first Inquiry*, I proceed now to the next.

II.

II. INQUIRY.

When, or at what Time, or Period of Time, may we most probably suppose, that Antichrist will fall, and the happy Millennium *begin, and consequently the special Resurrection, which is to be then?*

The I cannot pretend to *equal Certainty*, as to the *precise Time* of the *Millennium* and *special Resurrection*, as I presume to have attain'd unto, as to the Reality of these Events themselves; Yet, I hope, I may venture to say, that I have the *highest Probabilities*, to make me conclude, that the *Commencement* of the *Millennium* will coincide with the Year of Christ 2000; and that the *special Resurrection* will be at, or about that Time, *i. e.* a little before the *Millennium* begin, as I humbly suppose.

In order to clear up this Point, as far as I can, I desire that my *Apocalyptical Discourse* finish'd on *New Years Day*, viz. *Jan.* 1. *Old Style.* A. D. 170⅞. and publish'd a few Days afterwards, may be consulted. But, because this Treatise may come into the Hands of those, who cannot immediately come at that Discourse; and because I presume to say, that no such exact and consistent Scheme of the *Apocalyptical Visions* was ever yet given: I shall not grudge to give the Reader a short View of it, as far as may serve my Design, in laying a Foundation for my answering the Scope of this *second Inquiry*; hoping, that if I add any thing, to clear up my former meaning, as I go along, none will quarrel with me for amending what is my own.

And, in doing this, I must *premise*, what I cast into *a Postscript* to that *Epistolary Discourse*; seeing I did there give *a short Account* of the *first Principles* of the *Apocalyptical Interpretations* advanc'd in the *Discourse* it self. Now my *Propositions* and *Corollaries*, which I think I have demonstrated, in that Place, are these following;

referring the Reader to the Proof thereof, as well as to the Inlargements of other Things, which I may afterwards touch upon, to the proper Places of the Discourse it self, where they are to be found.

The *first Principles* of the True Exposition of the *Apocalypse*, proved in the *Postscript*, to my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 157, *&c.*

I. Proposition. *The Revelation was written by the Apostle* John, *and is a Sacred and Canonical Book of the New Testament.*

II. Prop. *The Book of the Revelation was written after the Destruction of* Jerusalem.

1. *Corollary.* The Visions of the Apocalypse, did neither relate to the *Romish* nor *Jewish* State, *before* the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus.*

2. *Corol. The Revelation relates to the* Church and *Her Adversaries*, as to those things that were to fall out, *after* the Eversion of the *Jewish* State.

3. *Corol.* The Revelation contains the *Series* of all the remarkable *Events* and *Changes* of the *State* of the *Church* to the *End* of the *World.*

III. Prop. *The* Seven Epistles *directed to as many Churches in the lesser* Asia, *do not immediately relate to the Christian Church in general, and therefore cannot be interpreted Prophetically, in any proper Sense, as if they did denote so many Periods of Time.*

IV. Prop. Babylon *the Great, or the Apocalyptical Beast, taken in a general Sense, as it is represented, with its seven Heads and ten Horns, is no other than an Emblem of the* Roman *People and Power, under seven Terms of* Government, *and ten Provincial* or Proconsular Districts, *afterwards to be alter'd into* ten separate Kingdoms.

V. Prop. *The seven-headed Beast, more specially considered, viz. as represented to be rid upon, or to be under the Subjection*

jection of the Whore, doth represent *to us*, Rome, *as it is under the Ecclesiastical Government of the* Papacy, *or Apostate Church of* Rome.

VI. Prop. *The* seven Kings, *represented by the* seven Heads *of the* Beast, *are no other than the* seven Forms *of* supreme Government, *that did successively obtain among the* Romans.

Now having premised these *Postulata*, in reference to the whole *Apocalypse*; let me proceed to give a *summary Account* of *my Discourse* it self, (with some additional Inlargements) *concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, &c.

In order to this, I premised *two preliminary Considerations*.

The *1st.* was this: *That the Three Grand Apocalyptical Numbers*, viz. *that of* 1260 *Days*, *that of* 42 *Months*, *and that of Time*, *Times and an half*, (*or* 3 *Years and an half*,) *are not only Synchronical*, *but must be interpreted Prophetically*, *so as that we must interpret Days to signifie Years*. See Page 19, *&c.*

The *2d* Preliminary was this: *That in order to understand the* Prophetical Years *aright*, *we must reduce them to* Julian Years, *or* such *as are in use with us now in* Europe.

And, as I think, I have irrefragably proved both these Heads: So, I hope, I may be allowed to say, that, so far as I can learn, I was the first Man that found out this *second Point*; and that adjusted the *Prophetical* or *Judaical Years*, of 360 Days, with the *Julian* or *Roman* ones of 365 Days. For which, see *Page* 24, 25, 26.

Having premised these things, I proceeded to inquire into the *true Æra* of the Rise of the *Papal Beast*, or the last Headship of *Rome*, *viz.* that of the Reign of the *Antichristian Whore* or Apostate Church of *Rome*.

And, in order to adjust this, I laid this Foundation; that *five Heads* or *Forms of Government were actually fal-*

len, at the time of the Vision: for so the Angel, that was sent to interpret the Apocalypse to the Apostle *John*, says, in express Words, *Rev.* 17. 10. And he adds, as expressly, that *one* was then in being, *i. e.* the *sixth Head* or *sixth Form* of *Government*. And we know, that whatever Dispute there may be, as to the *five former sorts* of *Government*, that were fallen before the time of *John*'s being in *Patmos*; there can be no Dispute at all, as to that Form of Government that then obtain'd: for every one must own, that it could be none but the *Imperial*; seeing this was introduc'd long before *John* was born, and lasted long after his Death.

All the Controversy therefore, that can be, in this matter, I did suppose must be in relation to the other Head or Heads of the Roman Government. And therefore, I set my self to examine the remaining Part of the *Angel-Interpreter*'s Words; which he gives as the *Key* of the whole *Apocalypse*; when he says, *Chap.* 17. 10. that after the Fall of the *Sixth* or *Imperial Head*, there were *two* in *Name* to come, (tho *one* only in *Nature* and in *Propreity* of *Speech.*) His Words are, that *the other*, (*i. e.* the Seventh, in Point of Succession,) *is not yet come, and* that *when he cometh, he is to continue* only for *a short Space:* Adding, as to the last Head of *Rome*, ver. 11. *And the Beast that was* before, *and* yet *is not* now; *even he is the Eighth*, (*viz.* in Point of Number and Succession) *and* yet *is of the Seven*, (in Point of Nature,) *and goeth into Perdition.*

Now, when I came to search into History, I could not but conclude, that the *seventh Head* of *Rome* (*viz.* in Point of Name and Succession) which succeeded the *Imperial one*, could not possibly be any other than that of the *Ostro-Goths* under *Theodorick* and his *Successors*, to whose Government *Odoacer*, the King of the *Heruli*, prepar'd the way, by destroying *Augustulus*, the last proper (however weak) Emperor of *Rome*, in the Year 475, or 476. For, as it is certain, that *Odoacer* first, and *Theodorick* and his Successors afterwards, down to *Tejas*, were as absolute Masters of *Rome*, as ever

ever any of the Emperors had been before; nay, and were own'd to be so by the Christian *Emperors* of the *East*, as every one knows, that has consulted *Cassiodorus*, in *Libris Variarum*, who was himself chief *Minister* of State to two of those *Gothish* Kings: So it is plain, that this *Gothish* Monarchy, which lasted only about 80 Years, down from *Odoacer* to *Tejas*, might justly be said, by the Angel, to be of *short Continuance*; seeing, comparatively, it was so, whether we consider it in Relation to the preceding *Imperial Head* of *Rome*, or the *Papal one* that succeeded.

And here I must so far break off the Thread of the present Discourse, as to call to mind, that this Notion of mine did so confound the late famed Apocalyptical Writer, Mr. *Beverley*, as to occasion him to write a Pamphlet against me, intitl'd, *The Grand Apocalyptick Question, when the Reign of Antichristianism, or the Papacy began? And consequently, when it shall end? In the Assertion of the Epoch or Beginning thereof, at* A. D. 437; *and the Period or End thereof, at* 1797, *humbly debated with Mr.* Fleming, *&c.* To which, I thought it enough to reply, in a *Marginal Note*, in a *Practical Discourse*, which I was then a Publishing, upon the Occasion of King *William*'s Death, which is to be seen in the 40th *Page* of that Discourse. In which *Marginal Note* I observed, that, whereas he insisted upon a Criticism, in Defence of his Notion, that the Christian Empire of the East, was properly meant, *Rev.* 17. 10. by the ὁ ἄλλος, which he renders ἀλλότριος, *i. e.* the *Alien* or *Forreigner*; his own Observation made against him, and for me; seeing the *Gothish Monarchy* was indeed *Alien* and Forreign to the *Romans*, and to all the Forms of their Government, which no *Imperial Government* could be said to be; seeing, whatever Religion obtained, the *Imperial Form* was still retain'd. And whereas he adds, that the *Regnancy* of this *seventh Head* was to continue only *for a short Time*; I observed that this did also make for me, and against him; seeing the *Empire* of the *East* continued long after the Ruin of the *Gothish Monarchy*.

And

And surely there can be no such natural Exposition of the Character given of that *Form* of *Government*, which succeeded the *Imperial*, as that which I added there, *viz.* " That it was remarkable, that the Head, " which is said to be the *Seventh* in Order, is not said " *to be of the Seven*; (this being the Character of the " *last Head*, which is *really* the *Seventh*, tho the *Eighth* " in order;) and that for this Reason; because the " *Gothish Kingdom* in *Italy*, tho it was the *seventh* Head " or Government of *Rome*, was not, for all that, the " *seventh* Roman *Head*: Seeing it is certain, that it " did not spring or arise out of *Italy*, or *Rome*, or from " the Bowels of the *Roman People*; but was a *forreign* " *Power*, that invaded and subdued them, and erected " a sovereign Government there by Conquest. And indeed there is so much Wisdom visible to me, in the Contrivance of the Characters of these two last Heads of *Rome*; that I am not asham'd to say, is, to me, no small Proof of the Divine Authority of this whole Book.

And therefore I added the Reason, why the Dialect is quite altered, when the Angel speaks of the *Eighth* and *last Form* of the *Roman Government*, after this manner. " For seeing the *Papal Government*, which suc- " ceeded to the *Gothish* over *Rome*, did really spring up " from the Bowels of the *Roman People*, it was just for " the Angel to Characterize this *last Head* of *Rome*, as " that *which was* one *of the seven proper Forms of* Roman " *Government*; the *Gothish Kingdom* being properly none " of them, both as being the same, as to Kind, with " the *first Regal Government* of *Rome*, and as being *no* " *proper* Roman *Government*, seeing *Goths* and not *Ro-* " *mans* or *Italians*, did then rule and command the " Ancient Dominions of *Rome* and *Italy*, which did " always give Name to the *fourth General* or *Universal* " *Monarchy*, from its *first Rise* under Kings, and after- " wards downwards, thro' all the *successive Forms* there- " of to this Day.

Having

Having said so much, I return (and, I hope, I do so with Advantage) to prosecute the Thread of my Discourse. For seeing I have evinced, 1. That the *Gothish Monarchy* was the *seventh Government* of *Italy* and *Rome*, at the same time, that it was no *Roman Government* at all: And, 2. That the *Papal Government* was really *one* and the *last of the seven* Roman *Forms of Government*, at the same Time that it was the *Eighth* in Order, as being immediately successive to *that of* the *Goths*: I cannot (after the Probation of these two Points) but necessarily conclude; that, if we can find out, when the *Gothish Monarchy* ended, we may rationally hope to discover, when the Reign of the *Papacy* began to commence.

Now, seeing the Kingdom of the *Heruli* first, and *Ostrogoths* afterwards, began *An.* 476, upon the Death of *Augustulus*, and ended, *An.* 553, when *Justinian* destroyed it, and consequently revived the 6th *Imperial* Headship of *Rome*; (by which *that Head*, tho it had received *its deadly Wound*, never to be fully cured, *was yet*, for a time, *healed*, in Appearance:) I say, seeing the Case was so, it is certain, that a quite different Form of Government from the Imperial, could not be supposed to take Place, just at that time. And indeed, such were the Confusions that followed the Destruction of the *Gothish Monarchy*, that there can be no proper Form of Government found in History, in Relation to *Rome* and *Italy*, for a considerable time afterwards. For *Narses* having brought in the *Lombards*, the *Emperors* of the *East* were glad to rest contented with their little and precarious Government, which was only that of the *Exarchate of Ravenna*.

So that there is not the least Pretence, that the *Papal Government* came in Play, as a *proper Head*, or *Form of Government* over *Rome*, until the Year 606, when *Phocas* gave the Title of *Universal Bishop* to *Pope Boniface the 3d*. But then we must remember, that the famous Prophecy of his Predecessor, *Gregory the Great*, was not, *that he should be Antichrist that should assume that proud Title*,

Title, but that he that should do so, *should be the Forerunner of Antichrist*. So that, as I said, in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 33. *Phocas* did only *proclaim* the *Pope*, as one that was about to be the *last Head* of *Rome*: It being left to *Pipin* to give him the *solemn Investiture*, and to *seat* him on the *Throne*; as it was left to his Son *Charlemain*, to confirm him in this Dignity.

Now, as near as I can trace the time of this Donation of *Pipin*, and Confirmation of *Charlemain*, it was in or about the Year 758; when, (after Pope *Zachary* had made Provision for the Erecting the *Roman Metropolitan Church* at *Rome*) Pope *Stephen* the 3*d* was made a *Secular Prince*, by *Pipin*, *A. D.* 755. or three Years after that, when Pope *Paul the First* began to build *the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *viz. A.* 758, or 759.

If therefore we make the Year 758, to be the *Æra of the Papal Kingdom*, the 1260 Years of the Duration thereof, cannot be supposed to run out before the Year 2018, if we reckon by *Julian Years*: But if we reduce them to *Judaical* or *Prophetical* Years, they end exactly in the Year 2000. Or if we begin the *Papal Reign*, in *An.* 755, 756, or 757, when the Pope was first own'd and submitted to, as the true Head of *Rome*, the difference of about 3 Years is no great matter; especially seeing Authors differ among themselves as to the precise and exact time, when these things fell out.

However, upon the Supposition, that the Papacy became regnant in the Year 758, we find, that the Year 758, from the Birth of Christ, when it is adjusted with the Characteristical Number of Antichrist, *A. D.* 666. is the Year 72; which I take to be the very Year of *John*'s seeing the Visions, which are recorded in the Apocalypse; tho I know others reckon it to have been the Year 75. Tho it is also observable, that as the numerical Letters of the last Head of *Rome* are to be found, not only in the Greek Word, which signifies *Latine*, but in the Hebrew Word also of the like Signification, whether we read *Romana scil. sedes*, or *Romanus vel Latinus*, (as I shewed, *pag.* 31. of the Apocalyptical

tical Discourse :) So it was in the Year of our Lord 666, that Pope *Vitalian* did first ordain that all Publick Worship should be in *Latin*, as if he had design'd that *Italian* and *Vitalian* should *chime* one with another, to the *Tune* of a *canting Cathedral Ave Maria*. But to return;

The *Great Apocalyptical Question*, is therefore this; when the Pope came to get himself owned and submitted unto, as Prince and Head of *Rome*?

That he did not attain to this Grandeur, so much as in Title, before *Phocas* his time, is, I think, too plain to be denied. For as *Gregory the Great*, in his Letter to the *Emperor Maurice*, pronounced him to be the *Forerunner of Antichrist*, who should assume the proud Title of *Universal Bishop*, as I have said, and as *Baronius* tells us at large, *ad Annum*, 595. So his Successor *Boniface the Third*, was no more than *Antichrist's Fore-runner*, by assuming it, *A. D.* 606. as I believe *Phocas* did only design, by giving it, to shew his Resentment against *Cyriacus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had displeased him, and to ingage the Pope to stand by him, in case of need, as knowing how precarious his own Title was, and how hated his Person was by all Men.

But a bare Title and an Ecclesiastical one too, could never make the *Pope Head of Rome*, in any Propriety of Speech, whilst as yet he had no Temporal Dominion over *Rome*: and therefore I am obliged to run down to the Donation of *Pipin*, as the only Period of Time, from whence the Papacy can be supposed to mount the Throne of *Rome*, as its last Supreme Form of Government.

Objection. *But it seems odd, to date the Pope's Headship from hence; seeing the Limbs of Antichrist are made up only of Ecclesiasticks; and that therefore, tho the Temporal Dominion, which* Pipin *and* Charlemain *granted him, might serve indeed to support him, yet it could not constitute him, to be the Supreme Head of* Rome; *seeing he never had any such Temporal Jurisdiction, from whence he could claim an universal Headship; it being plain that he never had*

had any more Dominion, than what serv'd to make him one of the petty Princes of Italy.

Answer. This Objection were Demonstration against me, had I ever own'd the Pope to have been equally a Temporal Head, in extent of Dominion and Power, as an Ecclesiastical one. But all that I pretend to infer from the Donation of *Pipin*, is this; that he had not, before that time, what was sufficient either to support him, and to entitle him to be Head of *Rome*; seeing, ever before this, the *Popes* were *Vassals* to the *Imperial Power*, whose Subjects they were, and owned themselves to be: *Rome* it self being annexed to *Ravenna*; which was then the Capital City of that District or Province of *Italy*, belonging unto the Greek Emperors, where they kept an *Exarch* or *Governour* to rule and manage all their Affairs. So that it was *Pipin* that advanced the Pope from being a Subject to be a Prince, by giving him the whole *Exerchate of Ravenna*; by which *Rome* became the *head City* of that Territory, and the *Pope* consequently Head of *Rome*, independent of all others.

The History of this Transaction we have in *Baronius*, *ad Annum* 755; who tells us, That when *Pipin* had undertaken an Expedition into *Italy*, upon the Pope's humble and earnest Request, he found the Pope's Circumstances very low. For *Aistulph* King of the *Lombards* had conquer'd *Ravenna*, and the whole *Exerchate*, excepting *Rome* only; to which he was then laying close Siege. But *Pipin*, as the Pope's Champion, fell upon *Aistulph*, and entirely routed his Army, and conquer'd the whole Country; refusing to make any Peace with that Prince, until he had quietly yielded up the whole *Exerchate* to Pope *Stephen* and his Successors for ever.

Now *Baronius* tells us, that while these things were in dispute, and that *Aistulph* had agreed to do as *Pipin* desired; the Emperor *Constantine Capronymus* sent Ambassadors to *Pipin*, demanding the Restitution of the Lands and Cities of the Exerchate, as belonging of Right neither to *Pipin* nor *Aistulph*, which therefore neither

neither of them separately, nor both jointly, had any Pretence to give away, either to the Pope or any Body else. But Power overcame Right, and the poor Emperor protested in vain; for the Pope was not only invested in the Supreme Headship of that Dominion, but had some other Cities and Villages given him likewise: All which do now constitute the *Ecclesiastical Territory* of the *Roman See*, as it is usually called.

And, as a Monument of this memorable Transaction, *Baronius* tells us, that there is extant, (*u*) at *Ravenna*, *an Inscription*; where a summary Account of this *Donation* of *Pipin* is yet to be seen, and which runs thus: PIPINUS, PRIMUS AMPLIFICANDÆ ECCLESIÆ VIAM APERIENS, RAVENNAM, CUM UNIVERSO EXARCHATU, ALIASQUE OMNES CIVITATES, IN PRIORE FOEDERE CONTENTAS, ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS PERPETUO POSSIDENDAS, SUIS DIPLOMATIBUS CONCESSIT; ETIAMSI IMP. CAPRONYMI AD EUNDEM REGEM MISSI LEGATI ACRIUS INSTITISSENT, UT EAS IMPERIALI RESTITUERET DITIONI. Which Inscription we may render thus, in the British. *Pipin, being the first Person that opened the way of the Inlargement of the Church, did give and grant, by his Letters Patents, to the Popes of* Rome, *not only* Ravenna, *with its whole Exarchate; but all the other Cities mention'd in his former Treaty, (viz.* in that which he had made before with *Aistulph* the *Lombard) to be possess'd by the Bishops of* Rome *in all time coming; notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of the Emperor* Capronymus, *who were sent, upon this very Account to the same King* Pipin, *had, with the greatest Vehemence insisted, that the said Exarchate and those other Cities should be restored to the Imperial Government.*

(*u*) Mezeray, p. 99. *says the same, and tells us, that the Inscription is on a Marble Stone.*

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Of this Transaction other Historians of the Roman Church take notice also, particularly *Anastasius*, *Leo Ostiensis*, *Baleus* and *Platina*. Only there is some Difference between these Authors. For, whereas *Platina* says, that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 2d*; *Baronius* asserts, that that Pope liv'd but three Days, and that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 3d*. And, whereas *Platina* placeth Pope *Paul* the *1st* between these two *Stephens*, making him the Brother of the first of them, *Baronius* placeth him after both the *Stephens*, making him to be the Brother of the latter. So that we see how uncertain the Chronology of that Age is, as to precise Years; and that therefore we ought not to be positive. However the Difference of 3 or 4 Years being allowed for, (which is no great thing in calculating the Period of 1260 Years,) we find an Agreement as to this; that *Pipin's Donation* of the Exerchate, was to *one* of *these Stephens*, (excepting that *Platina in Vita Hadriani primi* says, that the *Exerchate* was first given by *Pipin* to *Gregory* the *3d*, Predecessor to *Zachary*, and afterwards confirmed and ratified to *Hadrian* by a solemn Oath, and with new Privileges by *Charlemain*) at or about the Year 755, or 758. and I think it was most probable, to Pope *Stephen the 3d*, that *Pipin* gave this Gift, towards the end of his Life, and therefore in the Year 755, or 756; as it was in the *2d* Year of the Papacy of *Paul* the *1st*, and therefore in the Year 758, that the *Palace* of the *Papacy*, *viz.* the *Church* of *St.* Peter and *St.* Paul, was begun to be erected.

However memorable is the Character which *Platina* gives us of that Age, *in vita Stephani tertii: Nunc vero adeo refrixit Pietas*, &c. "At this time Piety and Religion "were so far sunk, that Men did not only not wor- "ship God, as formerly, bare-footed, but refus'd any "Prostration, with Shoes and Stockings on. They did "not cry and weep in the time of Worship, but stood "ridiculing it, in the most impudent Manner, laugh- "ing and telling Stories one to another, all the while.

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" I speak not of the meaner Sort, says he, but the " highest, even the most eminent of the Clergy. And " what shall I say further? seeing the more wicked " and impudent any Man was then, the more he was " honour'd and praised, so little of Virtue was then " left in the World. And from henceforth the Chri- " stian Religion did decline more and more every Day. A true and memorable Account of the Period of Anti-christ's being born into the World.

But, to come further to answer the Objection; I say, that tho I am far from thinking that the Pope's Temporal Dominion was ever equally co-extended, in a proper Sense, with his Ecclesiastical Headship: Yet I reckon he neither was, nor indeed could possibly be, the proper Lord of *Rome*, until he was possess'd of this Dominion as well as of the Ecclesiastical Title; nay that he never was universally owned to be Supreme Head of *Rome* even in an Ecclesiastical Sense, until he had a Civil Sanction given him, to exempt him from any Subjection to secular Princes.

For, seeing the Denomination of Supreme Head of the City of *Rome*, was ever, in all Ages, and by all Men, agreed upon to be the Fundamental Title of the Headship of the Roman Dominion: The Pope may be reasonably look'd upon, upon this very Account, to be the Head of the Roman Government; tho he had even a smaller Share of *Italy*, annex'd to the Possession of the City of *Rome*, than he has been possess'd of, ever since the Days of *Pipin*. For the Pope possesses as much of *Italy*, at this Day, and ever since the *Donation* of *Pipin*, (tho not before) as ever was possess'd by all the old Kings of *Rome*, down from *Romulus* to *Tarquin the Proud*; nay and for some considerable time after the Expulsion of the Kings, and the Succession of the *Consular Power*. And why then should this *last Form of Government* be denied the *Title* of *Supreme*, any more than the *first*, during its whole Duration; or the *second* for a considerable time afterwards? For all the *Roman Authors* are agreed that the *Regal Go-*

vernment was as much the *Supreme Government* as the *Imperial*; and that the *beginning* of the *Consular Power* was also as much the *Supreme Form of Government*, as it was afterward when the *Dominion* of *Rome* was ten or twenty times larger than before. For the Dominion of *Rome* it self was the essential Character which they went upon this Way: Insomuch as that *Romulus*, who had hardly a Foot of Ground beyond the poor and weak Walls of his Infant-City, was ever look'd upon to be as really *Supreme Lord* of the *Romans*, as ever *Augustus* was afterwards, when the Empire had stretch'd it self over the greatest Part of *Europe*, and a vast Part of the Continents of *Asia* and *Africa*.

Hence it is that (*w*) *Florus*, comparing the Increase of the Roman Power, to the Age of a Man, speaks thus: *Prima ætas sub Regibus fuit, prope* 250 *per annos, &c.* That is; *The first Age* (*i. e.* of the Government of *Rome*) *was under Kings, for* 250 *Years, during which it was exercis'd, round its Mother* (*viz.* Rome) *with Conflicts with its Neighbours. This may be said to be its Childhood.* The next Age begins with *Brutus* and *Collatinus* the *Consuls*, and runs down to *Appius*, *Claudius* and *Quinctius Fulvius* the *Consuls*, then taking in the Period of 200 Years, within which time *Rome* conquer'd *Italy*, *&c.*

And thus *Tacitus* also reckons the *Fundamental Constitution* of the *Roman Government* to stand in the *Possession* of *Rome*; when he (*x*) says, *Urbem Romam ab initio Reges tenuere, &c.* i. e. *Rome was at first under Regal Government*, &c. So that the Essential Point, that was ever agreed upon, as that which gave Denomination a true Supreme Form of a *Roman Government*, was this; that it was own'd and submitted unto as *Supreme* over the City of *Rome*, and consequently was *Head* of the *Roman People*. And this the Angel himself, who was sent to *John*, to give him the Key of the Apocalypse, doth plainly suppose, *Chap.* 17. *ver.* 18. So that *Romulus*,

(*w*) Lib. 1. cap. 1. (*x*) Annal. Lib. 1. in Exordio.

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as I have said, was ever look'd upon, to be as much the Supreme Lord of the *Romans*, tho (at first be had not one Village or Cottage, beyond the narrow Compass of his first Walls and *Pomœria*;) as *Augustus* was afterwards, when, in a comparative Sense, it might be said, *atq; iidem fines Orbis & Urbis erant*, *i. e.* that the Limits of *Rome* and the *World* were the same.

And, besides what was of old; if we descend lower, how confin'd was the Roman Empire, under *Gallienus*, upon the Usurpation of the 30 Tyrants, that rose up in several Parts of the Empire? How weak was it under *Valentinian* the 3*d*? And how much lower and more narrow'd under *Augustulus*? And yet the Possession of the City of *Rome* entitl'd them to the Possession of the *Roman People*. So that, in this Case, I may justly make use of the old and certain Logical Maxim, that *Majus & minus non variant speciem*, *i.e.* that Degrees alter not the Essential Nature and Properties of Things; even as it must be said, in all Propriety of Language, that he that were *Doge* of the City of *Venice* upon a Declension of that Republick, (even upon the Supposition, that all its Lands, not only in the *Morea*, but in *Italy* it self, were intirely lost,) that, I say, he would still be *Doge*, as much as he that now possesses that Title.

Therefore, tho I should yield to those that make the *Objection* even to the fullest Extent of their own main Proposal; that the Fundamental Constitution of Antichrist is this, that he claims an Universal Ecclesiastick Headship over Christians: Yet I must still be allowed to add, that I cannot possibly date his full and proper Rise to this, sooner than the Donation of *Pipin* and his Son *Charlemain*'s Ratification of the same; by which those Princes did intirely yield the *Dominion of Rome* to the Popes for ever; and, in order to this, gave him the Precedency, even over themselves; insomuch, that they refused to be owned Kings or Emperors at all, until the Pope had greas'd them with his anointing Oil, and set the Crown actually on their Heads. For tho

Pipin had been made King, by the Blessing and Declaration of Pope *Zachary*, who joyn'd with him in deposing *Childerick*; yet, upon Pope *Stephen*'s coming to *Paris*, to demand Assistance against the *Lombards*, he not only met him, and walk'd before him, leading his Horse; but would be crowned by him again, together with his Sons. And we are equally assured, by Historians, that, after his Death, his Son *Charlemain*, from his Zeal for the Pope, went to *Rome* it self, in order again to receive his Crown from the Holy Father, and therewith the Title of Emperor of the *Romans*.

And surely, this was the Time, when the last Head of the *Roman* Beast, after his having united the Secular to the Ecclesiastical Headship, did (as the (*y*) *Two horned Beast*, by his *double Claim*, of being the Successor of *Peter*, as to Ecclesiastical Matters over Priests, and of his being the Successor of the *Emperors*, as to Temporal Matters over Princes) make an Image of the old *Roman* Empire; which was eminently verified in the Coronation of *Charlemain* and his Successors, by the Title of *Emperors of Rome*, and in that of their apparent Heirs, by the Title of *Kings of the Romans*. For it is evident to any that understand History, that both these Titles, as well as their Authority and Power, amounted to no more than what the Character of an Image does amount unto, in Relation to the Original thereof. For every one must own, that, as the *Roman Popish Worship* is an Image of the old *Pagan Romish* Religion: So that *Charlemain*'s Dominion and Title also, (preserved since, in some Measure, in the *German Empire*) was never any greater Matter, than a bare *Image* or *Shadow* of the *Old* Roman *Empire*.

Now, ever after this Time, we find, that the Popes laid Claim to a supreme Power, both over the Western and Eastern Emperors, as well as over all Kings and Princes, whose Territories had ever been formerly sub-

(*y*) *See* Rev. 13. 11, 14.

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ject to the old *Romans*; nay, and over the whole World too, under Pretence of their being Christ's Vicegerents, and the Successors of *Peter*, as Prince of the Apostles; and that therefore they are invested with the supreme Regal Office, as well as with the supreme Priesthood.

Did they not, ever after the Days of *Pipin* and *Charlemain*, openly twist Universal, Secular, and Ecclesiastical Power together? And have they ever gone back, at any time, in the least, from this Claim? Do they not, at this very Day, openly declare, that their *Cardinals* are equal in Honour to Sovereign Princes? And do not their Nuncio's, upon this very Score, take Place of the Ambassadors of all crowned Heads, the Emperors not excepted? Are not several of their Ecclesiasticks Independent Princes upon all but the Pope only, and particularly such as are *Electors* of *Germany*, *viz.* those of *Mentz*, *Trier* and *Collogn*?

Nay, did not the Popes, for many Centuries, demand Tax and Tribute, both ordinary and annual, and extraordinary upon special Occasions, not only from *Italy*, but from all *Christian Nations*, and therefore from all *Countries*, formerly subject to the *Roman Empire*? And did not almost all these Nations own the Popes to be Superior to their own natural Princes, and that with their own Consent too, paying them Homage accordingly, as well as Tribute? The old Tax, famous in this Nation, by the Name of *Peter's-Pence*, is a standing Monument of this, as well as innumerable other things, observ'd in our Annals? As particularly, that famous or rather infamous Instance of a noted King, that was forc'd to submit to be openly whip'd by the Monks and Priests, in a very odd manner, to save himself from being depos'd or put to Death? Was it not a Maxim of the Cannon Law, owned then both by Princes and People, that it was in the Pope's Power to depose all Princes, at his Pleasure, by his Excommunications? And are there not Instances of his doing so; and of his being submitted unto accordingly, both by

Princes and Subjects. And when, at length, some Princes declar'd against this; was not the Notion so strong and universal, that the Bulk of the People declar'd themselves freed from their Allegiance to their natural Princes, and took up Arms against them accordingly? He that has ever read the History of past Ages, and particularly the terrible and bloody Wars of the Emperors and Popes Parties, under the Names of *Gibbelins* and *Guelts* or *Welphs*, cannot dispute how great the Papal Authority and Power were at that Time; especially if the memorable History of the Great Emperor *Henry the 4th* be consider'd, whom the Pope depos'd, and set up *Rudolph* Duke of *Swevia* in his Stead, sending him an Imperial Crown, with this *Motto* upon it.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho.

That is,

Christ *unto* Peter *gave the Crown,*
Which he to Rudolph *sends from* Rome.

Upon whose Death Pope *Gregory the 7th*, sirnamed *Hilebrand*, (in whose Time the Papacy was at its heighth,) was so far from yielding to the Emperor, that he found Means to influence his own Son, *Henry the 5th*, to rise against his Father. This, with innumerable more Stories of this kind, the Histories of those Times are full of. One of which is so memorable, as ought never to be forgotten, *viz.* that the Brave and Heroical Emperor, *Frederick Barbarossa* was forc'd, thro' this Passive-Obedience-Principle of his Priest-ridden Subjects, to yield himself to the Pope, at length, where, after he had been treated as a Beast, as particularly to lie all Night abroad in the Street, before St. *Mark*'s Palace, was, at length, trampled upon by the Pope, who kick'd him with his own Feet, saying, it is written, *Upon the Viper and Basilisk thou shalt walk, and*

and the Lion and Dragon thou shalt tread under thy Feet. To which, when the Emperor, remembring his Dignity, had said, *Non Alexandro sed Petro*, I do not this Honour to thee, Pope *Alexander* the 3*d*, but to *Peter*; the Pope impudently answered, *Et mihi & Petro*, thou dost it to Me, and consequently to *Peter*.

From all these things, (and many more might be added) it is plain, that tho the Pope be properly an Ecclesiastical Head; yet he is really the only Head of *Rome*, in a secular Sense also, down from *Pipin* to this Day: And that consequently his being made Temporal Head of the *seven hill'd City*, (which is as well known, to denote the ancient Seat of the *Roman* Monarchy, in *Roman* Authors, as that of *Rome* it self) that *rules over the Kings of the Earth*, was that which laid the Foundation, at least in a full Sense, of his exercising all the Power of the *former* Roman *Head*, or *Romish Beast*, under the *Imperial Form* of *Government*; but not under the Formal Authority or Title of Emperor; but (as the Revelation elegantly words it, *Chap.* 13. 12.) *before him, i. e.* under his View, by his Papal Authority, as a Power superior to him. So that, tho the Pope made an *Image* of the former *Imperial Authority*, and gull'd *Charlemain* and his *Successors* with this fine Feather in their Caps; yet he reserv'd the real Authority and Power, both over them and their Subjects, to himself, and oblig'd them accordingly, to pay Homage ultimately to himself. Witness the infamous *Vassilage* which Pope *Hadrian* oblig'd the *Emperor* to, A. D. 1157. when he forc'd him to hold his Stirrup, *&c.* and his setting up a *Picture* of this in the *Vatican*. Nay, the same Pope enacted also, in *Edicts*, as well as impudent *Letters* to the Emperor; 1. That *all the Kingdoms of the World were subject to him*; and that *he was set up by God, to destroy Countries and Nations, as he* pleased. 2. That *he was the supreme Head of the* Roman *Empire*; and that the *whole* Roman *Empire* was therefore *held now of him*, as being a *Fief of the Papacy*.

Now, after this Deduction of things, I could not but conclude, that the *Æra* of the *Papacy*, as the *last Head* or *Form* of *Government* of *Rome*, was, as near as I could calculate it, in or about the Year 758; and that consequently, the Conclusion of the 1260 Years of the Papal Regnancy, must be about the Year 2018, which, according to Prophetical or Judaical Reckoning, is the Year 2000.

And, having laid this Foundation, in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*; I proceeded to adjust the *Three Grand Periods* of the Apocalyptical Reckoning of the Time, that was to be between the Gospel-Times, from the Effusion of the Spirit, on the Day of *Pentecost*, mention'd *Acts* 2. to the *Millennium*.

The (1.) Period therefore, consisting of the *seven Seals*, I supposed to begin at A. D. 33, or 34, and to end with *Constantine the Great*, A. D. 337.

The (2.) Great Period of the *Trumpets*, I did think, most probably, to begin about two Years after *Constantine*'s Death, *viz.* A. D. 339, and to run down to the beginning of the Reformation.

Now, under this Grand Period, I did suppose, that *the 1st Trumpet* ended with *Theodosius*, *An.* 395; the 2*d* with the Ruin of the *Western* Empire of *Rome*, under *Augustulus*, An. 476; *the 3d Trumpet* with the Ruin of the *Gothish Kingdom*, An. 553; *The 4th, first* with the *Donation* of the *Exarchate*, to the *Pope*, by *Pipin*, A. D. 758, and *then* with the Confirmation of this Gift, by *Charlemain*, confirmed by the Total Destruction of the *Kingdom* of the *Lombards*, An. 773, or thereabouts; *The 5th Trumpet*, interwoven in Part with the former, and relating to the *Saracen Empire*, and the State of the Church then, from *An.* 622, the Year of the *Hegyra*, to *An.* 772; and from thence to 1067, when *Tangrelipix* destroyed the *Saracen Empire*; *The 6th*, relating to the *Turks*, as their History is interwoven with that of the Church, from *A. D.* 1067, to *An.* 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*; during which time the *Witnesses* were slain, and lay unburied,

buried, afterwards, until the Year 1516; *The 7th Trumpet*, comprehending the *seven Vials*, beginning that same Year.

Therefore the (3.) Grand Period of the *Vials*, begins *An.* 1516; *The 1st Vial* running down to 1564; The 2*d* to 1616, or 1617; The 3*d* to 1648; The 4*th*, from thence to *A. D.* 1716, or 1717, as to the heighth thereof; but to expire fully, *An.* 1794.——— And, to pass other things, which I have conjectur'd in Relation to the other Vials, I only add, that the Conclusion of the Papacy is to be a little before the Year 2000; at which Time, I do suppose the *Millennium* will begin.

In all these things I am obliged to be very short; leaving the Reader, for further Light, to my Apocalyptical Discourse, so often refer'd to already.

However, I cannot dismiss this Inquiry, without observing how many things concur to make me believe, that Antichristianism was never fully fix'd in its Chair, before the Days of Pope *Paul the 1st*, Pope *Stephen the 3d*, Pope *Hadrian the 1st*, and Pope *Leo the 3d*; who were Contemporaries with *King Pipin*, and his Son *Charles the Great*. For, (1.) Tho several Popes, that preceded them, had stiffly contended for Image-Worship, to the Effusion of much Blood, especially in their Squabbles on this Score, with the *Grecian* Emperors; yet they never attain'd to get Idolatry fully established, before *Stephen the 3d* his Time. For his Predecessor *Constantine*, (the Brother of *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*,) during his being Pope, for a Year and a Month, was a great Enemy to Idolatry, and beat down all Images out of *Rome* and its Dominions every where; and had the Concurrence of a Synod too, held purposely on this Subject. For which Reason Pope *Stephen the 3d*, or *Stephen the 4th*, according to *Baronius*, was set up against him; tho under Pretence, at first, that he came unjustly to the Popedom, as being only a bare Laick, until his Party set him up, and that the Bishop of *Ravenna* had consecrated him Bishop of *Rome*,

Rome, which was indeed owned by *Constantine*. But he told his Enemies, that he had done no new thing: For that *Sergius* the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and *Stephen* Archbishop of *Naples*, had been thus made Bishops, *per saltum*, from being Laicks. This inraged *Stephen the 3d*, and his Idolatrous *Lateran Synod*, which he had got together upon this occasion; to that degree that they pull'd out his eyes, thro' Rage. So that this *Constantine* seems to have been the last *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*. Upon whose Death *Antichristianism*, in point of *Worship*, came to be entirely fix'd. And together with his Ruin, the Pope did a little while after obtain, by means of *Charlemain*, to destroy the whole Kingdom of the *Lombards*, who had been the eminent Opposers of Idolatry all along. And yet as mad as the Pope and his Synod were against *Constantine*, in nulling his Acts, and in establishing Error and Idolatry; they agreed that all *Baptisms* and *Extreme Unctions*, performed either by himself or any others during his time, should be owned to be valid. For it seems the Church of *Rome* was not quite so nonsensical as some pretended Protestants amongst us; who do not only damn Ecclesiastical Mens Acts, because not just of their way, but likewise do condemn, as null and void, the very Acts of Bishops, who, as they pretend, are no Bishops, because of their invading the Sees of others, and thus breaking their Chimerical Notion of an uninterrupted Succession. (2.) As Antichristianism, came both into the *Creed* and *Worship* of the Romish Church, in Pope *Stephen*'s Time; (in whose Days, says *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in his Chronology of the Popes, added to *Platina*'s History, *the* 11th *Grand Schism happened, the greatest of all others that had been before*) so, as *Platina* tells us, the Morals of Men bore Proportion to both; such universal Wickedness having come in with both, as never was known before. (3.) And, whereas the Popes had only an empty Title formerly of being universal Bishops; they were then invested with Supreme and Independent Authority, Dominion and Power, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, both over

over *Rome* and Christians. (4.) And, besides these things, it was not till then, that the Princes of *Europe* agreed, to submit their Faith and Consciences implicitely, to the Determinations of the Pope and his Clergy. (5.) Nay the Pope did then first get the Power to excommunicate Princes and People, as he pleased, nay and to punish them with Death or otherwise, as he thought good, where he could attain to put his Laws in Execution. (6.) And as the *Greek Emperors* of the *East* never had one Foot of Ground in *Italy*, after this, nor the least Shadow of Power; so there was no *Emperor* of the *West*, so much as in Name, from *A. D.* 755. until *A. D.* 800; when *Charles* the Great got the Title of (z) *Emperor of Rome.* (7.) But then, as I have said, the Western Emperors were no better than Images of Empire: the whole *Crowned Heads* of *Europe*, ever after that, being no better, in relation to the Pope, than what the Electors are now in *Germany*, in respect to the Emperor. Nay they were vastly more Tributary than they, and every way inferiour. For, tho the Popes often made Emperors, the Emperors had no Power to make Popes; or, if they attempted it, they were sure to be excommunicated, in order to be deposed.——Now, in Case any Man can shew me a Con-

(z) *Of this Inauguration and Coronation* Platina *gives us a twofold Account. The* 1st *is,* in vita Hadriani, *where he says, that* Charles the Great, *having waged War against the Lombards, upon the Pope's Request, having subdued them, and put an End to that Kingdom,* A. D. 778. *which was the Year* 204, *from its first Erection; he went to* Rome, *where, after Salutations, he and the Pope went to St.* Peter's *Church, where they did mutually and solemnly swear perpetual Friendship, in all time coming. And there, as the* Pope *confirmed him King, so* Charles *did confirm him in the Possession of the* Exerchate, *bestowed upon him by his Father. But, seeing no mention is made of any solemn Coronation of* Charles *then, nor of the Title of Emperor; this is not the principal Thing to be regard to; as being that only that answers to the* Proclamation *of a King, that is afterwards to be solemnly Invested and Crowned. Therefore* Platina *tells us,* 2dly. in vita Leonis tertii, *that Pope* Leo, *being desirous to return some eminent Favour to King* Charles, *who had deserved so well of the Church*

Concurrence of these Circumstances, before the Days of *Pipin*, I shall own my self mistaken, as to the *Æra* of the Reign of the Papacy. But, as I despair of this; so I hope none will be so silly, as, for the future, to date Antichrist's Reign from *Prepararions* to its Reign, rather than from its *actual Mounting the Throne*: Which is just as good Sense, as to date King, *William*'s Reign, not from his being *Proclaimed King* or from his *Coronation*, but from his Landing at *Torbay*, or even from the Birth of the *Prince of Wales*; which seems to have been the main Spring of the Revolution. And indeed, at this Rate, we might as justly conclude, that the Papacy began to reign, in the Apostolical Age, seeing the Scripture tells us, that that Mystery of Iniquity began then to work, as that it began its Reign either in the Days of *Constantius*, *Justinian*, *Valentinian the* 3d, or *Phocas*. How strange then is it, that no Writer, before me, did ever think of the time of *Pipin* and *Charlemain*, as the *Æra* of the Papacy; which has all the Characters and Properties of the *begun Regnancy* of the *Papal Antichrist*, as the *last Supreme Head* of the *Romish Beast*; or of the *Romish Beast* as rid upon by the *Scarlet Whore*; or of the *Beast* with *two Horns*, that made an *Image* of the *Old Roman Imperial Government*, at the same

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Church, and considering how weak the Emperors *of* Constantinople *were to support that Dignity, and that upon this Account* Rome *and* Italy *were exposed to endless Calamities; he did therefore, at the desire and Prayers of the People, after Divine Worship in the Palace of St* Peter, *in the Year* 800, *declare* Charles *to be Emperor, pronouncing it with a loud Voice, and placing a Diadem on his Head; all the People shouting and crying out,* Carolo Augusto, a Deo Coronato, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori, Vita & Victoria; *that is,* May *Charles* the Auguſt, Crowned by God, the Great and Flourishing Emperor, be blest with Life and Victory. *Now, says* Platina, *at the same time that* Charles *was Crowned Emperor of the Romans, his Son* Pipin *was declared and anointed King of* Italy, *which was to answer the Old Title of* Cæsar, *which after* Domitian's *time was never used to signify* Emperor, *(for the Senate, by a Law, had order'd the contrary) but was a Title given to the apparent Successor, and which is now continued in* Germany, *in the Title of* King of the Romans.

time

time that he exercised the Supreme Government, *before that Shadow* of the old *Roman Imperial Government*, or *above it*, as the Sovereign of all Emperors as well as Kings.

So that, as *the little Horn*, that *came up last*, *Dan.* 7. 8, 24. is said, 1. Not only to have been *divers from all other Kings*; and, 2. To have been raised to his Supreme Power at the time of his having subdued Three of the ten Kingdoms, or, as the Words are, by getting *three Horns plucked up by the Roots* before him: So I may confidently apply this to the *Papacy* in *Pipin*'s time. For, by his Means, the Papacy, 1. Conquer'd the *Exerchate* of *Ravenna*, and consequently was made Supreme Head of *Rome*, the Emperors of the East being thus deposed; 2. By his means also the Papacy conquer'd the *Kingdom* of the *Lombards*, which, next to the Eastern Empire, had been the greatest Enemy of Idolworship's prevailing, and consequently of the Pope's arriving to supreme Power and Empire; and, 3. By the means of *Pipin* also, the *Kingdom* of the *Franks* (which was afterwards, under *Charlemaine*, intitl'd the *Western Empire*,) was abridg'd of any Power over *Rome* or *Italy*, and was yielded, in some Sense, to be subject to the Popes. But I have said so much on this Subject already, that it is high time to come to stop now.

And indeed I had added no more to what I have said upon this Inquiry, if I had not been desired to consider a Book, that I was told was come out about a Year ago, with great Applause, on the Apocalypse; *viz.* that of Mr. *Whiston*: Which I confess I was willing to consider, as being not only the Work of a Celebrated Author, but because I understood that he had published, not only his own Thoughts therein, but those also, so long and so generally talk'd of, which the *Bishop* of *Worcester* has been equally famous for, as for his Skill in Chronology. And indeed I find by Mr. *Whiston*'s own account, that his Book is nothing else, but an Illustration and Improvement of that Learned *Prelate's Scheme*: Which,

Which, having, as it were, espoused for his own, and written out from the Bishop's Dictates or Notes, he has now, by agreement with him, sent forth with his own Improvements.

Great Names usually bear a great Sway in the World, and I confess it was so with me, in this Case, upon my first View of this Famous Book. What! thought I, may we not expect from *such a Paul*, when receiving and writing such Truths at the Feet of such a *Gamaliel?* But I was extremely surprized, when I came to consider the Book more closely. For tho I found Learning enough in it, as well as Mathematical Method: Yet, I must say, that I found in the whole very little either new or solid, unless old *Joseph Medes's Scheme* new-vamp'd be reckon'd a *New Interpretation* of the *Apocalypse*.

But, as Dr. *Allix* has lately told Mr. *Whiston*, in his Letter to him, that he has run into many Mistakes, by founding so much upon that Author's Scheme: So I think every one will say the same thing, that is acquainted equally with Mr. *Mede's* and Mr. *Whiston's* Notions.

However, I was glad to find Mr. *Whiston* to have escap'd one of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Errors, *viz.* that of intermixing some of the *Trumpets* with the *Seals*, and most of the *Vials* with the *Trumpets*; of which Error I took Notice formerly in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 36. And my Surprize, this way, was the greater, because this Mistake was the Native Result of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Notion of the Twofold *Parallel Prophesie*, *viz.* of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codecil*. For seeing Mr. *Whiston* magnifies this so much, I could not but suppose, that his avoiding the Conclusion, tho he had espoused the Premises, was owing to *some other Persons* Scheme than Mr. *Mede's*.

I have neither Room here, (considering Circumstances,) nor Leisure, nor Inclination, nor indeed Health, to run out largely upon that Author's Scheme. However, I cannot forbear to mention a few Things here,

here, tho very cursorily; which I look upon as *Mistakes* in themselves, as well as inconsistent with my Thoughts, upon the present Subject.

And, (1.) I must say, that I see no Reason for his fixing upon *A. C.* 96, which was the Year of *Domitian's* Death, as the Year of *John's* seeing the *Apocalyptical Visions* in *Patmos*, as he does *Lemma* 4. Page 32. For *Dio Cassius* says, that *Domitian* was kill'd after he had reign'd 15 Years and 5 Days; and *Suetonius* tells us, that he was slain the 14*th* of the *Calends* of *October*. When therefore *Jerom* says, that *John* wrote the *Apocalypse* in *Patmos*, in the 14*th* Year of *Domitian*; Learned Men have hitherto agreed, that it was *A. C.* 95, that the *Apocalypse* ought to be dated from. But I am apt to think, that *Jerom* was mistaken, when he makes *John's Relegation* to *Patmos* so late. For, by what *John* says to the Church of *Smyrna*, Chap. 2. ver. 9, 10. It is plain to me, that *Domitian's* Persecution was of *ten Years* Duration in all; *Days* being put for *Years*. Now it had been very odd for *John* to advise the Christians of *Smyrna* to hold out in Patience for these *ten Years*, while, at the time of the writing of this, by *John*, *all* the *ten Years* were expir'd, or just expiring; if, as Mr. *Whiston* says, *John* saw the Apocalyptical Visions the same Year wherein *Domitian* died. And yet I am far from saying that *John* wrote this at the very beginning of *Domitian's* Persecution: For I am moved by the Authority of *Irenæus* to think otherwise; who tells us, *Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 30. as his Words are preserv'd by *Eusebius*, *Hist. Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 8. that *John* saw the Apocalyptical Visions, —— πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομιτιανοῦ ἀρχῆς, *towards the end of* Domitian's *Reign*; which I think Mr. *Whiston* strains too much to his *Hypothesis*, when he renders his Words, *at the end of the Reign of Domitian*. Now, upon the Supposition that *John* saw his Visions while that Persecution was yet raging, and was yet to continue to do so for some Years; it was very consonant for *John* to tell the Church of *Smyrna*, how long the Persecution, they were then under, was to continue in all; as it was also

so congruous for *Irenæus* to use an indefinite way of expressing the Time of *John*'s being in *Patmos*, to supply the Defect of his not knowing, certainly, the particular Year of his seeing his Visions. And perhaps he had just Reason to write indefinitely after this manner likewise; because, if *John* was several Years in *Patmos*, as it is highly probable he was; it is equally probable, that he might see some of the Visions of the Revelation one Year, and some another. So that, by laying all these things together, I conclude, that, tho no Man ought to be positive, as to a certain Year, in such Cases; yet that it is highly probable, that at, or about the Year 92, the Date of *John*'s being in *Patmos*, and of his seeing his Visions there, must be plac'd. And this was the Reason of my supposing formerly, that the Year 92 was probably the Year wherein *John* first had the Visions, contain'd in the Revelation, communicated to him.

(1.) I wonder how Mr. *Whiston* comes to lay it down, as his 3d *Hypothesis*, that St. *John* should use *Roman* Years in his Calculations. For as I have demonstrated in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 19, *&c.* he uses no other Years than *Daniel* used before him, *viz.* Years of 360 Days apiece.

But however, I am glad to hear from him, *Page* 85, that the *Bishop* of *Worcester*, has, by the help of distinguishing between *Prophetical* and *Julian* Years, attain'd to an exact Calculation of *Daniel*'s *Weeks*: Which I hope we shall see in due time. However, as I have made an *Essay* this way already, in the 4th *Chapter* of the *preceding Book*; so I hope it is no Injustice either to *him* or Mr. *Whiston*, to say, that near 7 Years ago, I publish'd that Distinction, which I had discovered many Years before. When therefore Mr. *Whiston* says, that this was not known *for so many Ages, till our excellent Chronologer and Scripturist, the Lord Bishop of* Worcester, *made this Observation, and so laid a firm Foundation for the clearing of it*: I suppose Mr. *Whiston* meant only to say, that the *Bishop*, so far as he knew, was the first Discoverer

verer of it; for I presume, he will not say he was the first Publisher thereof. And, tho I shall not question, but that he might have made this Observation long before I was born; he being a much elder Man than I am; yet, as I never saw him, so I cannot be supposed to have received any Light, either in this, or in (*y*) any other respect, from him; as indeed, I never had the least Information, this way, from any Man whatsoever.

But to proceed, (1.) It is plain, *That the three Grand Apocalyptical Numbers of* 1260 *Days*, 42 *Months, and Time, Times and an Half, are not only Synchronical, but must be interpreted Prophetically, so as Years must be understood by*

(*y*) *Were it not, that the* B. *of* W. *is so highly Celebrated, as the only* Oedipus *of the* Revelation *in our Age, I might have Reason to suspect that he might have been owing to a very obscure Author, for some Hints of this kind; especially, if I have had Reason to know, that he has condescended so far, as to peruse even a small Discourse, containing,* A New Account of the Rise and Fall of the Papacy. *E. G. Whereas I had formerly, near seven Years ago, in my* Apocalyptical Discourse, viz. *in the* Postscript *to it,* Page 171, *drawn a memorable Observation, from* Rev. Chap. 1. ver. 19. *compared with* Chap. 4. ver. 1. *It cannot but be supposed to be pretty odd, at least to me; to find the same Passage, with no Alteration, excepting that of Words, introduc'd by Mr.* Whiston, *with this pompous Preamble,* Page 31. And besides this,——— there is another Argument,———and which, as I own, was first observed to me, by our great Chronologer, and most accurate Enquirer into these Matters, the present Lord Bishop of *Worcester. And then he proceeds to tell the World, as News, what I had published long before; nay, and to draw from it the very same Conclusion I did, in Relation to the* 7 Epistles *to the* Asiatick Churches; *which looks the more likely to have been taken from me, because it is altogether Foreign to Mr.* Mede's *Scheme, (of which, that of the* Bishop *and Mr.* Whiston, *is a profess'd Improvement, as Mr.* Whiston *tells us in his* Latin *Dedication,) to discard these* 7 *Epistles from being Prophetical. And I believe it will not be easy to find any Apocalyptical Authors before me, that made this Observation: At least, I know of none. Perhaps some Persons may think it too mean to own themselves to be oblig'd, in any thing, to the Writings of one, that is called a* Presbyterian. *However, let the Reader compare what Mr.* Whiston *says,* Page 31, 32. *with what I said formerly,* Page 171, 172, 173. *and then let him judge it as he pleaseth.*

Days; as I have proved in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 19. And therefore, (2.) It is impossible to understand these Years to be *Roman* ones. For then the 1260 Days, when reduced to such Years, must be imperfect by 18 Years. For which Reason, I shall be at the Pains again to write out that Scheme, which I gave formerly in my *Apoc. Dis.* p. 26.

The *Prophetical* Year.		The *Julian* Year.	
Years.	*Days.*	*Years.*	*Days.*
1.	360 360	1.	365 365
2.	720	2.	730
3.	1080	3.	1095
Half Year.	180	*Half Year, about*	183
Three Years and a Half.	1260		1278

But, (3.) I must add, that I cannot think of any thing offer'd, that looks like a Reason, why the Revelation should run upon any other Years, than those used constantly before, in the Prophetical Writings. For *John* was not at Liberty in this Case. He wrote only what he saw and heard; and pronounceth a dreadful Curse, upon any that should add or take from his Text, *Chap.* 22. 18, 19. Seeing therefore the same Spirit dictated to *John*, what he was to write, that had done

done the ſame before to *Daniel*; and ſeeing, as *Daniel*'s Propheſy fills up the *Hiatus*, or *void Time*, between the end of the Old Teſtament-Hiſtory, unto the end of the *Jewiſh Government*; *John*'s Propheſies beginning where *Daniel*'s end, and running down to the *Millennium*, in a diſtinct Order; and from thence in a *few Generals*, to the end of Time, filling up thus, the Want of the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament: And laſtly, ſeeing the ſame *Phraſeology*, the like *Figures*, and the very ſame kind of Numbers, are made uſe of: It is aſtoniſhing to me, that all Interpreters before me, ſhould have remain'd ignorant of this Point ſo long.

When therefore Mr. *Whiſton* calculates *Daniel*'s 1290, and 1335 Days, by *Roman* Years, I think he goes upon a very precarious Bottom. And as for the *other Number* of *Daniel*, the *new Invention* of Calculating which, by Prophetical Years, he attributes *to the Great Chronologer and Interpreter, the B. of* W. (tho I think he might have found the ſame materially, and that again and again, in Mr. *Beverley*'s Writings:) I preſume to ask him, What other Reaſon, either the *Biſhop* or *He* can aſſign, why the Spirit of God calls the Days of this Number, not ſimply *Days*, but *Evenings-Mornings*; unleſs it was with Deſign, to let us know that he meant not 2300 *Prophetical Days* to be interpreted *Years*, but that he meant *Natural Days*, that were uſually diſtinguiſh'd into *Evenings* and *Mornings*. I foreſee, that Mr. *Whiſton* may remit us to his *Theory*, for an Anſwer; where he ſuppoſes, that the *ſix Evenings* and *Mornings* of the *World's Creation* were *Years*, and not *common Days*. But when he gives us his Reaſons, over and above his bare Word, for this; and when likewiſe he will let us know, whether the *Day* of *Reſt* was a natural *Day* or a *Year*; I ſhall then readily ſubmit to his Opinion. But, in the mean time, I muſt be allowed to think, that no more was literally intended by the 2300 *Evenings-Mornings*, than

those 2300 Natural Days of the *Prophanation* of the Sanctuary, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; which therefore seems to have continued exactly 6 Judaical Years, 4 Months, and 20 Days.

And here, before I proceed to other things, I humbly beg the Favour to know, how he can reconcile what he says, in the 3d *Corollary* of *Lemma*, or *Proposition* 14. *Page* 83. where he approves the *Bishop* of *Worcester*'s Opinion, (which I own to be mine also,) *that* 3 *Times, and a Section or Part*, is equivalent to *three Years and an half:* I say, I desire him to reconcile this with *that Part* of his *7th* and *last Hypothesis*, where he says, *that* 3 *Times, and a Division or Part of Time*, does signifie 3 *Years and a Month.*

And I beg the like Favour, as to the *first Part* of the same *7th Hypothesis*, to let us know, upon what Ground he pretends that the τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς, *the Third Part of the Earth*, is to be understood of *the most eminent and remarkable Third Part, which can be supposed.* For, by these Words, I am oblig'd to suppose, not only, that we must understand, by the *Three Parts of the Earth*, the Three Parts of the then known World, viz. *Asia*, *Affrica* and *Europe*, but that we must understand likewise, That either *Asia* must constantly be meant by this 3*d Part*, (seeing it is certainly the most *eminent*, as to Bigness,) or *Europe*, because, (in some Respects, especially in later Ages,) it has been the most *remarkable*, upon the Account of peculiar Providences. I leave Mr. *Whiston* to chuse which he pleaseth to adhere unto. Only I crave leave to think, that the Spirit of Prophesy, where-ever he useth this Phrase, alludes, not to the Three Parts of the Universal World, as it was known of old, but to the Three Parts of the *Roman* Empire, (to which only the Christian Church had the most direct Relation, down from *John*'s Days, to the Discovery of *America*) as it was divided, by *Constantine the Great*, between his Three Sons, viz. *Constantine, Constantius* and *Constans.* And perhaps, I can pro-

produce such Probabilities for this, as Mr. *Whiston* can never pretend to parallel. In the mean time, I am bold to say, that his *7th Hypothesis* is equally precarious as his *3d* and *4th*.

And here I shall take Notice of one thing further, wherein, as I humbly think, Mr. *Whiston* is mistaken, in Point of Calculation. And I do, at the same time own, that I was mistaken, this way, my self, in some Measure, when I wrote my *Apocalyptical Discourse*. It is that Passage mention'd, *Rev.* 9. 15, *&c.* in Relation to the *Fourfold* Turkish *Government*, which afterwards united under one Head. Concerning whom it is said, 1. *That the Four Angels were loosed, viz.* from their former Confinement; and, 2. That, *they were prepar'd to slay the 3d Part of Men.* And, 3. That the Period of their Conquests over the *3d Part of Men*, was to be that of *an Hour, a Day, a Month and a Year.* Now, in order to understand this Period, we must know, (1.) That the *Turks* were at first divided into *four* sole *Tribes*, or *Sultanies*, who were confederated together for mutual Defence. Of which, Mr. *Whiston* has given us a Scheme, p. 178. tho whether it be exact or not, the Obscurity of History allows us not to know. However, that there were four *confederated Tribes* of that People, all are agreed. (2.) It is equally agreed, that *one* of these *Sultanies* or *Tribes*, with the Assistance of the rest, did, under the Command of their Prince *Tangrolipix*, (otherwise called *Togro'l-Beg* or *Togrul-becus*, for which consult *Abul-Pharag.* p. 226. & *Elmacin*, p. 271, *&c.*) did invade the *Saracene Empire* in *Persia*, and subdued it, destroying the *Caliph*, and reigning in his Stead. Which memorable Transaction, was *in* or *about* the Year 1067, or 1068, which Mr. *Whiston* says, p. 173. *is well known in History.* (3.) Let it be remembred, that the Text gives us a *Threefold Rule* of Calculating the Number assigned. The *1st* is this; That we must calculate the *Æra* thereof before their *four Sultanies* were united in one Empire, under *one Sultan.* And seeing we know that this was not until *Ottoman* reign'd,

which was a considerable time after their Passing *Euphrates*, as Mr. *Whiston* owns; we cannot but know likewise, that the very Foundation of his Calculation, founded on this Passage, falls to the Ground. The 2*d Rule* is this, That it is not said, that *they shall reign for an Hour, &c.* but it is said, *That they were prepared for an Hour*, &c. *i. e.* for such *a Period of Time*, as is afterwards described. Now, seeing the *Preterite* is used here, and a *Preparation* spoken of, which is a very peculiar Word, in such a Case as this; I cannot but think, that we are directed to look back upon their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, under *Tangrolipix*, as the *Æra* of the *Turkish Preparations* for invading the *Christians*. For, ever after that, they became formidable, and were still Invading some Place or another. Now, as I take this to be the true *Turkish Æra*; so we have a 3*d Rule* given, by which we are directed to understand, when the *Preparation* was to end, by their full Accomplishment of the Work they were sent to do. And this, as the Event has made good, was their *entire Conquest* of the *Greek Empire*. And this is expres'd, by their *slaying the* 3*d Part of Men*, i. e. their subduing the 3*d Part* of the old *Roman Empire*, *viz.* that Part, which *Constantine* gave to *Constantius*, when he divided it among his *three Sons*. So that the *Turks*, from the Time of their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, were gradually *prepared* for, and made gradual Advances against the *Grecian Empire*, until they intirely swallow'd it up at last. And of this the Spirit of God thought fit to give Warning in this Place, by desiring us to take notice of this Enemy then, when they should pass the River *Euphrates*, which they did under *four Sultans* or *Generals*, viz. *Soliman Shahum* and his *three Sons*, which was towards the end of the *thirteenth Century*, as is supposed by the best Authors. (*a*) And when *Soliman Shahum* happened to be drowned, by a Mistake of the

(*a*) *See* Pocock's Supplem. ad Abul-phar. *Page* 41, 42. & 106, 108.

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Foard he ought to have passed over at, two of his Sons, viz. *Sankur-zengi* and *Cun-Tugdi*, were so frightned at this *Omen*, in the beginning of their Enterprize, as to desist from proceeding, and to return with their Followers, to their old Habitations in *Persia: Ortogrules* alone, or as others write it, *Ostrogules*, or *Otrogules*, the third Son continuing on this Side *Euphrates*, becoming thus, together with his *three Sons*, the Head of those *Turks*, that were resolv'd to push their Conquest Westward; the Names of whose three Sons were *Condoz*, *Sarubani*, and *Othman* or *Ottoman*. So that the *Turks* retain still their ancient Form of a *Fourfold united Government*, a considerable time after their passing *Euphrates*. And this remain'd until such time, as that *Ottoman* the youngest Son did, by Degrees, and with abundance of Artifice, lay the Foundation of making himself sole Monarch: Which at length he attain'd to, but not sooner than several Years after his Father's Death, tho not without considerable Struggles; which was at, or about the beginning of the *fourteenth Century*, which some think was in the Year 1300, or 1301. Now, if after these Considerations, we come to calculate the Number here assign'd in the Text, we shall find they reach down exactly from their Conquest of the *Persian Empire* under *Tangrolipix*, to their Conquest of the *Greek Empire*, under *Mahomet the Great*. But here, as I formerly observed in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 50. an *Hour*, in the prophetick Stile, does always denote, by an indefinite way of speaking, a *Season* or *Period* of *Time*, be it longer or shorter. So that when it is said, that the *Turks* were prepared for *an Hour*, &c. I take the Meaning to be this; that *they were prepared for an Hour or Season*, even *for a Day, a Month, and a Year*. But if Mr. *Whiston* will insist upon, bringing *an Hour* into the Account, not as a *General*, inclusive of the *other Numbers*, as *Particulars*, (tho I think he can find no parellel Place, where an Hour is otherwise used,) the Matter is so small, as is not worth contending for; seeing, when he has made the most of it, it amounts

only to 15 Days. So that, let us reckon *an Hour* as we please, the *Period* consists of *a Day, a Month and a Year*; which according to Prophetical Calculation, reckoning by *Caldean* or *Judaical Days, Months, and Years*, make up exactly 391 Years. And accordingly, they reach down from the Year 1067, that is, 1062 of Prophetical Reckoning; at which time *Tangrolipix* erected the *Turkish Empire* in *Persia*, upon the Ruins of that of the *Saracens*, and so conclude with that memorable Year, 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, and consequently conquered the *third Part of Men*, or the *third Part* of the Old *Roman Empire*, and erected his own *Empire* upon the Ruins of the *Grecian one*. But in case that we think proper to reckon by common Years here, (I mean as to the Year of Commencement and Conclusion of the 391 Years, the Reader will find, that it took up about five Years from the taking of *Constantinople*, before the Turks attained to have all Troubles in the *Eastern Empire* composed, and all things relating to its Security fully settled and adjusted. So that, according to this Reckoning, the 391 Years lead us down from the vulgar Year 1067, to the Year 1458. And indeed, upon second Thoughts, I must own that this is the truer Reckoning. For as Historians reckon by Vulgar Years, and *John* by Prophetical ones; and as these 391 Years must be Prophetical, because they are part of the 1260 Years: So they do exactly fill up the Space between the Year 1067, and the Year 1458; a Year as memorable, in some respects, as the former, for the taking of *Peloponesus*, which was followed by the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Trebizond*, and consequently of the whole *Grecian Empire*——Now, had Mr. *Whiston* considered this, he needed not to have taken such vast Pains, as I find he has done, to begin the *Æra* of the *Turkish Preparations* with *Ottoman*, in order to conclude it with the Year 1697. when Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* obtain'd his memorable Victory over the *Turks* in *Hungary*. For, in the 1*st* Place, the time of *Ottoman*'s beginning to reign is so obscure, that it is suprizing

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to me that Mr. *Whiston* should not only fix upon the *Year* of the *beginning* of the *Ottoman Empire*, as if he were certain that it was the Year 1301, but condescend also upon the *Month* and *Day* thereof, as if he were next to certain that it was *May* 19, that Year. 2*dly*. Why shou'd the Victory of Prince *Eugene* over the *Turks*, *Sept.* 1. 1697. be reckon'd the conclusive Year and Day of the *Turkish Woe*, any more than the time of their being defeated, when they besieged *Vienna*, when they were so near taking it, some Years before. For either Mr. *Whiston* meant to say, that the Victory in 1697, was the *end* of the *Turkish Preparations*, by their intire Conquest of the *third Part of Men*, or the Inhabitants of the *Grecian Empire*; or that it was the *end of all Turkish Hostilities* against the Christians; or lastly that it was the *final end* of their *Government* as an *Empire*. The *last* he cannot say. The *second* he can as little say, unless he pretend to an *infallible Spirit* of *Prophecy*. And, as for the *first*, it is as contradictory to his Scheme, as it is agreeable to mine, and I think to the Text it self. And it deserves serious Consideration, that after the Conquest of *Constantinople*, *Peloponesus*, and *Trebizond*, the *Turks* were so disposed of in Providence, almost in the same manner, as they had formerly been on the other side of *Euphrates*, as never to be able to carry on their Conquests further *Westwards*, than the Limits of the old *Grecian Empire*, to which they have been confined since, notwithstanding their formidable Attempts, this way, under several *Sultans*, particularly *Solyman the Magnificent*, and *Mahomet the Third*. And, 3*dly*. Seeing I have shewed before that all the *Numbers* which *John* uses, ought to be interpreted by *Prophetical Years*, *Months*, *and Days*, I must say, that were his Calculation never so right, as to the *Æra* of its beginning, the Conclusion must still be false, seeing he reckons here after the *Roman* manner of Calculation, making the Sum Total to be 396 *Years*, and 106 *Days*. 4*thly*. I desire him once more to consider, as I hinted above, that he goes directly opposite to the Words of the Text,

when

when he dates the *Æra* of the *Turkish Preparations*, from the time that their ancient *Quadropartite Government* was destroyed, by being reduced to *one single Sultany* under *Ottoman*; whereas the *Text* plainly directs us to fix the *Æra* sooner, *viz.* when they were under the Government of four *Sultans* (called by *John four Angels*) both before and after their passing over the River *Euphrates*. And seeing the Case is so, and that we have no account of any one memorable Action of that People, before that time, excepting only that under *Tangrolipix*, in, or about the Year 1067, it seems to me to have been the design of Providence to necessitate us, as it were, to fix upon no other Year as the *End* of the *Turkish Preparations*, for the entire Conquest of the *Grecian Empire*, than the *Year* 1458, or about that time, of *Prophetical Reckoning*, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Peloponesus*, and invaded *Trebizond*, and so gave the *finishing Stroke* to his Conquest of the *Greek Empire*. For tho *Constantinople* it self was reduced from being the 3*d Part* of the old *Roman Empire*, when *Mahomet* took it: Yet his Additional *Dominions*, conquer'd by him, did justly intitle him to be Head of the old *Greek Empire*. Thus ended the *Turkish Preparations*, by a full Completion of that *Work*, for which they had been gradually prepared before, and for the performance of which, upon that degenerate and apostate Set of Christians, they were commissioned and sent forth by God. Now I shall say no more here, being willing to be short; only I leave Mr. *Whiston* himself, and whosoever shall read this, to compare it, with what he says in his *Essay*, *pag.* 176, *&c.*

(3.) But, as I humbly think, Mr. *Whiston* is mistaken, in his calculating some of *John*'s *Numbers* by *Roman* Years, and consequently in those things that depend on that Calculation; So, I think, he is no less, if not much more, mistaken in fixing the *Æra* of the *Papal Antichrist's* mounting the Throne in *A. D.* 456. I shall therefore proceed to shew how precarious an

Hypothesis

Hypotheſis he runs upon, when he dates the *Reign* of the *Papacy* from the Year 456.

And indeed, I may juſtly ſay, that I have done this ſufficiently already; having, if I miſtake not greatly, ſufficiently, nay unanſwerably, proved, 1. That *a new Head* or *Government* of *Rome* could never be ſaid to obtain otherwiſe, than by its being *Sovereign Lord* of the *City of Rome*; which, according to the general Idea and Sentiment of all *Roman Authors*, was then (and not till then) when it attain'd to be own'd, *as ſuch*, by the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome*, and conſequently till it was agreed unto, to be *ſuch*, by the *Confederates* of the *Romans*. 2. And, I think, I have equally proved, that the *Papacy* never obtain'd this, until *Pipin* firſt, and his Son *Charlemain* afterwards, ſet it up *as ſuch*, and gave an Example to all others to do ſo, enforcing this upon all Men, by Solemn Edicts, and by Penal and Sanguinary Laws.

And therefore, I need to be the ſhorter upon this Head. I ſhall therefore only deſire Mr. *Whiſton*, (1.) To let the World know, by what Philoſophy, or upon what Reaſon, he makes *a diſtant Preparation* to reign the *actual Time* of a *Prince* or *Government*'s beginning to reign. For, according to this Method, *Antichriſtianiſm* began its *Reign* in the *Apoſtolical Age*, ſeeing *Paul* tells us, that the *Myſtery of Iniquity* began then to work. And, at this rate, every gradual Step that *Antichriſtianiſm* took towards its *Headſhip* over Chriſtians, may, with equal Reaſon, be reckoned the *Æra* of the *Pope*'s becoming the *laſt ſupreme Head of Rome*. And, (2.) I deſire he would let us know, why 456, is pitch'd upon, rather than any other Year, as the *Æra* of the Pope's Exaltation. For, I am ſure, Mr. *Beverly* had much more Reaſon to date the *Regnancy* of the *Papacy* from the Year 476, when the *Weſtern Empire* was deſtroyed by the *Oſtro-Goths*, than Mr. *Whiſton* can pretend to have, for fixing this at the Year 456, meerly becauſe the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Huns* did, for ſome Years before and after, pillage, over-run and ruin *Rome*, for a Time, together

gether with several of the *Roman Provinces*, but without fixing any *new Government* over them. For, at this rate of Reasoning he might as rationally conclude, that the beginning of the *Pagan-Conquest* of the *Jewish Nation*, of old, ought not to be dated, neither from the Captivity of the *ten Tribes* of *Israel*, or that of the *two* Tribes afterwards, but from *Shishak*, call'd, in the *Gentile* History, *Sesostris*; because he conquered the Land of *Israel*, for a Time, in the Days of *Rehoboam*, and took *Jerusalem*, and the golden Sheilds of *Solomon* out of the *Temple*, together with both the Sacred and Civil Treasures, doing whatever Conquerors use to do in the like Case. And indeed, if we compare the Account of that King's Conquest of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, 1 *Kings* 14. 25, 26. 2 *Chron.* 12. 2, 3, 4, 9. with the Account given by Historians of the Inroads of the barbarous Nations into the *Roman Empire*; we shall find 'em pretty much alike. For, if *Alaricus* took *Rome*, *A.* 410, and if *Athaulphus* the *Goth* pillaged that City, *A.* 414, yet they left it soon after. And if *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, and *Attila* the *Hun*, made dreadful Devastations in the *Roman Provinces*, from about the Years 455, and 456; and afterwards, tho with several Intermissions, down to the Year 476: Yet these soon expir'd. Now, for a Man to think, that *Popery* was then got upon the Throne of *Rome*, when the Pope himself durst not appear there; and when both the *State* and *Church* of *Rome* were, in a manner, swallowed up, during that Time, and for several Years after; is, to me, one of the oddest Fancies that ever entred into the Head of any wise or learned Man.

And yet, according to his Scheme, that is and must be the Year of the Rise of the *Papacy*. And consequently wonderful Things are to be expected in the conclusory Year, *viz.* 1716. What these are, he gives us an Account of in 6 Particulars, p. 270, *viz.* 1. That Tyranny and Idolatry will then end; And, 2. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of *Rome*; 3. And the 42 Months of the defiling the Sanctuary; 4. And the

1260

1260 Years of the Churches being in the Wilderness; 5. And of the afflicted State of the *Vaudois*; 6. And that the tenth Part of the great City will fall at the same, and the 7000 *Names of Men*, mention'd, *Rev.* 11. 12, 13. *Who were to be slain then*; and that, soon after this, *the 7th Angel will sound the Great Trumpet*, for the Restauration of the *Jews*, and the pouring out the 7 *Vials*, or last Plagues, upon the Beast's Kingdom, in order to its utter Ruin and Destruction for ever.

Now, as for the five first Particulars, they are all one and the same; and therefore, as I have only contracted them to keep up his Number; so he needed only to have said, that Popery would cease to reign after the Year 1716, because that was the last Year of the 1260. But the last Head of the great Events, which he then expects, is, I think of a Heterogenious Nature from all the former, and contains several Things, relating to very different Periods, in my humble Opinion; so that I am oblig'd to let him know, that I find some pretty gross Mistakes wrap'd up in this small Bundle; the disproving of which, will carry along with it also a full Refutation of his Fancy, that all the other Events he speaks of, will come to pass in the Year 1716. To proceed therefore, I say,

1. That the τὸ τρίτον, the *third Part* of the *Earth*, or the *third Part* of *Men*, denoting, as I said, the *third Part* of the *Roman Empire*, when it was in its Glory; we have just Reason to suppose, that, when afterwards the *Roman Empire* was split into 10 *Kingdoms* or *Parts*, the δέκατον, or *tenth Part* of the City or Empire of *Rome*, must be supposed to denote one or other of these 10 Kingdoms, and probably one of the most conspicuous and eminent of them. Now Mr. *Whiston* himself, when he gives an Account of these 10 *Kingdoms*, p. 228. (which he reckons to be, 1. That of the *Greeks*, 2. *Romans*, 3. *Suevi*, 4. *Burgundians*, 5. *Visigoths*, 6. *Vandals*, 7. *Britains*, 8. *Ostrogoths*, 9. *Saxons*, 10. *Franks*,) plainly owns, that the *Grecian Empire* did, at last, cease

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to be the *third Part* of the *Roman Empire*, so far as to become the 10*th Part only*. And tho it be certainly inconsistent with this Division of his, to make *Constantius*, *Julian*, *&c.* to be no more than *Emperors* of the 10*th Part* of the *Roman Empire*; yet there is all Reason to think, that it was high enough to call it the *tenth Part*, in the Days of the last Emperor *Constantine Paleologus*; tho even then it might be justly called τὸ δέκατον, *the tenth Part* (*viz.* by way of Eminency) of the *Roman Empire*, or of the *Great City*, because of its ancient Title and Dignity, notwithstanding of its narrow Limits and Weakness at that Time. So that all Characters and Circumstances make me believe, that the 10*th Part* of the City, that fell when the *Witnesses* were slain, as it is mention'd, *Rev.* 11. 13. was *that Part* of the *Grecian Empire*, that remained to the *last Emperor* thereof, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, A. D. 1453. Whereas, when *Mahomet* had intirely conquer'd the whole Dominions of *Constantius*, he might justly be said to slay or conquer the 3*d Part* of the Subjects or Territories of *Old Rome*, or the *Great City*. Whence we see, how consistent it is to suppose, that the *Grecian Empire* may equally, tho in different Respects, be called *both* the 3*d and* 10*th Part* of the *Roman Empire*. So that I humbly conceive, this Event is over long ago. But it is very common for Men to forget or slight past Things, and to magnifie what happens in their own Times, tho vastly smaller than the former, and to be also too big with expecting things, and, to be sure, in a little time too, which are yet perhaps long ago past over. And I presume to say, that I can assign no other Reason than this, for Mr. *Whiston*'s overlooking, in his *Scheme*, not only this wonderful *Event*, but the *Reformation* also brought in by *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*; and indeed almost all the most memorable Providences since. But of this more afterwards.

2. Whereas, in the same Earthquake that destroyed the 10th Part of the Great City, it is said, that *seven Thou-*

Thousand Names of Men perished, *Rev.* 11. 13. I am still of the same Mind I was in before, when I wrote my Discourse *concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, that this Metaphorical Phrase denotes this only, that those *Eastern Christians*, whom *Mahomet* conquer'd, were, generally speaking, so degenerated, in all Respects, as to deserve no greater Character than that of the *Names* or *Shadows* of *Christians*, as being only *Nominal Christians:* And every one that knows any thing of the latter Times of the *Grecian Empire*, (for which we need only to look into the *Byzantine Historians*) must own this to be as true an Account, as a sad one; seeing neither the *Vandals*, *Saracens*, nor *Turks* did ever exceed them, or, I think, equal them, in all manner of Impieties. And indeed, it is memorable, that as the *Turks* are said to slay or destroy *the Names* of so many Men, or so many *Nominal Christians*, (and we know that the Number 7, whether alone, or with the Addition of so many hundreds or thousands, is a perfect Number of its Kind;) so the *Popish* Party are represented as Triumphing over the *dead Bodies* or *Carcasses* of the *slain Witnesses*, i. e. as I formerly explain'd the Phrase, over the *Calixtines* in *Bohemia*, who submitted to the *Papacy*, with the Allowance of a small Mark of Distinction, *Rev.* 11. 9, 10. And it is memorable, that both these Conquests, *viz.* of the *Western Christians*, by the *Papists*, and of the *Eastern ones*, by the *Turks*, are said to fall out *the same Hour*, Rev. 11. 13. that is in the same Season or Period of Time, (*viz.* toward the Conclusion of the *6th* Trumpet, a little before the sounding of the *7th*) as they certainly did, according to my Interpretation.

3. And now, seeing I am insensibly led to the memorable Account of the *Prophesying*, *Martyrdom*, *unburied State*, *Resurrection and Ascention* of the *Witnesses*, spoken of, *Rev. Chap.* 11. Let me humbly beg Mr. *Whiston*, to condescend so far, as to peruse what I formerly wrote of this Subject; as he will find it, *p.* 51. of my *Apocalyptical Discourse*; where, if I mistake not,

I have set this Matter in a clearer Light, than ever it was in before, and demonstrated, as far as such a Subject will allow of such a Proof, that the *Great and General Slaughter* of the *Witnesses*, was then, when the *Waldenses*, *Albigenses*, *Piemonois*, *Wiclifites*, *Hussites* or *Taborites*, were so intirely destroyed, as that the whole World believed, there was not one of them remaining alive. And indeed, if some few of them were alive, unknown to the World, they were only alive *as Men*, but not alive *as Witnesses*; seeing, *as such*, none but themselves knew any thing of them. So that none of all those that had witnessed before, against Popery, were known at last to be alive, excepting the *Bohemian Calixtines*, who had apostatized to *Rome*, and who had been, for some time, the most imbitter'd and cruel Persecutors of their old Brethren the *Taborites*, because they would not desert the old Doctrine of *Huss*, as they had done. Nay, so exact is my Calculation here, that I shew, that from the Death of the *last* and *famous Martyr* of *Bohemia*, *Andreas Poliwka*, to the first Appearance of *Andreas Carolastadius* and *Zuinglius*; and consequently to the *beginning* of the *Reformation*, when, as I think, the *Witnesses* arose, there was, (as near as we can find it out, from History,) just 3 *Years and an half*. Which, as it answers exactly to the 3 *Days and an half* of their *unburied State*, which was to be between the Death of their *last Martyr*, and the *first Revival* of the new inspired ones, or those into whom the old *Spirit of Life from God*, (which was in the old Witnesses,) is said *to enter*, Rev. 11. 11. So is a Circumstance of that Consequence, as was never observed before, nor can be in Relation to any other Scheme; as I am apt to think every Impartial Reader will judge, that will compare the Discourse I refer to, either with Mr. *Whiston*'s Scheme, or any other.

I know Mr. *Whiston* will, at first, think, that had I read what he has said, *p.* 20, *&c.* I had not been so confident. And therefore, to prevent his thinking so long, I come now to consider what he says. And here,

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I find, he tells us this Story. " That the *Duke* of *Savoy* publish'd an *Edict* against the *Vaudois*, dated " *Jan.* 31. 168⅞, *N. S.* and another following, dated " *April* the 9*th*, which was publish'd in the Vallies the " 11*th*; and that his Army attack'd them on the 22*d*, " and slaughter'd many of them, imprisoning, abusing, " and dispersing the rest; and that afterwards, they " that were forced, in *December*, An. 1686, to leave " their Country, were kindly entertain'd by the *Protestants*, until, at length, they resolv'd to march home " again; which they accomplished in *April*, 1690; " and that, after this, the *Duke* of *Savoy* re-established " them, by an Edict, dated *June* 4. 1690; which was, " says he, just 3 Years and an half after their total Dis- " persion. And he adds, *p.* 208, that it was from the Prophecy, *Rev.* 11. *ver.* 11. " That the most Learned, " the Lord Bishop of *Worcester* expressly foretold this, " before it happened, as is well known to many, and " exactly came to pass accordingly. And thus far, (says Mr. *Whiston*) of this Prophecy, seems to me to have been already fulfilled, and that very remarkably. And has not he just Reason to say all this? Is not here uncontroverted Matter of Fact to found upon? ——— However, I hope, I may be allowed to make a few Remarks upon this Story, and the Interpretation founded upon it. And therefore, let me observe, (1.) That, had the *Bishop* and Mr. *Whiston* had the *Number* of 4 *Years* to unriddle, as an *Apocalyptical Number*, instead of 3 *Years and an Half*; with a Design to serve a *beloved Hypothesis*, this Story had suited their Design much better than it does now; seeing it is much more natural to reckon the Period of the slaying these Witnesses, from the Edict against them of *Jan.* 31. or at least that of *April* 9, 1686, than from their Dispersion in *December* following. (2.) It is very odd to reckon, that a particular Persecution of about *three Thousand Protestants* (for they were not much above that Number, Men, Women and Children; I mean, those that were dispersed first, and returned again, as I was told from

one of their most famous Ministers,) should be look'd upon to be the *general* and *great Martyrdom* of the *Catholick Church*; at the same time, that the Bulk of all the *reformed Churches* was left untouch'd. But Credit is concern'd here: And, for this, *all* the *foreign Churches* must be reckon'd to be none of the *Witnesses* against *Popery*; and, because the Matter cannot be otherwise salv'd, even the *Church of England* must be debarr'd from this Character and Honour: For the *Vaudois* must be the only Witnesses, as being the only Descendents of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. To prove which, we are referr'd, p. 204. to the most learned Dr. *Allix*; to whom therefore, I leave the Probation, in Case he will undertake it. Only, in the mean time, as Mr. *Whiston* says, That *he wonders at those Expositors, who apply this Prophecy to any others, and especially to those, who apply it to any, or all of the* lately *reformed Churches, against such direct and express Evidence to the contrary,* (which we shall believe when given:) So, I say, that I wonder at the *Bishop* and *him*, how they can call such a Passage as this, the Slaying and Revival of all the Witnesses of Christ, during the 1260 Years of Antichrist's Reign, as if the Persecution and Re-establishment of 3 *or* 4 *Thousand Vaudois* was the All of this Prophecy, exclusive of the *many Millions of Witnesses* for Christ, and against Popery, equally *reformed* as they; especially seeing, if we consult Sir *Samuel Morland*'s History, (not to mention other Authors,) we shall find abundance of other Persecutions which that People were under; wherein they were as eminently preserv'd, and deliver'd from (nay, and much more eminently too,) than they were in this. Nay, we ought not to forget, that the Bulk of that People, and especially those that suffered most at first, and acted most afterwards against the *French King*, are now again forced to live as Exiles in *Germany*; as *Monsieur Arnold*, (the late famous Captain, as well as Minister, of that People, in the Reign of the late King,) told me here in *London*, about five Years ago, being

being then their Commiſſioner and Agent, to obtain Charity for them, to buy themſelves Neceſſaries, in order to their ſettling the more comfortably in their new Habitations. (3.) I deſire to know how this is conſiſtent with the 5*th* of Mr. *Whiſton*'s grand Expectations mention'd before, which are not yet come, but muſt fall out, *A. D.* 1716. *viz.* That the *Vaudois*, as the *ſlain Witneſſes*, are then to be raiſed up. It ſeems there are *two Slayings* of theſe Witneſſes, and *two Reſurrections* of them? But why two? Seeing the Prophecy ſpeaks but of one: For there can be no more but one *ultima Clades Martyrum*. And I would hope he does not fix upon a *particular Slaughter*, (tho one would be afraid that *particular* and *general* are confounded here:) For, if he do this, I can tell him of Scores of Perſecutions that bid fairer towards the Character of the laſt and univerſal Slaughter of the Witneſſes, than that of the *Vaudois*, in 1686, can ever be ſuppoſed to have been. (4.) It is pretty comical to obſerve to what a Shift the *Biſhop* and Mr. *Whiſton* are reduc'd, when they are forc'd to confound the oppoſite Characters of the *living Witneſſes*, and the *dead and lifeleſs Carcaſſes of Witneſſes*. For it is plain that they do ſo, when they repreſent the *living Vaudois* to be *ſlain* and *dead Corps*. And then, having laid down this admirable *Hypotheſis*, they conclude, as admirably, that it was out of great love to them, that their *dead Corps* were not buried, and that therefore it was not their Perſecutors that kept them *unburied*, in order to triumph over them, but their *Proteſtant Friends*; tho it ſeems their *Popiſh Enemies* were never ſo well pleaſed with any Victory they ever obtain'd, as with *this Act* of the *Proteſtants*, in keeping *theſe Corps above Ground*, as Trophies of their intire Conqueſt over them. Now, until this rare Invention came forth, all Interpreters before were ſo thick-skull'd, as to underſtand the Text, *Rev.* 11. 8, 9, 10. as denoting the very oppoſite Account to this of the *Biſhop* and his *Scholar*. And I will for once venture to give my ſelf forth as a Prophet, (with as much Aſſurance, as Mr. *Whiſton* gives

forth the *Bishop* for one,) *viz.* in this, that *future Interpreters, if they be not byas'd against Reason, by some odd sort of Insinuations, will be of the opposite mind to that of the Bishop, in all time coming.* (5.) And whereas Mr. *Whiston* gives us a new Criticism here; *viz.* "That *the dead* "*Bodies* of the Witnesses *are to lie,* ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας "πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, *i. e.* says he, *in that broad and* "*great City*, for so the Words are best rendred, as I "cannot but agree with a Learned Friend: He must pardon me, if I say, that he and his learned Friend, tho they were the most Learned Men in the World, in all other respects, are yet exceedingly mistaken, as to this Text. For; 1. I must let them know, that no *true Critick* would easily have interpreted πλατεῖα as an *Adjective*, equally as μεγάλη, as it stands connected here in this Phrase. 2. Tho some Copies read σώματα, and tho our Version, I know not why, renders it so; yet I suppose Mr. *Whiston* knows, that not only our Common Copies, but all famous ones, read πτώματα, *Cadavera, i. e. dead Corps* (excepting that the *Alex. Manusc.* reads it, in the Singular, πτῶμα, which every one may see was an Error of the Scribe.) 3. I would have him know, that the Words [*shall lie*] are only a sort of Paraphrase, as well as Supplement of our English Version, and are found in no Greek Copy in the World, that I ever heard of: and, as I said formerly, I do think they are of no use, but to mar the Sense; which, without this Addition, runs smooth and plain. For the Words run thus, *ver.* 7, 8. *And when they* τὸ σῶμα *have finished their Testimony* (*N. B.* this destroys a weighty part of Mr. *W*'s Scheme, who renders, it *when they are about to finish it*) *the Beast, that ascendeth out of the Bottomless-Pit, shall make War upon them, and shall overcome them,* καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν, and shall kill *them and their Bodies* (also,) *in the Street of the Great City*, (Rome,) *&c.* Now I pray Mr. *Whiston* to think, what the Spirit of God means, by this *double Killing:* For here it is said, that the *Beast first*

first kill'd the Persons of the *Witnesses*, and then, after they were dead, that he *kill'd* their *very Corps*. My Exposition indeed will explain it. For, I have prov'd from History, that when the *Bohemian Taborites*, the last Remains of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, (I mean the last, that then remain'd openly to witness and suffer Martyrdom for Christ) were slain; their Apostate Brethren the *Calixtines*, who were (in a scriptural and spiritual Sense) no better than the *dead Corps* of the *old Witnesses*, were kept up, by *the Papists*, as *Trophies* of their intire Victory over the Church. And great indeed was their Triumph then, the *Popish Clergy* rejoycing and making merry; as reckoning that they should never be *tormented* any more, by *Prophets* and *Reformers*. But they were strangely surprized, when about 3 Years and an half after, they heard of a *Carolostadius* and *Zuinglius*, and after them of a *Luther*, *Melancton*, *OEcolompadius*, *&c.* who laid open their Errors and Vices, with as much Freedom and Boldness, as ever *John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague* had done. And it was not long after, that the *Reformation* kindled again thro' *all Bohemia*. I might say much more. However I shall only observe further under this Head, that the *Empire of Germany* (of which the *Kingdom* of *Bohemia* was a Province, as *Switzerland* was of old, nay *Piedmont* too, seeing it belong'd to the Kingdom of the *Franks*, which was afterwards intitl'd the *Western Empire* under *Charlemain*;) was that eminent *Street* or *wide Place of the Great City*, or the *old Roman Dominions*, wherein the *Witnesses were slain, and wherein their* stinking *Corps*, the *Calixtines*, *were slain also*, tho in another manner, *viz.* by their being despised, abused and ridicul'd. And, it was in the *same great Street* of the *Roman and Popish Dominions*, that the *Prophets* or *Witnesses* reviv'd and liv'd again, until they were at length raised up to great Glory, to the Terror of their Enemies, by having their Religion incorporated with the *Laws* of the *Empire*, and espous'd, profess'd and establish'd, by many *Princes*, *Republicks* and *Free Cities* of *Europe*. But

it seems all these Events are inconsiderable things, to be brought into this *New Scheme*, as being nothing to the purpose, when compared with my Lord Bishop of *Worcester*'s Interpretation mention'd above. But, (6.) I would fain have the *Bishop* to solve this plain *Question* here; *viz.* how it comes to pass, that, according to this Scheme, *Antichrist* should be supposed to fall, *A. D.* 1716, at the same time that the *7th Trumpet-Angel* is only to begin to sound then? For until *he*, or his *Scholar* shall satisfy the World, as to this Point; I must be allowed to say, that I think, 1. That it is equally ridiculous to reckon a Government to end then, when a previous Declension (that only tends to bring on its final Ruin, at last) begins; as it is to date its Reign, from a Preparation to reign; especially if this Declension, and Preparation, be long before the actual Beginning and Conclusion of the said Government. 2. That it is likewise equally odd, to reckon Christ's Kingdom to begin punctually at the sounding of the *seventh Trumpet*, (which *opens* with the pouring out of the *first Vial*) before *that Trumpet* has gone on so much as for one or two Years; at the same time, that he must own that the *Papacy* cannot be supposed to be intirely destroyed, nor consequently the Kingdom of Christ to be erected, in its stead, until the *7th and last Vial* has run out, so far, as to lay a Foundation for the latter of these, by the Accomplishment of its Design as to the former. If I mistake in this plain Reasoning, I shall think it very strange. But, (7.) Seeing the *Bishop's Prophecy* will be still objected against me, as certain matter of Fact, I find my self oblig'd to say something of it; and therefore I observe, 1. That Mr. *Whiston* words himself here very cautiously, using a general way of speaking, by which I cannot say, whether he meant to tell us, that the Bishop propheſied of the exact time of the *Beginning* of the *Persecution* of the *Vaudois*, as well as of their Restauration; or of the *latter* only, after the Persecution was begun. 2. If he prophesy'd of the *first*, as well as of the *latter*, I think he

he should have secured Witnesses to attest it, seeing it was in the Days of King *James* II. But, I think, I have ground to believe, that it was not till some considerable time after King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s coming to the Crown, that he gave forth his Opinion this way. 3. I do therefore think, (and I reckon I had pretty good Information of this matter, almost as soon as it was first talk'd of,) that it was not sooner than the begun Return of that People to their own Country, that the *Bishop's Prophecy* began to be talk'd of, concerning the sudden Resurrection of the *Vaudois*, as the Remains of the ancient Witnesses. And I know also, that at the same time, the Treaty between the *Confederates* and the *Duke of Savoy* was so far advanced, that any Man, that was acquainted with the secret Transactions of State then, might have Prophesy'd of the Re-establishment of that People, about the time mention'd, without ever looking into the *Revelation*: For, tho I had never any immediate Access to know such things, yet I could then have told that the *Protestants* insisted upon *this*, as an *Article*, and that the *Duke* of *Savoy* was not the Man to stick upon it, considering his Circumstances at that time, and the Concessions made him in other respects, as well as the Advantages he had in view, even in this very Point. 4. But let us suppose the utmost, that Mr. *Whiston* can demand of us, this way; yet, seeing I have proved, that the Prophecy was accomplish'd near two Ages ago; the *Conclusion* can amount to no more than this, that the *Bishop* happen'd to guess luckily.

Question. But some will say, What! Is it possible that two Men, so eminently Learned, and such close Students of the *Apocalypse* for so many Years, as Mr. *Whiston*, but especially the Bishop of *Worcester* are, should be guilty of such Mistakes? Nay, did not the most Learned Dr. *Allix* publish a Discourse, a few Years ago, wherein he did materially agree with them, at least in his calculating the time of the Fall of Antichrist? Sure such Judicious and Great Divines must

have very strong, or at least highly probable Grounds, for what they say and publish, with such Assurance?

Answer. As for Dr. *Allix*, it is indeed certain, that he publish'd such a Treatise as is mention'd; wherein, to my great Astonishment, he specified not only the *Year* of the *Ruin* of the *Papacy*, but the *Day* thereof likewise; supposing, it seems, that the *Papal Government* was not to fall gradually, as other Governments use to do, but all at once, or in a few Hours, as a *House* or *Tree* sometimes does, that is blown down by a violent Tempest. But I think that he has changed his Opinion since. For, in his *Epistolary Appendix* to his *two Treatises*, (lately publish'd) which is directed to Mr. *Whiston*; after he had shewed some of Mr. *Mede*'s Mistakes, he adds these Words, p. 71. *Sir, This is the Reason why I have* altogether renounc'd *these Principles of Mr.* Mede, *which I had before followed but too closely, being prevailed upon by the* Authority *and* Example *of* some Great Men, *who adhere to them but too much. And I hope, if you consider with Attention, what I have said,—— that you will follow my Example.*

However, hence we see, that very learned Men may be very grosly mistaken, by founding upon wrong Principles at first: Tho I must say, that it is a rare Instance to see any *renounce* them again, and openly tell the World so, even tho they are never so much convinc'd, that they were formerly in an Error. For the mistaken Notion of Credit (which made *Luther* refuse openly to own his Error of *Consubstantiation*, tho convinc'd, this way, before his Death) is a Thing that sways even the most learned Men, in such a Case as this, and frequently more than others. And therefore this honest and generous Confession of Dr. *Allix*, raiseth his Character much higher, every way, with me, than it was before; and will, I question not, raise his Credit higher also, with all ingenuous Men. And I should heartily *wish*, that both the other great and learned Men would follow his Example, that the Doctor may not be mistaken in his *Hope*.

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However, I come now to make one Effort more, towards convincing them. Whereas therefore the *Question* proposed, does principally require to know, upon what Grounds the *Bishop* and Mr. *Whiston* go, when they seem to be so positive, that in, or near the Year of Christ, 1716, such wonderful things will fall out, as I took notice of before.

And indeed Mr. *Whiston* is not defective, as to the *Number* of his *Arguments*: For he gives us no fewer than *Nine*, as they are to be found in the 271*st*, and 272*d* Pages of his Book. But how strong they are, we are now to inquire.

His 1*st Argument* is taken from his own Calculation of *Daniel*'s 2300 *Evenings-Mornings*. Which, seeing he never proved, but only asserted, and seeing I proposed a material *Objection* against it, can be no Argument, until he produce Reason for it, as well as the Authority of the B. of *W.*

2. *Arg.* This Year (*viz.* 1716.) is determin'd, says he, by *Daniel's Time, Times and a Part*, or *three Years* and *a Month*, i. e. 1110 Years. For from *A. D.* 606, till *A. D.* 1716, are just 1110 Years.——Now, 1. I had thought he had reckon'd before, (as sure he does expressly, p. 84,) that he had interpreted that *Number*, as I and all others have done, to be *Time, Times and an Half.* But it seems he did not find, that *half a Year* would agree with this other *Epocha* of 606, and therefore it must be called diminutively *a Part*, and that Part must be just a 12*th Part*, alias, a *Month*, Q. E. D. But, 2. I have already proved, that *Antichrist* did no more begin his Reign then, in any Propriety of Speech, than he did in the Year 456; tho I confess it is the least absurd of the two Opinions.

3. *Arg.* This Year, says he, is determin'd by St. *John*'s Vision of the *two Courts of the Temple*; the *inner Court*, representing a *pure State* of the *Church*, for 360 Years; and the *Outer* a *corrupt State*, for 1260 Years succeeding it. For from *A. D.* 96, till *A. D.* 456, when the corrupt State began, are just 360 Years: And from *thence*, till

till 1716, are just 1260 Years.——To which I need only say, 1. That these two Periods of his, are the Result of meer Imagination, without any Pretence of Argument for it; and that, 2. I have already proved the whole Calculation to be false, by shewing that it is no way probable, that *John* saw his Visions so late, as the Year 96.

4. *Arg.* This Year is determin'd, says our Author, by the Vision of the *two Witnesses*, &c. —— But this Reckoning of his, I have but just now refuted.

5. *Arg.* And this very Year, says he, is also found, by the *Analogy* these *Witnesses* have all along with our Saviour. For, as 1700 *Days*, the Time of our Saviour's whole Ministry, are to 40 half *Days*, the Time between his Death and Ascention; so are 1260, the Years of the *Vaudois*'s whole Testimony in Sackcloth, to 30 Years, the Time between the *Vaudois*'s Death, or Expulsion, 1686, and their Ascention into Heaven, *A. D.* 1716.——So far our Author. And now, Reader, I leave thee to judge of this *Mathematical Demonstration*; for I pretend not to understand it, even tho his Calculations were all infallibly true. But, besides what I have said already, to shew the contrary of this, both as to the Point of the *Vaudois*, and as to the Year 1716; I must say, that Mr. *Whiston*'s Supposition, that Christ's publick Ministry lasted 1700 *Days*, or *four Years and an half*, is false; and if he will consider what I have said against this, in the 4*th Chapter* of the 3*d Book* of *Christology*, p. 394, *&c.* I think he will find this Notion refuted, and that of Dr. *Richardson* and Dr. *Usher* confirm'd, that Christ's publick Ministry was only for *Time, Times and an half*, or for 3 *Years and an half*, i. e. for 1260 *Days*. And, if any Argument therefore can be founded upon *Analogies* and *Congruities*; certainly my Notion is much more rational than Mr. *Whiston*'s; seeing nothing can be supposed to *harmonize* more naturally, than the time of the *Witnesses* being in *Sackcloth*, for 1260 *Days* of *Years*, does with Christ's *witnessing* before; in a State of *Humiliation* and *Suffering*

ring for 1260 *natural Days*; especially, if we consider, that from the time of the *Slaying of the Witnesses* to their *Resurrection*, there were to be just 1260 *natural Days* also. ——— And here let me take Occasion to tell Mr. *Whiston*, that if he will look into that 4*th Chapter* of the *preceding Book*, he will find a Refutation of some very material Points of his *former Book*, intitl'd, *A short View of Chronology*, &c. and particularly his Notion of *Christ*'s being *born* a *Month*, and no longer, before *Herod*'s Death; as he may see, p. 387, *&c.*

6. *Arg.* Is taken from an odd Calculation. For, says he, *Christ's Kingdom* began *A. D.* 33, and lasted till *A. D.* 313, when *Constantine* became Christian; which makes just 280 Years. From thence, till the ceasing of the *Western Empire*, are 142 or 143 Years; and from thence till *A. D.* 1715, or 1716, are just 1260 Years. ——— Now, for my Part, I know not what Argument is to be found in all this Deduction. But I would fain know, whence it comes to pass, that the *Author* should contradict his 3*d* pretended Argument, to adjust things to his Purpose here. For he had told us there, that *the pure State of the Church*, (which I think is equivalent to the Phrase, *Christ's Kingdom*, at least as used here) did not end sooner than the Year 456: But now he tells us, that it ended, *A. D.* 313.

7. *Arg.* This Year also is confirm'd, says he, from the *Epocha* of the *Ten-horned Beast*, beginning, *A.* 456, and ending, 1716. ——— But this is so shameful a begging the Question, as deserves no Consideration. And, I believe, he himself will see the Truth of this sufficiently, if he will read what I have said above.

8. *Arg.* Is taken from his Notion of the Continuance of the *Turkish War*: Which (seeing I have refuted it already) I need say no more of. When therefore he tells me of Mr. *Brightman*'s Prophesie, and Dr. *Cressener*'s, I need only say, as I did before of that of the *B.* of *VV.* that they were lucky Guesses, tho drawn from no certain Premises; and just such as I have known some *Astrological* ones happen to be true by Chance.

Chance. But the Nature of Man is such, as that most Men are more taken with *Affirmatives* than *Negatives*: Which we may observe almost every Year, in our *Almanack-Makers*. For, if a Thousand of their Predictions prove false, it is not minded. But if, by Chance, any thing fall out like a fulfilling of what they had said, tho in dubious Words; immediately they are admired as *Prophets*. I might mention several things of this Sort, which I know to be true, and particularly with respect to the famous Predictions of *Notredame* and *Lilly*; but I must not expatiate now: Only I shall say this, That seeing the Stress, both of Mr. *Brightman*'s and Dr. *Cressener*'s Conclusions are deduced from a like Notion of the Years of the *Turkish Preparations*, as Mr. *Whiston*'s, they must be equally false as his are.

His *9th* and last *Argument* is taken from the Bishop of *Worcester*'s famous Prophecy, concerning the *Vaudois*. But I have considered this sufficiently already.

And thus I have done with all Mr. *Whiston*'s Arguments: Of the Strength of which, let the Reader be Judge; for I am not willing to say any thing further of them.

And indeed, I am willing to have done with this odd Scheme, tho otherwise I have a great many other things to take notice of, which are equally unaccountable as the former. For, 1. I might shew several Mistakes in his *Lemmata*, or *Preparatory Propositions*. 2. I could also shew Mistakes in his Account of the *Seals*. 3. And more in his Exposition of the *Trumpets*. And, 4. As for his Interpretation of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codicil*, it were easy to shew, how precarious his Notion is, as well as Mr. *Mede*'s, upon whom he founds. 5. And, as for his Opinion of the *7th Trumpet*, and the *seven Vials*, that none of them is yet poured out, it is altogether precarious; (*b*) especially, seeing

(*b*) *It is enough to render this* Scheme *very much suspected, that the* General Slaughter *of the* old Witnesses, *and the* Destruction *of the* whole

ing he supposeth, that the *Millennium*, or the *Kingdom of Christ*, in its highest Glory, as to this World, is not to commence before the Year 2000. But, seeing I have materially refuted these Mistakes already, by what

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whole Greek Empire, *together with the* Reformation, *and all the* eminent Dispensations *since, should have been in a manner, wholly forgotten in it, as if they were of no Consideration, in comparison of some other lesser Occurrences. And, seeing Mr.* Whiston *lays such stress on the* Prophecy *of the B. of* W. *I desire he would cast open the* Annals *of* Scultetus, p. 5. *and there he will find this Account; that one* John Hilten *gave forth this Prophecy, (long before the* Reformation, *seeing he was dead before it;)* That the Year 1516, should be the first Year of the Beginning of the Declension of the Papal Power. *Of the Truth whereof we cannot doubt, seeing* Scultetus *cites* Melancton, *as attesting it, in the Second Book of his Epistles,* p. 81. *where he writes, that he himself had seen and read this very Prophecy under* Hilten's own hand, *in a Manuscript of his, being a Comment on the Book of* Daniel. *But there is another Prophecy much more famous,* viz. *that double one of* Huss *and* Prague; *(to whose publick Trial and Martyrdom I do suppose the Spirit of God does principally allude, where mention is made of* two Witnesses, *and of their being publickly* slain in the broad Street *or* Place of the Great City, *and afterwards of the slaying of their rotten* Corps, viz. *their Apostate Disciples, the* Calixtines.) *For* John Huss, (*as the same Author tells us,* p. 6.) *cried out of the midst of the Flames,* July *the* 6th, 1415. *in the Presence of all the Popish Counoil and other Spectators then assembled at* Constance: Hussum crematis; post centum annos Cygnus veniret, quem comburere non poteritis. *That is,* Ye burn a Goose, *(for* Huss *signifies a* Goose *in the* Bohemian *Tongue,)* but after a 100 Years are elapsed a Swan (*for* Luther *in the* German *Language, denotes a* Swan,) will come, which ye cannot burn. *And* Jerom of Prague *being to be martyr'd the* 30th *Day of* May, 1416, *told his Murderers, in a calm and composed manner, that,* 100 Years after, they should answer, for what they did, to God and him; *the meaning of which must be this, that those of their Party should smart for this Act, by other Witnesses, of his Opinion and Way. From whence it is plain, that the Reformers were denoted, as the Witnesses to be raised, that were to succeed the old slain ones; and that therefore they are called by the same Name, in the same Sense, that* Elijah *is prophesied of to live again, when* John the Baptist *was meant, as Christ assures us. The words of* Jerom of Prague, *(as cited by* Scultetus, *and other Authors) are these;* Post Centum Annos respondebitis Deo & mihi. *And so uncontroverted were these things, that the* Bohemians *did, in Commemoration of them, stamp a Coin, with this inscription upon it: and I have been told, that some of them*

I have said; I am willing, at present, to rest satisfy'd, without going further.

In the mean time, if either Mr. *Whiston*, or any Body else, is desirous to have a full Account of my Thoughts

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them are yet extant, amongst the Curiosities of some considerable Men. And indeed never was there such a wonderful Concurrence of Providences, down from the Apostolical Age, as happened about the Year 1515, 1516, 1517, &c. *For as,* 1. *A little before, Printing was invented, about* 1440. *So, in a very little time after, the Press was plied hard by many, and Learning propagated far and near.* 2. *And the Learned Men that fled from* Greece *after the taking of* Constantinople, *reviv'd the Greek Learning, and particularly made both the Knowledge of the* Greek *Testament, and the* Greek *Fathers to be inquir'd after.* 3. *And, to allude to the Scriptural Phrase, it was eminently seen then,* That as God himself gave the Word, so innumerable was the Company of them that published the same: *New Witnesses arising in every Country, almost every Month; some to revive one sort of Learning, and some another; but all of their Labours tending to promote the* Reformation. *Such, in an eminent manner, (for it is not possible to number all) were* Erasmus, *as to the* Latin, *with innumerable more*; Rodolphus Agricula, Budeus, *&c. as to the Greek*; Reuchlinus, &c. *as to the Hebrew*; Caroloſtadius, Fabritius Capito, Zuinglius, Luther, Melancton, Oecolompadius, Calvin, &c. *as to Divinity.* This is that Year, *says* Scultetus, p. 10. of the renewed Birth of the True Church, which was the 356*th* Year from the beginning of the former Reformation, brought in by the *Waldenses*; The 146*th* Year from the appearing of *John Wicliff*; The 116*th* from the beginning of the Ministry of *Huss*; The 36*th* from the Condemnation of *John Wessel* of *Groningen*, who formerly taught publickly the same Doctrine that *Luther* did afterwards; The 60*th* Year from the beginning of the Defection of the *Calixtine Bohemians* from the Doctrine of *Huss*; who, *as the Author truly says*, retain'd only the Name of *Huss*, and the *Cup* in the Eucharist, as a Badge of Distinction; but (*as he tells us again*) were now begun to return again to their old Religion, and were spread, not only thro' *Bohemia*, but thro' *Moravia*, *Poland*, &c. Being patronized by many *Great Men*, and having most *eminent Divines* among them, some of whom he names, and says that their Increase was wonderful that very Year, whilst, *says he*, I am now writing this; *which was* A. D. 1617. *But alas! We know since, that things began to take a new Turn for the worse, from that very Year. However, I am very hopeful, that about the same Year of this Century*, viz. 1716, *and* 1717, *there will be an eminent Turn of the* 4th Vial, (*under which, I reckoned, in my* Apoc. Disc. p. 67, *that we are now*) *in favour of the* Protestants, *and against the most*

Thoughts of the *true Scheme* of the *Revelation*, as far as I have publiſhed my Mind this way; I deſire, that beſides what I have ſaid in this *Diſſertation*, and in my *Apocalyptical Diſcourſe*, which I have ſo often referr'd to; the Reader would be pleas'd to conſult what I ſaid, when I explained the *Context* of the Words, in *Rev.* 14. 13. from whence I diſcourſed, when I preached upon the Occaſion of K. *William*'s Death, as he will find it, *Page* 39, *&c.* of *that Book*. And perhaps it may likewiſe be of uſe, to conſult what I have ſaid, in the 4*th Chapter* of the *preceding Book*, concerning *the Loganthropos*, particularly what I ſaid there, as to the *Millennium*, p. 344, *&c.*

And now, that I have mentioned this Period once more, I ſhall take my leave of it, at preſent, after I have added one thing; *viz.* that it is my humble Opinion, that, when that glorious State of the Militant Church comes, there will be ſome very eminent Diſcoveries of the Truths of God, and ſome peculiar prophetical Manifeſtations of what is to follow. Which is the more probable to me, becauſe, tho the Spirit of God has

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moſt Eminent Princes *and* Powers *that ſupport the* Papacy. *For tho I am far from Mr.* Whiſton's *Notion, yet I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, this way, that I was formerly of. I might add many other things here, but that I am afraid of being tedious. Only I cannot forbear to take Notice of one Thing further*, viz. *That* A. C. 1530. *the* Remains *of the* Waldenſes *in* Piedmont, *ſent two of their moſt eminent Teachers to* Switzerland, *to know the Doctrine of the Reformers, and to give an Account of their own. They preſented, for this end, a Summary both of their Faith and Government, to* Oecolompadius *at* Baſil; *wherein they ſay,* "*That their principal Objections againſt the Doctrine of* Luther *and the other Reformers, were againſt their Opinions, as to* Free-will *and* Predeſtination; *declaring that their Ancient Faith was the quite contrary of theirs*; *but that, from a Senſe of their Want of Learning, they were ready to alter their Opinion, upon better Information. And, it ſeems, they did ſo ſoon after, mov'd by the Authority of* Oecolompadius, Bucer *and* Capito. *The Account of this Tranſaction we may ſee in* Scultetus, ad Annum 1530; *who has given us a Copy, both the Paper of the* Vaudois, *and of the Anſwer of* Oecolompadius, *from the Originals, as they were found in the Library of that great Man.*

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given the Church an exact Series of all the Periods, preceding that eminent one; yet he has thought fit, as it were, to huddle up, in a very little Compass, all that relates both to that Period, and what follows it; as if he did design, on set purpose, to give us a tacit Hint, that he did adjourn the Particulars, relating to those future Ages, until the Times of proper Prophecy should elapse, and run into that Fullness of the Gospel-Dispensation, which is to begin *first* with *the Resurrection* of the more *eminent Saints* of the *New Testament*, and then with the *Revival* of the *Gentile Church, inlarg'd* by the *General Conversion* of the *Jews* to the *Christian Faith.*

I shall only add one thing further, by way of *Coronis*, to my *Apocalyptical Speculations*; That, it tends, I think, to illustrate my *Exposition* of the 1260 *Years*, nay and to render it still more probable; if we consider the remarkable Things, that the several Periods, according to my Calculation, terminate in. For I do think, (1.) That *Time*, or 360 *Prophetical* Years, is that Period, that reaches from the *Papacy's first Exaltation* to be *Head* of *Rome*, *A.* 758, to his obtaining to reach the *highest Pitch* of his Authority and Power over the *Western Empire*; which was then certainly, when the Emperor *Henry the 5th*, being expell'd from *Rome*, *A.* 1118, was forc'd a little after to give up the *Power* of *Investitures* to the *Pope:* which was the last Jewel remaining to the *Imperial Crown*; which the *Popes* had been contending to obtain, for 360 Years before. And indeed if any Person will consult *Usher de Succes. Eccles.* He will own that *Antichristianism* was at its height, about the beginning of the 12*th* Century. For from the Days of *Pope* Gregory *the 7th*, called *Hilderbrand*, and *Henry the 4th*, to the Time of *Pope Alexander* the 3*d*, called *Roland* and *Frederick Barbarossa*, the Popes exercised a constant Tyranny over *Europe*, insulting all Princes, and particularly the Emperors, in such barbarous ways, as were never known before. Nor do I think, that either Ignorance, Wickedness or Oppression, did ever prevail

vail so much under any Pagan Government, as during the *10th*, *11th*, and *12th Centuries*; insomuch that even *Baronius* reckons that *the Abomination that maketh desolate*, began about *A. D.* 900. And, (2.) If to the Year 1118, or thereabouts, we add the double Period of *Times*, or *twice* 360 *Years*, we shall find some things equally remarkable. For, as I reckon, that *Times*, or 720 Years, do denote the whole Duration of the *Regnancy* of the *Papacy*: So we shall see how naturally these correspond with my Scheme. For, *1st.* 360 Years of Prophetical Reckoning, being added to the Year 1113, (which is the Year 1118, of the *Julian* Reckoning) where the former 360 Years end; we are led down to *A. D.* 1478. *i. e.* to the Year 1473, of Prophetical Account; about which time the *Taborites* of *Bohemia* were generally ruin'd, destroyed and dispersed by their Apostate Brethren the *Calixtines*, who, having complied with the *Council* of *Basil*, *A.* 1436. were afterwards the *Popish Tools* to destroy the Saints. So that this Period reaches from the *highest Pitch* of *Papal Authority* to its intire Conquest of *Christ's Witnesses*; containing the Period of *Antichristianism's Continuance* in full Power and Authority. But then, *2dly*. If we join the third *Time*, or the third Period of 360 *Years* with the preceding, so as to reckon the *two Times* conjunctly, we find that *twice* 360 *Years*, *i. e.* 720 *Prophetical Years*, lead us down to *A.D.* 1833; about which time, as I conjectur'd (*c*) formerly, the *5th Vial*, which is to be upon the *Seat of the Beast*, will be poured out. For, as I conjectur'd, that *that Vial* would begin about 1794, and expire about 1848; so it is probable, that the *heighth* of *that Vial* may be about 15 Years before its Conclusion. As therefore *Time*, or 360 *Years*, may probably denote the Period of the *Papal Increase* from its *Inauguration* to its *Meridian Glory*: So *Times or* 720 *Years* denote his *Continuance* from thence to his *De-*

(*c*) Apoc. Dis. p. 77.

struction, as to the *Seat* of *his Government*. And seeing this Period of his *Continuance* is divided into *two Times*, or *two equal Parts* of 360 *Years a-piece*; it seems highly probable to me, that the *first* denotes the Period of his *Continuance* in the *Exercise* of his *full Power and Authority*; and that the *latter* of these *Times* denotes the Period of the Pope's *begun Declension*, from about the latter end of the 15*th* Century, when Learning began to revive again, until about the Year 1813, when *Rome*, the Seat of his Government, will be destroyed. But then, we must remember, that tho the *Seat*, and indeed the *Form* too, of the *Papal Government* is to be destroyed by the Effusion of the 5*th Vial*; yet *Antichristianism* or *Popery* it self, as *Mahometanism* also, will still be kept up, and have formidable Parties to abet and maintain them, as we see, *Rev.* 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Nay, we find there, that the *Popish Missionaries* will find means to cement *Pagan and Mahometan Princes* with themselves, in order to extirpate the true Christian Church out of the World. So that the *total Ruin* of *Antichristianism* will not be sooner than the 7*th Vial*; which runs in to the *Millennium*. And therefore, (3.) I conclude that the *Half-time*, or 180 *Prophetical Years*, denotes the *last Period*, that begins just after the Destruction of *Rome*, as it is *the Seat of the Beast*, and ends with the last *Destruction* of the *united Papal, Mahometan, and Pagan Interests*, and consequently with the beginning of the *Millennium*, about *A. D.* 2000.

But now, after all I have said, I can honestly say further, that as 30 Years are as likely to put an end to my Life, as 300, (upon which account I cannot be supposed to have had any regard to the Fear of being refuted whilst I liv'd;) So I should rejoice as much as Mr. *Whiston* or any Man else, to see the *Fall* of *Popery* so soon as 1716. But, in the mean time, I reckon'd my self oblig'd to search after Truth, in this respect, as well as in all others, without regard either to *Hope* or *Desire*.

And

And thus I come, at length, to the *Conclusion* of what I had to say at present, with respect to the *Theoretical Part* of this Discourse.

I proceed therefore, (2.) To the *Practical Part.* In doing which I shall with all necessary Brevity, *1st.* Premise a *general Hint* of its Importance this way; and then, *2dly.* I shall consider the *Improvement* which the Apostle makes thereof, in the sequel of this Chapter.

1st. I shall premise something, in *General*, in relation to the *Importance* and *Usefulness* of this Truth. And, (1.) This will help us to see, as thro' a Ray of Divine Light, not only how harmonious the Providence of Christ is, in all the Steps and Adjustments thereof; but likewise how exactly the lower and higher Rewards are adjudged to good Men, in proportion to lower and higher Degrees of Holiness and Usefulness. (2.) We may observe hence, that there is a nearer and closer Harmony and Relation between that Part of *Christ's Family* which is *above*, and that which is *below*, than we can now distinctly apprehend; seeing we see here that eminent Rewards and Resurrections are dispens'd to eminent Christians departed, in some Proportion to the Revivals of the Church on Earth; as is seen both in the Resurrection of the eminent Old Testament-Saints, and the New Testament ones. (3.) It is not therefore enough, to seek to get to Heaven, but to reach, as far as we can, the higher Degrees of Glory. Worldlings are not only concern'd to get such Estates, as they may just live upon, but such vast ones, as that they may live in Grandeur and Pleasure. And sure Christians ought to act thus, as to heavenly Concerns. And it is plain, that this was the Apostle's laudible and noble Ambition. Nay, tho I am far from the whimsical Metaphysical Stretches of some Practical Divines, that tell us, that a Man that would be saved, must abstract wholly from his own Salvation, and love God for himself only, without any direct regard to

Reward; yet I am bold to say, that that Man can never justly hope to get to Heaven, who seeks after so much Religion only, as, he thinks, may be just enough to carry him to Heaven, without any Regard to the Good of others. For, as Christ truly says, we can then only be said to *honour God* properly, when we *bring forth much Fruit*. Whereas therefore a *General Notion* of *Glory* and *Happiness*, tends to incite Men to mind Religion in *general*: This *Doctrine* of a *special Resurrection* and *peculiar Reward*, (which none shall partake of but the Christians of the highest Denomination) is *peculiarly calculated*, to *incite* Christians, to constant, universal and extraordinary Diligence, Care and Concern, to reach higher and higher Degrees of spiritual Knowledge, Holiness and Serviceableness in the World. And therefore this Notion is of great use to revive Practical Religion among Men; which is now so universally dwindled away into dry Forms, lifeless Rites, and a selfish Narrowness both of Mind and Practice. And I am sure, until such a noble Ambition revive in our Minds, as influenc'd this Apostle, Religion must still decay further! But when-ever this Spirit comes to revive in the World, Religion will also revive with it, and no sooner. But now, that I have again mention'd the Apostle *Paul*, I shall proceed to the next Point. Therefore,

2*dly*. I come to consider the Apostle's Improvement of this Notion of the peculiar Resurrection. For which end we must consider what he adds in the sequel of this Chapter, from *v*. 12. to the end.

Now this *Applicatory* or *Conclusory Part* of the Discourse of the Apostle here may be, I think, very naturally taken up under *three General Heads*. For, 1. He shews how he applied this to himself, and what the Use was, which this way he made thereof, *v*. 12, 13, 14. Then, 2. He proceeds to apply this Doctrine to the *Philippians*, by advising and exhorting them to make the like use of this Doctrine, as he did, *ver*. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. And, 3. He adds the *Rationale* of both these,

theſe, from ſome weighty Conſiderations, wherein he and they, and all true Chriſtians, were agreed, *v.* 20, 21.

(1.) *Paul* tells us, in *ver.* 12, 13, 14. What the Improvement was, which he himſelf made of this Doctrine. —— And here I find there are three Things which he ſays of himſelf, in reference to this Truth.

The I*ſt.* Thing is this; *viz.* A fair and honeſt *Confeſſion*, that he had not, as yet, attained to a Certainty and Aſſurance, that he ſhould be one of thoſe eminent Saints, that ſhould be ſo ſpecially honour'd, as to be rais'd from the Dead at the beginning of the *Millennium*, and made Partakers of the high and glorious *Reward*, that was then to be diſpenſed to ſuch Perſons.

In a reference to this, after he had ſaid, *ver.* 11. *If by any means I might attain to the* ſpecial *Reſurrection of the Dead*, he immediately adds, *ver.* 12. *Not as if I had already attained* this, *or were already* thus *perfect*. And, to the ſame purpoſe, he ſays again, *ver.* 13. *Brethren, I count not my ſelf to have apprehended.*

Now, as hence we ſee the Apoſtle's Humility, in making ſo fair and open a Confeſſion; ſo likewiſe we have Satisfaction given us, as to a *Great Queſtion*, that naturally ariſeth hence, *viz. Whether it is poſſible for any Chriſtian to attain to an Aſſurance, that he ſhall be one of thoſe that ſhall be thus raiſed and rewarded at the beginning of the Millennium.* For, in *Anſwer* to this, I ſay, (1.) That no Chriſtian can doubt, but that it is poſſible for God to render a Man certain of this, if he pleaſe to impart it to him by a ſpecial Revelation. But, (2.) Tho nothing be impoſſible for God to do, yet it is highly improbable, that ever God did ſo, or ever will do ſo. For, 1. Tho a General Aſſurance of Salvation be well conſiſtent with a ſtudious Concern to grow in Holineſs and Uſefulneſs, as we ſee, in the Inſtance of this Apoſtle; yet it does not ſeem conſiſtent with the End and Deſign of the Revelation of this Doctrine, to attain to an equal Aſſurance, this way, that a particular Chriſtian ſhould certainly know this as to him-

ſelf; at leaſt I think, that it is not rational to think that ever God did, or over will, reveal this to any Man. For indeed the very Deſign of letting us know of this Doctrine, is to incite Chriſtians to the utmoſt Diligence, upon this very account, that Men may labour ſo to exceed themſelves every Day, and continue doing thus to the Death, *if* (as the Apoſtle ſays) *by any means, they may attain to this Reſurrection from the Dead.* 2. And ſeeing the Apoſtle *Paul* had not attained to any Aſſurance this way, I know not who can now pretend to have reached it. 3. Nor can I find any thing in Scripture, that can give us any ground to think, that ever any Perſon ſhall attain ſuch an Aſſurance. (3.) But yet, tho I deny, that any full Aſſurance is attainable this way; I think it not improbable, but that very eminently Holy and uſeful Chriſtians, may attain to a very fair Hope and Expectation thereof, eſpecially towards their Death and Removal into the inviſible World, or the *Hades* or *Paradiſe* of *ſeparate Souls.* And indeed I think this is plainly inſinuated here by the Apoſtle, when he ſays, *If by any means I might attain* to this.——*Not as if I had already attained*——*I count not my ſelf to have apprehended.* For what News had it been, for *Paul* to have meant and ſaid, that he was not yet raiſed from the Dead, or made an actual Partaker of the moſt ſpecial Reward. Seeing therefore neither *Paul*, nor indeed any Man, in his Senſes, was capable to ſpeak after this manner; he muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that a *Rational Expectation* this way is attainable. But then, if it be ask'd, how this is attainable, the Apoſtle inſinuates this plainly in this ſame place, as we ſhall further ſee, when we come to conſider, *v.* 13, and 14. If any ask, whether it be probable that he himſelf attained to ſuch a rational and well-grounded Hope, as this, afterwards, before his Departure hence? I can only ſay, that it is highly probable to me, that ſuch a Man, as he was, could not fail at length to obtain this Satisfaction, eſpecially conſidering the Method he took, as to this Point, *ver.*

13,

13, 14. And here, let me observe three things, 1. That the Notion that obtain'd, as to this Point, at first, seems to have been this, that this special Resurrection was to be the appropriate Portion, if not only, yet principally, of those that suffer'd to Death for Christ. And this seems to have been at the bottom with the Apostle here, *ver.* 10. as well as in other Expressions, in other Epistles; which therefore I tell the Reader, by the bye, will receive new Light from this Hint; as I might shew at length, were it proper: But I must forbear now. Nay I do believe this might be the first Spring of that General Thirst after Martyrdom, which was in the first Christians, and which incited them to run in and cry, We are Christians, desiring to be put to Death for Christ. 2. I believe the Apostle doth allude to this Notion and Principle, as well as insinuate the Attainableness of a well-grounded Hope this way when he says, *Rom.*8.35,36,37. That Persecutions, Miseries, and violent Deaths were so far from hurting the Saints, that they tended to make them *more than Conquerors.* Now tho all Saints shall be *Conquerors*, yet I think no Notion can give us a clear Idea of what *Paul* means by *more than Conquerors*, excepting this only, of which *Paul* discourses here in this Chapter. 3. I am of Opinion, that the Apostle did actually attain to a rational and satisfactory Hope and Expectation this way before his Death, and even so eminent a one, as was next to a full Assurance and Plerophory. For so much, I think, he himself insinuates, when he (*d*) says, 2 *Tim.* 4.6,7,8. *For I am ready to be offered, and the time of my Departure is at hand. I have fought a good Fight, I have finish'd my Course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up*

(*d*) *That this Epistle was written near the End of the Apostle's Life, this Text informs us. And I agree with Dr.* Pearson's *and Dr.* Whitby's Chronology *thus far; that I think it more than probable, That as the* Epistle *to the* Philippians *was written in or about* A. D. 63, *so that both his* Epistles *to* Timothy *were written about* A. 66. i. e. *a little before* Paul's *Death, who is supposed to have suffered,* A. 67.

for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that Day: and not only to me, but to all them also, that love τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ, *the Appearing of him.* For the *Particle* here seems to denote some peculiar Appearing of Christ: As the *Character* of those that shall be thus rewarded, seems also to denote something that few good Men attain to; seeing, there have been but few comparatively on Earth, (as there are few also recorded in Scripture) that long'd either to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, or that desired Christ's hastning his coming to Judgment; both which are included in this Character of *loving* the Appearing of Christ. Now the word ἐπιφάνεια is never used in the New Testament, but with reference to Christ, as I (*e*) proved formerly. But then it is used variously in reference to him. For, 1. It is used, to denote Christ's *first Coming*, or his appearing on Earth, in the Days of his Humiliation, 2 *Tim.* 1. 10. And, 2. It denotes also, the *last coming* of Christ, *viz.* at the Great Day, 1 *Tim.* 6. 14. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1. *Tit.* 2. 13, 14. But then, 3. I take the words I have quoted, 2 *Tim.* 4. 6, 7, 8. to have the most direct Look towards Christ's *appearing*, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, tho not in an exclusive Sense to his last Coming: For the *First Resurrection* bears a Reference to the *last*, and is to be a Pledge of it; even, as the *happy Millennary State* will be a Resemblance and Pledge, of the glorified State of the Saints, after the last Judgment is over; especially as is represented, under the *Emblem* of the *New Jerusalem.* And, tho I expect no *Personal Appearance* of *Christ* at the *Millennium*; yet there will be such *Eminent Manifestation* of him then, (as of old, at *Mount Sinai*, where the People saw nothing like a visible Representation of him that spoke to them,) as may justly be call'd, *The Appearing of Christ.* And, in this Sense, (if not only, yet principally) we are oblig'd to understand this

(*e*) Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. p. 203.

Word,

Word, as it is used, 2 *Thess.* 2. 8. where the Apostle assures us, that *Antichrist* is not to be *fully destroyed*, until *Christ do it himself, with the Brightness of his Appearing.* For, tho he has *consumed him already*, by the preaching of his Word, ever since the *7th Trumpet sounded*, and the *Witnesses arose*, in the beginning of the *Reformation*; and will *consume* him further, during the succeeding Vials; yet he and his Kingdom, shall not come to be fully *destroyed*, as I have shewn, until the *Millennium* come. But, tho the *Formal Kingdom* of the *Papal Antichrist* is to end then, when that *Eminent Appearing* of *Christ's Kingdom* shall come to pass, in or about *A. D.* 2000: Yet, seeing we are told, that after the Expiration of the *Millennium*, or rather towards the Conclusion thereof, *Antichristianism* is to revive again, and be more formidable than ever, under the new Name of *Gog* and *Magog*, (by whom I understand a *general Confederacy* of *Pagan*, *Mahometan* and *Christian* Atheists and wicked Men;) and seeing these are only *finally* to be destroyed, by the last *general Conflagration* of the World: I do not so confine this Word ἐπιφάνεια, even in this Text, to *Christ's Metaphorical Appearing*, in erecting his Kingdom so illustriously, during the *Millennium*, as wholly to exclude the *last Appearing* of Christ; tho I think that the Apostle does most immediately speak of the first here.

The II*d* Thing the Apostle says, in Relation to himself, is this, *viz.* That he was both *incited* and *incouraged* to pursue the *special Prize* he had been speaking of, and to seek to have *Satisfaction* this way; because *he was apprehended and laid hold on by Christ, for this very End*, that he might pursue these, in order to obtain them.

Now to understand this, let me observe to you, that the Apostle seems plainly to look back here to two things, which he leaves us to suppose, and to refer to, as so many known *Postulata*.

The

The 1*st* is, The End for which Christ came into the World, which was to lay hold upon Sinners, in order to save them.

The 2*d* is, The particular and eminent Expression of Christ's Love to *Paul*, in his Conversion. In which he did catch hold of him, when he was journeying to Hell, and fighting against Christ.

And, besides these things supposed, we must take Notice of this also, that the Apostle speaks so, as it is plain he alludes to the Games so much renowned at that Time in *Greece*, mention'd before.

Now tho many run, yet one only at each Match, could receive the Prize, as *Paul* says himself, 1 *Cor.* 9. 24. *One receiveth the Prize.* But I shall be obliged to consider this *Agonistical* Matter, and the Apostle's alluding to it, when I come to the 13*th* and 14*th Verses*; and therefore I shall pass it now.

However, from these Hints we may the better understand what we are now to consider.

And, 1*st*. Christ's *apprehending us*, may denote what I hinted before, *viz.* his laying hold on us, 1. In effectual Calling; And, 2. Afterwards by his Spirit and Supports.

But this may run higher; 1. Backward, to his taking upon him our Nature, for thereby he apprehended Man; And, 2. Forward, to his Design of perfecting our Nature. And this I take to be the principal Meaning of the Word here. For it is not said abstractly, that he apprehends us, but relatively, with respect to the Prize, that we are called to contend and wrestle for.

2*dly*. The End for which he apprehends us, is, That we may be happy, by reaching the Prize fully.

But, 3*dly*. It may be asked, How do these *incite* and *incourage* us to follow after Christ, in order to reach forwards, towards the attaining the Prize. Answer,

(1.) These are an *Incitement* this way, if we consider, 1. What an Example Christ is this way, who did so much for us, when he had no particular End of his own

own to serve; and when we neither desired, nor deserved such Favour. And consequently, 2. What Obligations Men are under this way.

(2.) These are an *Encouragement* this way. 1. Because this way we see Christ is interested in our Preservation. See *Heb.* 12. 1, 2. *Isa.* 53. 10, 11. *When thou shalt make his Soul,* &c. 2. Because he has made such rich Provision for our Security, *&c.*

The IIId Thing is, The *Way* which the Apostle took, to reach this End, *viz.* by following after his Master's Example, and treading in his Steps, as nearly as he could.

But this leads me forward, to consider, what the Apostle says of this, in the 13*th* & 14*th* Verses.

In which Verses, there are *two Things* to be considered, *viz.* 1. What he run for? Answ. *Towards the Mark, for the Prize of the high Calling of God in Jesus Christ.* 2. The Method he took to reach this End. *This one Thing I do,* &c.

The Ist Thing, is *the End, or the Thing he run for.* This is spoken of, under the Notion of a Prize hung upon a Mark. And here there is a Gradation of no less than *five Steps.* And,

(1.) In the general, the Apostle tells us what he had in his Eye. This he calleth σκόπον *the Mark,* the *Meta.* For, in Racing, there was some Post or Pillar, or Arch, erected; and he that first reach'd that, was reckoned to have perfected his Race, and to deserve the Prize that hung upon it. —— By the σκόπον, or Mark then, Perfection in the general Notion of it, is described: Let us therefore set this Mark before us. For we must never cease running, till we reach Perfection.

(2.) More particularly the Apostle has, in his Eye, τὸ βραβεῖον, *the Prize* that hung upon this *Metà* or Mark. This was some Crown or Garland; which the best Racer, or Conqueror, in the *Exercises,* wore. Which,

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in the *Olympick* Games, was of the Olive-Tree; in the *Pythean* of Laurel; in the *Nemean* of a Green Herb, like to Parsley; and the *Isthmian* Garland was a Branch of the Pine-Tree.

Now, by the βραβεῖον, the Apostle means, that peculiar and appropriated Share of Perfection and Happiness, which he hoped to receive, in a Proportion to his Services; and particularly, his being raised again at the *Millennium*.

Let us therefore set our Hearts thus on things above, and run for the Prize that is set before us, enduring the Cross, and despising the Shame. And surely, the Vision and Fruition of God, the Company of Christ for ever, the happy Society of the Angels and Saints above, in a State free from Sin, with the Satisfaction and Joy that result from all these, are a Prize worth contending and running for.

(3.) This *Prize* is said to be the βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως *of the superior* or *heavenly Calling*, or as we render it, *high Calling*: That is, it is the Prize, which our superior Calling or Vocation both sets before us, and encourages us to expect.

Our very Christianity is wholly occupied about this, *viz.* to ripen and prepare us for this Prize, as well as to incite us to it.——Now, in all Callings and Occupations, some End is designed. And every Science or Art is denominated more or less excellent, as its End is more or less noble.—But there is none to compare with Religion, in this respect, which is therefore justly called ἡ ἄνω κλῆσις, the highest and noblest Calling. For, 1. It is from above, as to its Original and Discovery; And, 2. Its Tendency is upwards, from whence it descended; and to which it is designed to bring us.

What we call therefore, the outward Calling, or our Profession of Christianity, is altogether heavenly. And if we be called inwardly also, we are the more oblig'd to mind this, as well as strengthen'd and encourag'd this way. For then, as it is, 2 *Cor.*

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4: 6. *God, who commanded the Light to shine out of Darkness*, &c.

(4.) This high Calling is said to be *the Calling of God.* It is high, because Divine. And it is Divine, because it is revealed and discovered by him, *from whom every good and perfect Gift descendeth.* 2. Because it tends ultimately to bring us to him, and to manifest the Riches of his Glory. 3. Because it is *Ectypal*; for all that is revealed is copied, as it were, from the Nature of God, and is indeed a Discovery and Copy of him, as far as is fit for us to know of him here.

(5.) But it is further added, that all this is *in Jesus Christ*, i. e. by him, and thro' him. For, to go back, by a retrograde Motion, what we have gone thro'; all we have been saying centers in Christ. For, (1.) God is no otherwise seen or known, than in and by Jesus Christ. For *the Father hath no Man seen, neither can any see him* immediately: But he is seen as a Saviour in Jesus; and as the Father of Mercies, Grace and Comfort in Christ. (2.) This Calling of God, is, 1*st* Brought and offer'd to us by Christ; 2*dly*, Purchas'd for us by him; and, 3*dly*, Apply'd to us, by the Spirit sent from him. (3.) The Prize of this high Calling is secur'd in his Hands for us, who is gone to Heaven to prepare it for us. And, 4*thly*, Perfection it self, in which the particular Reward of every one is included, is wholly in Christ's Hands; *out of whose Fulness all receive Salvation.* For he is *the Head of all Things*, and the Repository of all Good. And, *in him, the Fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily* or really.

The II*d* Thing, is *the Method he took in running, so as to reach his End*; in which there are five things likewise, which are observable, four of which are express'd, and one supposed, with which therefore it is proper to begin.

The (1.) Thing therefore which is observable here, and which the Apostle necessarily supposeth, is this; *That he resolv'd to bring his whole Life, and all his Actions, in a Reference and Relation to a future State of Happiness, as*

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the only worthy End of living. For he considered, that Conversion and Glory are only connected mediately, thro' the Intervention of Holiness as the Medium. —— Now, what has no Relation to an End, is the Action of a Mad-man; what is done for a silly End is dishonourable; and what is done for a wicked End, is sinful. Our End therefore must be righteous and good, that the Action may be so; and great and noble, that the Action may be honourable. But that which is the ultimate end of all Actions, and a Man's whole Life, ought certainly to be great and noble. And it is not possible that a Man can act as a wise Man, a good Man, and a Man of Honour, (in the true Sense of Honour) unless he act for the Honour of God, and the attaining the Perfection of his own Nature, and the Happiness thereof; which is the same with what our Confession defines to be, to glorifie God, and to injoy him for ever. Therefore these easy Rules and Maxims of Life do result hence. 1. That we ought to do nothing, but what has some Tendency, more directly, or more indirectly, to promote the Glory of God, or at least what is consistent with it, and the Honour of our Profession. 2. Nothing but what tends some way or other to promote our own Happiness, at least nothing derogatory to the Dignity of human Nature. 3. Nothing but what we can hold up our Faces to the supreme Judge upon the Account of, without Shame at the great Day.

Let this therefore be the first and great Maxim of Life: And let us say, is this for God's Honour? Is it for my true Interest? Shall I be approved for this at the great Day.

(2.) This being supposed, as necessarily premised, the next thing observable, is the Intenseness and Concern of the Apostle's Soul in the Matter; *This one Thing I do.* To reach Happiness in the best and most compendious way, was his *hoc age*, his main Business; and every thing else was but a *Parergon* to him, a by-Business, not worth his Observation. And this therefore

fore is another Maxim of Christian Wisdom to be duly and seriously considered, laid down, and acted from.

For *that which is of greatest Moment ought to be minded in the first Place, and with the greatest Diligence and Intenseness.* Hence our Lord, *Matth.* 6. 33. exhorts and commands us, *First to seek the Kingdom of God,* &c. And hence we are so often press'd, to *seek true Wisdom,* as the *first and principal Thing; and with all our gettings, to get Understanding; the Prize of which is infinitely before all things in this World. Job* and his Friends concluded of old, *Job* 28. 28. That *to fear God, and depart from Evil, was Man's only true Wisdom.* And *Solomon* could add nothing to this Discovery, by all his Searches, as we see, *Eccl.* 12, 13, 14. Nor did our Lord add any thing to this Truth in it self. Only he set it in a clearer Light, and made the way plainer towards the Attainment of it. For what saith the Gospel but this same thing; as the Apostle excellently sums it up, *Tit.* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. *For the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation to all Men, hath appeared, teaching us, that denying.* ——— *Looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearing.* ——— *Who gave himself for us,* &c. Let us therefore act in this also, as the Apostle did.

(3.) The Apostle lays down a third Rule and Maxim of Christian Wisdom, which is *to forget the things behind, and only to mind the Things before.* ——— This Forgetfulness is not to be taken in a narrow or rigid literal Sense. For as it is impossible to forget wholly what we have run thro'; so were it possible to forget thus, it were both sinful and foolish. What! Shall we reckon it Duty to lose all Remembrance of God's Benefits to our Souls? Would not an Attempt this way hinder our future Advances in Holiness? — The Meaning therefore, is to be taken only comparatively, and *Secundum quid.* As if he should say, I do not satisfie my self, and sit down contented with what I have attained. No, no, I look upon these things, as comparatively small in Relation to what I may further attain to. Therefore, I do not think so on these things

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as to retard my self in the rest of my heavenly Race and Journey. The Expression is *agonistical* therefore, as well as the rest. For those that are upon the Stretch in a Race, contending to come up the first with the Mark, must not (*f*) look behind them, but forwards upon what is before. Let us, in this Sense, forget the Things behind, and press on to the Things before.

But, (4.) The Apostle shews us what he did further, to reach the Prize, *viz.* that *he reach'd forth to the Things before.*

The Original Word, ἐπεκτείνομαι, which we render *to reach forth*, denotes Contention or Emulation, in those that run in a Race; and so ἐπεκτεινόμενος is he that runs with the greatest Emulation, to out-run all others, in order to come first to the Mark, in order to reach the Prize. Now what Care there is in this Exercise, at this Day, is sufficiently known to many; as in preparing both Man and Horse, adjusting the Weight of the one, to the Strength and Make of the other; and what Concern a good Rider has to sit right and easy to his Beast, to lean forward, to keep the Reins right, neither too slack nor streight, to husband the Horse's Strength, so as not to run him too soon to the utmost, and yet not to trust all to the last Push. With Respect then to such things, does the Apostle use this *Agonistical* Word; which does denote therefore, that he did all that possibly he could to get before all others, if possible, in Christian Services and Attainments. And as this Word therefore does properly denote the utmost Concern and Precaution; and may therefore be rendred more properly and emphatically, *I contend to get up with the Things that are before*, i. e. so as I may, *alios antevertere*, pass by all others, and get before them:

(*f*) *This* Horace *expresses excellently*, Serm. Lib. 1. §. 1.
Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
Instat equis Auriga suos vincentibus, illum
Præteritum temnens, extremos inter euntem.

So

So the next Word seems more properly to take in the Sense of the former, *to reach forth*, as we render it.

For, (5.) The Verb διώκω, which we render *to press*, or press forward, signifies not only *persequere & insequere*, to follow after the Things before, or to press on towards them; but also it may be rendered *percutio, ferio*, I beat or strike; as also *fugo*, I put to flight. — Now this superadds another Notion to that which the former Word suggests, *viz.* that he did not only act the Part of a wise and cautious Runner, emulating all others, and contending to out-run them; but that he used all lawful and allowable Force, Strength, and Activity in his running. He imitated the excellent Horseman that comes in first to the Mark, with Whip and Spur, with that Force, that every one, in the Way, is oblig'd to let him pass them, for fear of being run over, or run down. —— Now these things being duly considered, will be found to take in every thing momentous in the Words. —— And therefore having made the Sense plain, and set the Apostle's Example before you; all the Application I need to make further, from hence, is this; Let us labour to act the same Part that he acted; and therefore let us go and do in like manner. *Amen.*

(2.) The Apostle having told us, how he applied this Truth to himself, proceeds, in the next place, to direct his Discourse to the *Philippians*; wherein he lets them know, what Improvement he thought they ought to make of the same. And this he insists upon, in the 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19*th* Verses. —— Where we find a *Threefold Exhortation* or *Advice*, viz. 1. To them, whom he calls, comparatively, by the Designation of *perfect* ones; 2. To others that *differ'd*, in this Point, from him and them; And, 3. To *both Sorts* joyntly.

I*st*. He exhorts those whom he calls Perfect, *ver.* 15. in these few, but comprehensive Words; *Let us therefore, as many as are* thus *perfect*, *be* also *thus minded.*

I hope there is no need to insist upon the several Senses of τέλειος, *Perfect*. And therefore, I need only say, that, when it is spoken of, in a religious Sense, and in Relation to Men, it signifies, 1. A sincere and upright Person, as *Psal.* 37. 37. *Psal.* 119. 1. in Opposition to an unsincere Person. But, 2. Tho in the *Old Testament*, this Word seems to have been thus used, at least, in some Places; yet I find not that it is used thus in all the *New Testament*; either when it is applied to Persons or Things. For, (1.) Where-ever it is applied to Persons, I observe, that it is constantly used to denote Christians of an higher Form, and who have attained to higher Degrees of Knowledge, Grace or Usefulness, in a Contradistinction to others, who are of a lower Form, tho otherwise sincere. So that it is used to denote an *Adult* Christian, in Contradistinction to a *weak* Christian, who is comparatively but, as it were, *a Babe in Christ*. Thus, of Necessity, we must understand this Word, *Heb.* 5. 14. And, I cannot think, that it is otherwise used in any other Place; and I know not, that it is ever used in Relation to *Men*, but in these Places following, *viz. Matth.* 5. 48. *Chap.* 19. 21. 1 *Cor.* 2. 6. *Chap.* 14. 20. *Eph.* 4. 13. *Col.* 1. 28. *Chap.* 4. 12. *Jam.* 1. 4. *Jam.* 3. 2. And again, (2.) I observe likewise, that where-ever it denotes Things, it denotes, at least, most directly, Things more perfect, not so much in Opposition to bad Things, as in Contradistinction to Things that are less perfect in their Kind; as in *Rom.* 12. 2. 1 *Cor.* 13. 10. *Heb.* 9. 11. *Jam.* 1. 4, 17, 25. *Joh.* 4. 18. —— And certainly in this Sense only can the Apostle be supposed to use this Word here. But then it deserves Observation; that when the Apostle says, *ver.* 12. *Not as tho I had already attained*, (*viz.* not as tho I were certain of my attaining to the *first* and *special Resurrection*, mention'd, *ver.* 11.) it is added, both naturally and emphatically, ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι, which, I think, is, as if he had said, *or were already come to such Perfection, as this amounts to: But I follow after*, &c. —— But, tho the Apostle was not *perfect*, in

in this peculiar Respect; yet he calls himself, in Conjunction with others, by this Character, *ver.* 15. so that he must mean this here, *viz.* that he, and such of the *Philippians*, as believed the *special Resurrection* at the *Millennium*, were *perfect* in Knowledge, as to this Point, when *compared* with those that either could not, or would not, comprehend and receive the Notion; tho at the same time, neither they nor he were yet so perfect, as to any like *Assurance*, as to their attaining to be *thus* raised.

Now his Exhortation to those *perfect* Christians, wherein he comprehends himself, is, I think, twofold; 1. That, seeing he had now told them, that he was still of the same Opinion, as to the special Resurrection, which he had formerly told them of; he desired that they, who had espoused the same Opinion, this way, would not quit it, upon little Objections to the contrary, how speciously soever proposed. 2. And that, as they believed this Truth, as well as he, they would improve it also, in the same manner he had just now told them, that he did. —— For, I think, both these are equally included in the Latitude of the Exhortation; *Let us therefore, as many as are* thus *perfect, be* also *thus minded.* For, seeing he had told them, both what his *Theory* and *Practise* was, in Relation to this Point: It is equally plain, that, as he *expresly exhorts* them to the like *Practise* with himself, in Reference to his Opinion, this way; so he does *necessarily suppose*, that they and he were of the same Mind, in Point of *Theory*; seeing he does not only exhort them to be *thus minded*, as he was, but puts them and himself in the *same Class*, when he says, *Let us*; and when he calls himself joyntly with them, and in Contradistinction to others, by the Epithet of being *perfect* Christians.

II*d.* The Apostle proceeds to give his Advice, in Relation to others, that differ'd from him, and those who were of his Opinion, with Respect to this peculiar Notion. Now, in Reference to them, he says,

ver. 15. *And if, in any thing, ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even the same thing unto you.*

In which Words we may observe a great deal of Wisdom: Which will obviously appear from the following Considerations. 1. That he plainly, tho tacitly, insinuates, that the *Philippians* were of different Sentiments as to the *special Resurrection*: For he distinguishes them thus; when he says of the *first Sort*, who held the *Affirmative*, *Let us*, &c. and of the *other Sort*, *And if ye be otherwise minded*, &c. *i. e.* any Party of you. For, as he includes *himself* in the Number of the *first*, so he does plainly distinguish himself and those of his Opinion, from those that held the *Negative*. 2. But yet, to avoid any thing that might irritate those that differ'd from him, he speaks as if he made no difference at all, between those of the two Opinions. For he does not here, in this Clause, speak to those that differ'd from him, as a Party, but in Conjunction with the other; and as thus composing one Church, when he says, *And, if in any thing ye be otherwise minded*, &c. *i. e.* if any of your Number be so. 3. And, for this End, he does not say, that any Person was of a different Opinion, but goes wholly upon a *Supposition*, that such a Thing might be. 4. But yet, he insinuates sufficiently, how firmly he himself believed this Opinion of the *special Resurrection*; seeing he plainly asserts, that God would *reveal* this Point to the Church, in such a manner, as that even this Opinion should be believed by them, as well as others; as *he* did indeed, some time after, by the *Apostle John*, Rev. 20. 4, *&c.* But, seeing this plain and positive Account has been since obscur'd, by Persecution first, want of Learning afterwards, and weak Glosses since; I cannot but thank God, that he has been pleas'd to revive this Truth, after its being, as it were, buried in Obscurity, for about 15 or 16 Centuries: Which is one Verification of Christ's saying, *That God is pleased, sometimes, to reveal his Truths to Babes, when he hides them from the Wise and Prudent.*

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But, III*d*. The Apostle directs his Exhortation, more directly and plainly, to those of both Opinions, in these Words, *ver.* 16. *Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained,* (*i. e.* to be of the same Opinion,) *let us walk by the same Rule, and mind the same Things.*

Where we see, 1. How christianly and wisely, the Apostle obviates any Umbrage of Division or Disaffection, that might happen to arise in the Church, upon the Occasion of different Sentiments, either upon this Head, or any other Article of the like Nature and Consequence. 2. How prudently he joyns in himself, in this Respect, equally with those that differ'd from him, as with those that agreed with him; when he says, *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk,* &c. By which, as he avoids all Appearance of Partiality, so he casts in himself, between the one and the other Party, as a *Center* of mutual Love and Union, to keep them united, to cement them further; and, in case of any Breach, to re-unite them.

I suppose, I need not say more here. For every one must be apprized, what the Apostle means by the Sequel of the Verse; seeing it is plain, 1. That by the *Rule*, by which Christians *walk*, we must understand the Christian Doctrine; 2. That all Christians *attain* not to an equal Measure of Knowledge this way; 3. That yet all are oblig'd to live up, as far as they can, to their Degrees of Knowledge, this way; without quarrelling with one another, as has been, alas! too common in all Ages; the Wise despising their Inferiours as Fools and Blockheads; and they again crying out against all the Learning of wise Men, as dangerous Notions, and erroneous Speculations.

But now, that I have touch'd upon this Subject, which indeed is the main thing that the Apostle insists upon, both in the 15*th* and 16*th* Verses; I cannot forbear to say something further upon it; especially considering, how necessary it is to be insisted upon, in this Age, where Trick, Censure, Envy and Malice, do so much

abound. In doing which, I shall gradually propose these things following, to be inlarged upon by Mens own Thought; seeing I am oblig'd, at present, barely to propose them, by way of short Hints.

And, 1*st*. We are to take notice of *three things*, supposed here by the Apostle. (1.) *Supposition*. That very learned, wise, and good Men may have very different, and even opposite Sentiments, in several things, even of considerable Moment. —Nay, as this ever was, so we must expect that it will always be so, more or less, here in this World; seeing it was so in the Apostolical Age it self: For the wisest Men see but in part, even in regard of Points that we are apt to think are in themselves pretty obvious. (2.) *Suppos*. That good Men may differ, not only in Circumstantials and lesser Points; but in reference to these Points also, that are agreed on all hands to be essential Articles of the Christian Religion.——For we must remember, that every Difference, as to Essential Points, is not an Essential Difference. It was a Dispute, that related to Essentials, when the Apostles and Elders differ'd whether the Gospel was to be preach'd to the Gentiles; and had not *Peter* had a Divine Commission this way, in his Preaching to, and baptizing *Cornelius* and his Family, he had incurr'd the Censure of the *Synod* of *Jerusalem*. And it was equally a Dispute then, (even after that the Apostles had freed the Gentiles from the Ceremonial Law) whether the Apostles had Power or Right to vacate the Law of *Moses*, so far as they did. *Some* Christians therefore preach'd, that *unless Men were circumcised and obeyed the Law of* Moses, *they could not be saved*. And I durst venture to say, they had more to say for this Opinion, than ever was yet alledged, for some later Ceremonies and Models of Government, as necessary to Salvation. But in opposition to those Jewish Christians, *Paul* asserts, that if the Gentile Christians *were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing*.—— Hence we may see, how justly it has been said, of late, by eminent Divines; *In Necessariis Unitas, in Adiaphoris Libertas*,

bertas, in Utrisq; Charitas, i. e. That we ought to unite, as far as we can, in things necessary, to allow mutual Liberty in things indifferent, and to be charitable towards one another, in both these respects. (3.) *Suppos.* That, tho there may be very considerable Differences, as to Opinion, between good Men, in both the abovemention'd Respects; yet, if mutual Love and Affection be kept up, it will be a great Means gradually to lessen these Differences, and in due time to remove them. And for this Reason the Apostle does so earnestly recommend Love and Union here, as also elsewhere; as we see in those Places, where he labours to compose Differences, as to the eating of *things offered to Idols*, and as to the Point of *observing of Holy Days*. —Hence therefore we may naturally infer, 1. That for any Man or Party to make *Creeds*, in order to *impose* disputable Notions upon others, is unscriptural and barbarous. 2. That it is *Antichristian*, to *excommunicate* or *persecute* any, for not believing and practising just as such or such a Community does. 3. That *different Sentiments*, (where Men do not own themselves *Atheists*, or of such *Principles* as are *inconsistent* with the *Constitution* of a *Civil Society*, as *such*) ought to be *tolerated*, even *within the Church*, by all Christian Nations, who have any regard, either to the Apostle's Authority, or to their own Peace. 4. That the Differences of Opinions afford an Opportunity for the Exercise of Charity and Forbearance; without which that eminent Virtue would want frequent occasions of evidencing, who they are, in whose Breasts this Grace does eminently reside. 5. That Differences as to Judgment, ought to make no Difference in point of Affection; and that therefore, where there are Differences this way, they proceed either from Ignorance and Prejudice, or from worldly Ends, or from both.

2*dly*. These things being supposed, the Apostle proceeds to lay down this Proposition: That all Christians ought, as far as they have attained, to walk by the same Rule, and to mind the same things; in order thus to

evidence and to promote, as far as they can, true Catholick Love and Charity.——See the Commendation of Love, *Rom.* 13. 10. *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. 1 *Cor.* 13. 1, 2, and *ver. ult.*——And consider withal, 1. That as God is Love, so the Image of God must principally stand in Love; 2. That the Excellency of the Heavenly Angels, above Apostate ones, is chiefly discernable in this, that the one sort are acted by Love, and the other by Malice; 3. That the most Essential Difference between good and bad Men, is seen the same way; 4. That Love is the Essential Bond and Tye, by which the Church and good Men are kept united, and is therefore commanded by Christ as his new Commandment, and as the Badge by which his true Disciples are distinguishable from others; 5. That Love tends to recommend Christianity to Strangers; 6. That the higher Degrees we attain to of Love, the fitter we are for Heaven; seeing the Perfection of Love is but another Name for the Celestial Felicity it self.

3*dly*. Therefore, from all these Considerations, the following *Conclusive Maxims* do naturally result. 1. That the *Articles* of *Opinion* are many, but the *Articles of Faith few*. For which see, *Heb.* 11. 6. *John* 17. 6. *Rom.* 10. 9. 2. That no Man is justly chargeable with any Opinion, but what he owns to be his *in Thesi, i. e.* in so many Words; nor with any Practice, but what is legally and clearly proved. 3. That therefore consequential Absurdities, which a Man disowns and abhors, tho drawn never so evidently from his Opinion, are unjustly fixed upon him, who declares that he disowns these Inferences, and that he is not satisfied that they are necessary Consequents of his Opinion. Thus *Luther* could never be brought to own the Absurdities of *Consubstantiation*, nor *Calvin* of his *Latitude* as to the *Sabbath*, nor *Arminius* as to his *Notion* of the *Decrees*. And thus those, among us called *Anabaptists* or *Baptists*, have been unjustly charged with denying Baptism, when they only deny the immediate Use of it to Infants and Children, before they come to the Use of Rea-

Reason. 4. That Love is not only a Part, but an Eminent Part of Religion; but that most Opinions and Notions, for which Men usually lose Charity, are not so. Whence it follows, that Christian Love and Charity are indeed necessary; but that Agreement in Articles of Opinion, is neither necessary, nor possible, as the World is now constituted. And hence the Folly and Madness of the common Wish of unthinking pretended Zealots, for their various Orthodoxies, is easily seen, when they *gravely* or rather *dully* (for the original Word *Gravis* signifies *both* these) cry out; *Oh! that all Men were of one Mind*, that is to say, *of their Mind.* But pray Reader be Judge, if the Sense (or rather Nonsense of this) amounts to any more than this; *Oh! if all Men would submit to my Opinion, as the only true one.* And then let it be considered, if this be not as much as to say; *Oh! if God would make all Men of one and the same Age, Complexion, Humour, Degree of Capacity, Method of Education*, &c. 5. Errors, of themselves, tho radically they flow from Sin, are not formally, and therefore not properly, to be reckoned Sins, as being only Infirmities of the Understanding, but not of the Will: For no Man wills or chuses to err, if he can help it. As therefore we hate no Man for being poor, blind, lame, or for being a Fool or Ideot: I see not why we should hate those that err, in Matters of Religion, for want of due Information: this being no more than the Consequent of the Poverty, Blindness, Lameness and Weakness of such Mens Intellects. Seeing therefore we all profess to be travelling for Bliss; shall we fall violently upon them, that cannot be perswaded just to follow our Tract and Way, as judging their own Path the best. 6. That a Party-spirit is directly contrary to a Catholick Christian Spirit, and is therefore inconsistent with Christianity it self. 7. That we ought to avoid needless Disputes, and to avoid Quarrels with others about little disputable Points; unless where Self-defence obliges us to it, or some weighty Consequents depend upon our doing so. 8. That we ought to have

a Care of loading Men with opprobrious Names, or such Designations, as go under a bad Character in the World with different Parties, whether they be so in themselves or not; such as *Calvinist*, *Arminian*, *Antinomian*, *&c.* But let us imitate Christ who only reason'd against the *Saducees* without calling them by hard Names, *Mat.* 22. 29. 9. That we ought to beware of an indiscreet Zeal, such as that of the Jews, *who had a great Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledge*, or such a Zeal as that of the Apostles, when they desired their Master to *destroy the Samaritans with Fire from Heaven.* 10. That we ought to act from calm, moderate and pacifick Principles; giving due allowances to all Sorts of Men, from the Consideration of different Education, Circumstances, Ideas and specious Authorities and Reasons. Had we been educated and brought up with *Socinians* at *Cracow*, with *Papists* at *Rome*, with *Mahometans* at *Mecca*, with *Jews* in *Portugal*, or with *Heathens* in *Japan*, or elsewhere; we must have been of their Opinion, unless God had wrought a Miracle to the contrary. And therefore let us *do as we would be done by.* 11. That we ought to acknowledge Worth, where-ever we see it, tho in an Enemy; for *whatever is good is from God.* Let us therefore carefully avoid that opposite Satanical Temper, of representing even the best things, in the worst Dress imaginable. If a Man be *frugal* and *temperate*, he is often represented as a *Miser*: or if *generous*, as if he were an *extravagant Fellow.* If a Man be *sober* and *virtuous*: Oh, say some, he is but a *dull Moralist.* Or if another be strictly *Religious*; some will cry out, *Ha*, all is *Hypocrisy.* But, upon the other hand, if a Man be *over-taken in a Fault*, instead of *restoring him in the Spirit of Meekness*, as the Apostle's Command is; all things too commonly are rak'd up against him, that a wicked Imagination can invent, without any regard to the Rules of Christianity or Charity, or even common Humanity. But let us act the Counter-part to this; without aggravating things. And let Mens Errors of Judgment or Life be what they will; let us

value

value any good Thing that we see in them. For if we value Flowers, that we see growing in the open Fields, rather more, than when we see them in the Garden: Should we not rather admire Virtue, when thriving under innumerable Disadvantages; than when we see it flourish under peculiar and constant Care and Cultivation. 12. That we ought ever to remember, that in many things we mistake and err our selves; and do therefore stand in need, not only of the Divine Forgiveness, but even of the favourable Construction of Men. And thus I have done with the Apostle's *threefold Exhortation.*

But seeing he adds to this, by way of *Corons*, his *Advice*, to follow *good Examples*, as well as *good Rules*, in *ver.* 17. We must not wholly omit to take notice thereof; when he says, *Brethren, be Followers together of me*; by which he does not only exhort to Holiness in general, but, as I think, does also modestly insinuate his Desire, that those of the *Philippians*, that differ'd from him, as to the Truth he had insisted upon, might come equally to see and own it as others did. And, I think, that this is further insinuated by him, in the following part of the Verse; when he adds, *And mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example.*

However, in order to inforce this Advice, he proceeds to dehort and deter them, from falling in with the Example and Practice of spurious Christians, *ver.* 18, 19. *For many walk*, says he, *of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are Enemies of the Cross of Christ: Whose End is Destruction, whose God is their Belly, and whose Glory is their Shame, who mind earthly Things.*——I shall not consider these words narrowly, at this time; nor shall I so much as inquire, whether he means all spurious Christians in the general, or whether he means the Sect of the *Gnosticks* in particular. Only we cannot but observe, how early Satan had sowed his Tares, in the Field of the Christian Church; nay how great and general a Defection there was even then, both in Point of Doctrine and

and Morals; for they were not a few, but *many*, that *walked* at this wicked rate described here. —— And I would add this Observation further, That these two Verses seem naturally to fall into a *Parenthesis*; seeing, if we omit them, and read the 20*th* Verse immediately after the 17*th*, we see a close Connection of the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse. For thus these Verses run. *Brethren, be Followers together of me, and mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example: For our Conversation is in Heaven*, &c. But this Observation leads me forward to the last Head of the Apostle's Improvement of the Doctrine, which he had insisted upon. Therefore,

(3.) The Apostle proceeds to the *Rationale*, or the *Reasons* of his Exhortation to *both Parts* of the *Philippian Church*; to satisfy them all, how *reasonable* and *just* it was, that they should unite and agree as Brethren; and that for this *weighty Consideration*; that both he and they, and all true Christians were agreed, in all the Fundamental and Essential Points of Religion; and even in those things that related to the *Resurrection of the Dead*. —— Now his *Consideration* here is *twofold*, ver. 20, 21.

The I*st*. is this, That they were all united so, as equally to belong to the Celestial World. *For*, says he, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. Which is as much as to say: Shall we fall out about different Notions and Apprehensions, when we do all equally belong to the Society above, and are travelling thitherwards.

There is nothing that needs any Explication here, excepting the *Greek* Word πολίτευμα, which is of the like Import as πολιτεία, as both are derived from πόλις, *a City*. And I must confess, our Interpreters have render'd this Word very imperfectly, by the Word *Conversation*; when this does, at least, denote our *Citizen-Conversation*, as bearing a Reference to the Conversation of Joynt-Citizens, who are of the same Society, and intitl'd to the same Privileges, and act for the same

same Ends, in Relation to the Honour and Advantage of the Community they belong unto. Hence, as this Word is rendred *City*, Heb. 11. 10. so it is rendred *Freedom*, Acts 22. 28. and *Commonwealth*, Eph. 2. 12. but may better be rendred, in all these Places, *a City-like Government*, and Mens being *intitled thereunto*. So that πολίτευμα denotes properly, the Constitution of a City, or the Form and Privileges of such or such a Community. It denotes *Jus Civitatis*, the Burghership and Franchizes of a *City*, *Nation* or *Empire*.

And now, that I have mention'd *Nation* or *Empire*, in Conjunction with *City*; I must observe, that the Notion of all these Three is the same usually, according to both the Old *Roman Dialect*, and *that* of the *New Testament*. As for the *Romans*, it is evident, that *Urbs*, i. e. *Town*, was the usual Name of *Rome*, which is hardly ever call'd *Civitas*, i. e. *City*, by any good Author. *Civitas Romana*, i. e. the *Roman City*, was as much as to say, the *Roman Republick*, during the Continuance of the *Commonwealth*, or to say, the *Roman Empire*, after the Days of *Julius Cæsar*. Thence it was, that *Cives*, a *Citizen* of *Rome*, denoted any Man, that was born in any *Town*, *Village* or *Cottage*, that belong'd to any free Province of the *Roman Dominion*: So that it was equivalent to that of a *Free-born Native* with us. When therefore any Nation or Country came to obtain their Freedom, the Inhabitants were said to be *Civitate Donati*, i. e. to be intitl'd to the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, as much as if they had been born at *Rome* it self; whereas others were obliged to buy this. An Instance of both these ways of being *Roman Citizens* we have in *Paul*, and the *Captain of the Castle* of *Jerusalem*, Acts 22. 25, 27, 28. And in this Dialect *Julius Cæsar*, when speaking of the *Helvetick* Nation, or ancient *Switzers*, (*g*) says, *Omnis Civitas in quatuor*

(*g*) Lib. 1. Comment. de Bello Gall.

Pa-

Pagos divisa est, i. e. Every City is divided into four Villages. Now our best Criticks on this Author are agreed, that by *Pagus*, a Village, *Cæsar* meant a certain *District* of the Province; which therefore he meant also to express, by the Name of *Civitas*, a City. So that a *Helvetick City* was of the same Import then, as a *Canton* of *Switzerland* is now.

Whence it is plain, that the Apostle does not speak, according to our Modern Idea of City, but according to the *Roman* Notion thereof: With which he was well acquainted, seeing he himself, tho born at *Tarsus*, and at a vast Distance from *Rome*, was yet a free-born *Roman* Citizen; *Tarsus* being a Part of *Rome* consider'd as an *Empire*. —— So that by πόλις, *Paul* means an *Empire*, and by πολίτευμα, the *Constitution* of that *Empire*. And, that this was his Idea, appears from hence, that we find him elsewhere using the Words, *Place*, *Country* and *City*, as equivalent Terms, as particularly, *Heb.* 11. 8, 9, compar'd with *ver.* 10. as also *ver.* 14, 15, 16.

Whence it is apparent, that *Paul* speaks here of *Christ's Empire* in general, tho with a special Reference to the higher Regions thereof; and that accordingly, he intimates; that, as it was with him and others, that were *Roman Citizens*, *viz.* to belong to *Rome*, and to be under its Laws, tho they had never seen *Rome*; so it was also with Christians here below, who, tho they had never seen Heaven, did yet belong to the *heavenly Jerusalem*, and its *Empire* above, which *is the Mother of all true Christians*; our *Lord Jesus* being He of whom the *one Family, which is partly in Heaven, and partly on Earth, is named.*

Philo did therefore hit the Truth exactly, when he divides Men into two *Polities* or *Communities*; (*b*) calling the one οἱ μὲν γῆς, *those of this earthly Empire*, and

(*b*) P. 405. C.

the

the other, οἱ ἐπὶ ἔρανε, *those that belong'd to the heavenly Empire.* And indeed, the Scripture speaks in the same Dialect, when it says, That *the first* Adam *was of the Earth earthly, but that the second* Adam *was the Lord from Heaven*; as also when it says, That good Men *are born* ἄνωθεν *from above, or from Heaven*; and that thus they *are born not of the Will of Man, nor of the Flesh, but of God.*——And this shall now suffice, as to the *first Reason* of the Apostle.

The II*d.* is this, That *He*, and all the *Philippian Christians*, were agreed, as to what related to the *Last Judgment*, and *General Resurrection*, and the *Future* and *Eternal Glory* of *all Saints*, after both these were over. All which weighty Points, he represents thus. *From whence also*, (i. e. from Heaven,) *we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashion'd according to his glorious Body, according to the working, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.*

The Reader will see, by the bare Citation of these emphatical and comprehensive Words, how vast a Subject I might have to run out and expatiate upon here. But I forbear, so much as to touch upon it; not only because it has been so much treated of already, by innumerable Authors: But because, besides, that I am obliged, not to run out too far beyond the due Limits of this *Dissertation*, additional to the preceeding Book; I think it highly proper, to refer my Thoughts, this way, until I come (if it may so please God) to discourse of the *last Things*, in their proper Place.

I shall therefore only observe, That the Apostle brings this in, to satisfie the *Philippians*, that his *Notion* of the *first* and *special Resurrection*, was very well consistent with that of the *last* and *general One.*——And indeed his Declaration of his *Want of Assurance*, as to the *Former*, and of his *Full Assurance* as to the *Latter*; is a *full* and *undeniable Proof*, that he spoke of a *double Resurrection*, in this Chapter.

Ha-

Having therefore, I hope, sufficiently proved what I proposed to prove, at first, *I end here, and bid the Reader heartily Farewel.*

From my Study,
This 30th Day
of *December*,
1707.

F I N I S.

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

Third Book of *Christology.*

The Dedication, &c.

The Epistle *to the* READER.

In this the Author premises some few things, by way of Advertisement, viz. xv

(1.) *As to Dr.* Alix's *Book,* de Christi Anno & Mense Natali, Ibid.

(2.) *As to Mr.* Whiston's Essay on the Reveiation; *where the Author apologizes for himself in case any Word, that sounds hard, has drop'd from him, as to any of the four Learned Men, whose Notions he reasoneth against,* viz. *the B. of* Worcester, *Dr.* Whitby, *Mr.* Staynoe, *and Mr.* Whiston, xvi

(3.) *As to his* Sermons *at Mr.* Boyle's Lecture, Ibid.

(4.) *As to the Author's recollecting his former Thoughts upon Christ's Ascention, on the Occasion of seeing these Sermons. Which Thoughts he inserts here,* xvii

(5.) *The Author's Dissertation and Apocalyptical Thoughts, as opposite to the* Scheme *of the pretended* New Prophets, *as the Scheme of the* Bishop *of* Worcester *and Mr.* Whiston *makes for them, as being materially the same,* xxii

(6.) *Some Thoughts concerning the pretendedly Inspired; and some material Queries, in reference to* one Passage, *proposed to them, to answer if they can,* xxiv

A Hint as to one Passage in the following Book, xxviii

The INTRODUCTION.

A *Recapitulation of the first Design of the Author, as to the* different Method, *wherein he proposed to send forth* this *and the* remaining Books, *from that wherein he had sent forth the* two former, Page 3

His Apology *for the* Prolixness *of this* Third Book, *and of his being oblig'd, upon this Account, to alter his former Purpose of emitting the* 4th *Book, together with the* 3d, *in one Volume*, 4

His Discouragements and Incouragements, as to proceeding further in this Work; and his Opinion of Posthumous Books, 5

A few things hinted here, as a small Taste *of the great Subject handled in the following Book*, 7

The Author's Meditations *in this Book* adapted *to no* Human Schemes, *unless* so far as these agree with Scripture, 11

His Request *to the Reader*, 12

CHAP. I.

What those Things are, that ought to be premised, by him that would render the World happy, by a full and compleat Treatise concerning Christ, consider'd as *Loganthropos*; where three Sorts of *Wisdom*, conspicuous in the Gospel, are proposed to be treated of: Concerning the *First* of which, the Author discourseth distinctly here; *viz.* That *Divine Wisdom* that is to be seen in the *Contrivance* of Christ's Appearing in the World, with respect to the peculiar Circumstances of his Lot and Acting among Men, 13

WHy *the Author uses the Word* Loganthropos, *and how he intends to discourse of this and other Heads of* Christology, Ibid.

A Breviate of Facts proper to be premised here, by him that would fully treat of Christ as Loganthropos; *together with the Proof of their Verity*, 14

The

The Divine Wisdom *conspicuous here*, Ibid.
This threefold, 15
The 1st Sort *of* Wisdom *treated of in this Chapter*, Ibid.
The Great Maxim of this Wisdom; viz. Its being the Reverse of Human Policy, Ibid.
A Friend of the Author's named, whom he supposes to be fitted above most Men, to render the World happy, by a compleat Treatise of this kind, 16
Two Questions concerning this first Sort *of* Wisdom; *viz.*
(1.) *Did Christ act that Part, that was the Reverse of Human Policy?* 17
(2.) *What was the Reason of his acting after such a manner as this?* 25
In order to understand the Reason of this the more clearly, the Author brings in a supposed Dialogue, *at* Corinth, *upon the Occasion of the Tumult that happened there, as it is mentioned*, Chap. 18. *of the* Acts: *Where* Junius Gallio, *and his Brother* Annæus Seneca, *are introduc'd, as discoursing, upon this Subject, with* Sosthenes *the* Jew, *and the Apostle* Paul, 26
Which Dialogue runs thus:
Gallio *proposes the Subject and Method of the Dispute*, 29
Seneca *joins in the same Proposal*, 30
Sosthenes *argues warmly against Christ and Christianity*, 32
Paul *defends Christ and Christianity*, 37
And concludes with this Proposal; What was most likely to be the Way and Method, that Divine Wisdom would fall upon, in order to rectify the World, and reclaim Men; upon Supposition, That after other Methods, he had resolv'd to try one, that was to be every way worthy of himself, and at the same time every way adapted to our Capacities and Circumstances, 40
Seneca's *Commendation of this Proposition*, Ibid.
His Illustration of the same, from the general Expectation of a Divine Hero; and particularly from Plato, 41
Gallio *takes up the Argument; in order to give the Character of a perfect* Political Hero, 45
He does three things;
(1.) *He gives the Character of* Alcibiades, 46

(2.) *He ſhews what was only wanting in him, to make him ſuch a* Hero, 49
(3.) *He draws the Picture of a perfect* Political Hero: *Which conſiſts of* twenty *Particulars*, 50
His concluſive Application of this Subject, 53
Softhenes *rectifies* Gallio's *Character, in* two things, 57
Seneca *approves* Softhenes *his Rectifications: Admires the Jewiſh Philoſophy, in this Point, that none but a* Hero *truly* Divine *was capable to reform the World; and confirms the Reaſonableneſs of expecting ſuch a* Divine Hero, *by ſome memorable Citations out of* Plato: *But yet concludes with a Concern this way; and with a Requeſt to* Paul, *to anſwer his own Queſtion, ſo as to ſatisfy him as to the* Rationale *of* two *weighty things*, 61
Paul's *Anſwer*, 68
In which he proceeds in the following Method;
He repeats the things, that they mutually agreed in, which he digeſts in nine Suppoſitions, Ibid.
Then he proceeds to conſider Seneca's two *weighty Queſtions*; I. *He begins with the* abſtract Queſtion, *concerning the* Character *of a* Divine Hero: *Which he* ſtates *exactly*, 69
Then he proceeds (in order to anſwer this Queſtion diſtinctly) to conſider a Preliminary one; viz. How many Methods are ſuppoſable in this Caſe, Ibid.
Which he conſiders ſo, as to lay down three Poſtulata;
Poſtul. 1. God muſt act to Men, as the Human Nature can bear, 70
Poſtul. 2. He muſt act agreeably to his own Nature, 71
God's Method *muſt therefore be a* mixed *one, tho not in a groſs Senſe of* Mixture, Ibid.
God conſidered, in a twofold *Reſpect*, viz. abſolutely *and* relatively, Ibid.
Images *or* Ideas *of God ariſe from the laſt Conſideration of him. From which* Ideas *we are led to conclude a* Trinity *of* Perſons *in the* Unity *of the* Deity, 72
From the Conſideration of theſe, and God's acting accordingly, Paul *proceeds to raiſe the*
3d Poſtul. viz. *That*, in order to God's governing and ſaving Men, it is neceſſary, that his Method be ſuch, as plainly

plainly and evidently to demonſtrate it ſelf to be Divine, in order to its being believ'd, receiv'd and comply'd with by Men as ſuch; at the ſame time that he condeſcends to deal with Men, as the Human Nature will bear, 76

The Great Principle *therefore, which is laid down, after all, as the* only immediate Foundation, *from whence we are to argue, in this Caſe, is this*; That it muſt be ſeen to be of God, becauſe it has nothing like Human Contrivance or Policy in it, Ibid.

From whence it is argued, that the Character *of a* Divine Hero, *is the very Reverſe of* that *of the* Political Hero, *which* Gallio *gave before. Which is therefore accordingly drawn, in* twenty *Particulars*; *exactly oppoſite to thoſe of* Gallio, 77

Gallio *objects againſt this, from the Unaccountableneſs of ſuppoſing, that ſuch a* Divine Hero *muſt be run upon by Heaven and Earth, ſo as to be expoſed to Contempt and Suffering,* 85

Paul *improves* Gallio's *Suppoſition, and ſhews, That, in order to ballance things of this kind, ſo as Men may clearly apprehend, notwithſtanding all this, that he is a* Divine Hero, *Divine Wiſdom muſt give full Eviaence to us, that he is indeed a* Hero *of his own ſending,* 87

The Queſtion *which reſults hence is,* How, or in what way Divine Wiſdom muſt be ſuppoſed to proceed in giving ſuch a full Evidence of this Perſon's being a Divine Hero, 88

Two Methods, *and no more,* ſuppoſable *in this Caſe*;

1. That God change Men, *&c. Which is demonſtrated to be impracticable in this Caſe,* Ibid.

2. That God give plenary Evidences of the Divine Miſſion and Commiſſion of this Hero; *this being the only way to be taken in this Caſe,* 89

An Enquiry into the Evidences neceſſary to be given, for this End. Where an Abſtract-Scheme *of them is given, under* ſix Heads; *which are* all *exactly conſidered, and* ſome *of them Branch'd out into* ſeveral *Particulars,* Ibid.

II. Paul *proceeds from the* Abſtract Character *of a* Divine Hero,

Hero, *by which he had answered* Seneca's first great Question; *and makes* Application *thereof to* Jesus Christ, *in order to answer* Seneca's second Question *or Demand*, 103

And here,

(1.) *He applies the* abstract *supposed* Character *of a* Divine Hero *to* Jesus; *as to the* Grand Maxim *proposed in this Case*, viz. That he must act the opposite Part, to that of a Political Hero, 104

In order to make this out, he gives us the Historical Character *of Jesus in* twenty *Particulars*, 105

(2.) *He applies also to* Jesus, *what he said, in the* second Part *of his* abstract Scheme; *when he supposed it to be necessary*, that God should give plenary Evidences of the Divinity of such a Hero's Mission and Commission, in order to ascertain Men of this Grand Truth, 120

In order to shew us, that this was actually done, with respect to Christ; he gives us an Historical Relation *of what God did, to ascertain Men, this way; demonstrating thus, that all those* six *supposed* Ways *of attesting this Truth, which he mention'd, in his* Abstract Scheme, *were followed by God, in his bearing Witness to Christ's being the truly Divine Hero and Benefactor of Men*, 121

After this Drama *or* Dialogue, *instead of any* Epilogue, *the Author proposes* two *things to Consideration*; viz. *How great the importance of the Subject is, which is treated of here; and how much it is yet capable of being farther inlarg'd and improv'd*, 129

CHAP. II.

Concerning the *second Sort* of *Divine Wisdom* observable in *Christ, viz.* That *Prudential Wisdom*, by which he manag'd himself, as a Man, in relation to Men, whilst he liv'd and convers'd among them, 132

THis Subject never treated of by any, so far as the Author knows, excepting one only; who has done it indeed but imperfectly, Ibid.

The

The Contents.

The Grand Maxim *laid down, as to the* former Wisdom, *is also applicable to* this Wisdom, *when duly* accommodated *to it; for which end the Author exactly* states *the* Grand Prudential Rule *of our Saviour's Conduct*, as Man, *with respect to Men; abstracting from the Consideration of him*, as the *Logos*, 33

His Conduct *of himself, pursuant to this* grand prudential Rule, *distinctly and particularly considered, with respect to a* Fourfold Sort *of Men*, 134

1st. *With respect to* Pilate *and the* Roman Government, *as it obtain'd in* Judæa *at that time*, 135

2dly. *With respect to the* Jewish Rulers, 142

Where an Account is given of such Jewish *Phrases, as were then used, and by which the Messiah and his Kingdom were meant*, 147

And particularly, of one Phrase, viz. the Kingdom of God, 149

3dly. *With respect to the* Populace *or* Bulk *of the* Jewish Nation, *where* Four *weighty Considerations are offered, as to the Reasons of Christ's conversing*, principally, *with the* Common People, 151

4thly. *With respect to his* Disciples *or* Followers, *especially the* Twelve Apostles, 165

What the Personal Characters *of the Apostles were*, 166

Where the Four *Scriptural Catalogues of their Names are compared*, 168

And Eight Observations *are set down, concerning the* Order *and* Names *of the Apostles*, 169

After which the Author proceeds to inquire more closely into their Personal Characters, 184

In order to which, he first *premiseth* Two material Observations, Ibid.

And then *he proceeds to give the* Character *of all the Apostles, whom he considers by* Pairs, *as they were coupled or joyned by Christ, when he sent them forth; where the Reader will find a great many new and important* Observations, *(too long to be enumerated here;) all of them tending to bring in further Light into the* Gospel, *and being peculiarly Illustrative of* Christ's Wisdom *and* Conduct, *in the Choice of his* Mini-

ſters, *with reſpect to what he had in View*, 188

An applicatory Illuſtration of what was ſaid, with Reference to Chriſt's Wiſdom, in the Choice and Management of a College *or* Council *of Men, of ſuch different* Characters *and* Tempers, *as the* Apoſtles *were*, 217

An Account of the Two Apoſtles *of the* Gentiles, Barnabas *and* Paul. *Where ſeveral memorable Obſervations are offer'd, relating to their Perſons, Character and Office: all of them tending to illuſtrate the* Divine Wiſdom, *and to give us a clearer View of the* Primitive Plan *of the* Goſpel Diſpenſation, *and of its* Progreſs *in the* Apoſtolical Age, 221

To all which, is added a Threefold Conjectural Catalogue; 1. *Of the Names of thoſe Men, which are recorded in Scripture, and which the Author ſuppoſes to have been of the Number of the* 70 Elders *or* Evangeliſts; 2. *Of ſuch Men, as ſeem afterwards to have been made* Church-Officers, *by being admitted to be either* Evangeliſts, *or* Paſtors, *or* Teachers; 3. *Of ſuch* private Chriſtians, *whether* Men *or* Women, *as were eminent and uſeful in that firſt Age*, 236

CHAP. III.

Concerning the *third Sort* of *Wiſdom*, conſpicuous in Chriſt, *viz.* That *ſpiritual* or *heavenly Wiſdom*, by which he manag'd himſelf in relation to *Inviſible Intellectual Agents*, viz. *God, Angels* and *Devils*; in the Diſcharge of his Truſt, with reſpect to Mankind and Human Affairs, in order to his obtaining, as *Loganthropos*, that *ſupreme and univerſal Headſhip and Empire*, for the obtaining whereof he became Man, and ſuffered in the World, 241

THE Grand Maxim, *which was laid down in the* firſt Chapter, *as the* Fundamental Rule *of the* firſt Sort of Divine Wiſdom *treated of therein; and which was alſo applied in the* ſecond Chapter, *to the* ſecond ſort of Wiſdom: *Is propoſed*

proposed likewise here, in this Chapter, *tho with* another Accommodation, *as the* Fundamental Rule *of Christ's* spiritual Conduct, *with respect to* invisible, intellectual Agents, Ibid.

Christ *considered here, not as the* Eternal Logos, *but as the* second Adam, *intrusted with the Affairs of Mankind,* Ibid.

Christ, thus considered, had to do with three Sorts *of* invisible intellectual Beings, viz. *God, Angels and Devils,* 243

Ist. *Christ is considered, as to his Conduct, in Relation to* God, Ibid.

God *considered here, not* relatively, *but essentially,* Ibid.

But yet so, as that Christ's Relation *to the* Logos *leads us to conceive that* God the Father *did, in this Case,* sustain the Dignity of the Deity, *in a peculiar manner,* 244

In order to understand this glorious Mystery, the Author finds it necessary, to run backwards, as far as to the Formation of Man. And, in doing this, he proceeds to propose several Things, by way of Observation, and in such a Gradation, as to lead himself and Readers forwards, with Advantage, as to that which he principally proposes to explain. Now the Observations, which he proposes, are these following.

Adam *was not made so, as to be* the very Image *or* Picture *of* God, absolutely *or* essentially *considered,* 244

The Image of God *must therefore relate to him* personally *considered,* Ibid.

Adam *was not made after* the Image *of the* first Person, *but of the* Logos, 245

Yet not after the Image *of* the Person *of the* Logos, *but after* the Image *of that glorious* created Form, *which the* Logos *assumed, and by which he manifested himself to the Angels of Heaven; which was that* created *and* assumed Form *which the* Jews *afterwards call'd the* Shechinah, 246

A great deal of Light is brought in here, in order to our understanding the primeval State of our first Parents, &c. *where their* Luminous Garment *is particularly considered,* 247

The Interposition *of the* Logos, *between* Adam *and* total Ruin, *immediately after the* Lapse, 251

The

The Contents.

The Covenant of Redemption *considered, as to the Certainty of such a Transaction,* 252
Nine *gradual* Suppositions, *in order to the right Understanding of* this Covenant *proposed,* 255
An Account of the Articles of Agreement, *between* God *and the* Logos, *in which* this Covenant *is supposed to stand,* 257
Cautionary Conclusions, *with Reference to this Subject,* 260
All Christ's Actions on Earth, (miraculous ones excepted) were formally *his Actions, as* he was Man; *together with an Answer to the only* rational Objection *that can be made against this* Proposition, 262
The Proposition *proved from two* scriptural Passages, *viz.* (1.) *From* Heb. 5. 7, 8, 9. *And,* (2.) *From* Heb. 2. 9, 10, &c. 263
The Proposition *further cleared and proved from* Three Historical Passages, *which contain plain* matter of Fact *this way. The 1st. of which is Christ's Declaration,* Mark 13. 32, 266
The 2d. is the whole History of Christ's Sufferings. Where a critical Account is given of Christ's last Words. And where the vulgar Error of Divines is taken notice of in their supposing Christ, as God Man, to be the Object of his Father's Wrath, when he suffer'd, by reason (*as they use to say*) of our Sins being imputed to him, 269
The 3d. Passage, is that which is recorded, Luke 22. 43, 274
An Objection *against this Scheme, as if it seem'd to be* subversive *of* Christ's Merits and Satisfaction; *fully* answered *and* retorted, 277
A grand Point *treated of,* viz. *whether* Christ, as Man, *was a* proper Human *Person,* or a *bare Human Nature,* without a *Human* Personality. *Where the Author clears up the Truth distinctly and largely, which has never been understood before, since the Days of* Nestorius; *and demonstrates the Erroneousness of the common Opinion,* 279
A new and distinct, tho short, Account of Christ's Satisfaction *to* Divine Justice, *for the* Sins *of* Men, *as he was* Man, *by Virtue of the* Union *of the Person of the* Man Christ,

Christ, *with the Person of the* Logos; *given in* Six Considerations, 291
IIdly. *Christ considered, as to his Management of himself, in Reference to the* Angels, 303
A short Hint concerning those Beings, Ibid.
How far the Angels seem to have been acquainted with the Incarnation *of Christ, and the* Design *thereof; and how far it was a Mystery to them,* 304
What their great Strait *and* Difficulty *was, as to* God's Design *in this Matter, distinctly proposed and considered,* 305
Christ's Views, with respect to them, and according to which he managed himself in Relation to them, briefly proposed, 307
IIIdly. *Christ considered, as to his Management of himself, with Respect to his grand invisible Enemies, the* Apostate Angels, 309
Some preliminary Considerations, in order to understand, how the Logos *wag'd War with* Satan, *before the* Incarnation, *in order to reclaim Men from his Dominion,* Ibid.
Christ's coming into the World, was to be the last eminent Method to be taken for this End, 312
Satan dubious, for some time, what Judgment he was to make of Christ, as the Messiah, 313
The Fight *between Christ and Satan in the Wilderness, (which continued above* 40 *Days) inquir'd into: Where* Seven *Observations, together with several Considerations, are proposed, in order to a critical Understanding of this Piece of Scripture History,* 314
Two other Passages of Scripture that seem to insinuate distinct Struggles between Christ and Satan, 322
Ten Rational Suppositions *concerning the* Manner *of* Christ's Management *of himself, in Opposition to* Devils, *and concerning the* Method *of* Satan's *waging War against Christ, which are of great Importance, in order to our conceiving rightly of this Subject,* 323
Four *Practical Deductions from the Ten preceding Considerations.* 228

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Time, wherein our Saviour was born into the World, considered, as it was the *Fulness of Time*. Together with a short Hint concerning the *last Days*, 329

TWO Expressions of Scripture proposed to be considered, and founded upon, viz. *Gal.* 4. 4. & *Eph.* 1. 10. 330

Several Observations proposed from thence, in relation to Christ's coming *into the World*, in the Fulness of Time.

1*st* Observ. *That the Expression alludes to* a Woman with Child, that goes out her full Time, and then is happily delivered, Ibid.

2*d.* Observ. *That our Saviour's coming into the World, was, at last, become a Matter of* real Necessity, 331

Here it is shewed,

(1.) *That it was not fit, that Christ should have come sooner,* 332

(2.) *That it was no less incongruous, for Christ to have come* later, 338

3*d.* Observ. *That Christ's Birth answers exactly to* the Time *that was mark'd out for it, in the* ancient Prophesies, *that foretold it,* 350

Three *eminent* Prophesies *considered and cleared up, in order to demonstrate the Truth of this Observation.*

(1.) Jacob's *Prophesie*, Gen. 49. 10. critically consider'd, 351

(2.) Haggai's *Prophesie*, Chap. 2. 6, 7. *fully expounded,* 362

(3.) Daniel's *Prophesie*, Chap. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27. *exactly and largely cleared up,* 371

A Synopsis *of the several Opinions of the most* Eminent Chronologers, *as to the Year of the World, wherein Christ was born,* 381

The Contents.

The common Mistake of reckoning the Years of the World, from the Creation to Christ, by Julian Years, *and according to the* Julian Period, 383

An Account of the Julian Calendar, *and the* Rectifications *thereof, which have been made hitherto,* 384

The Opinions of some *of the most* Eminent Chronologers, *as to the* Month *and* Day *of Christ's Birth,* 386

The Author's Opinion *of this; wherein he proposes several weighty Considerations, which demonstrate, that Mr.* Whiston *is mistaken, in his* Supposition, *that Christ was born only* one Month *before the Death of* Herod *the Great,* 387

A farther Inquiry into the Time of the Year, wherein Christ was born; where Dr. Richardson *and Dr.* Usher's *Opinion, that Christ saw* Four Passovers, *is confirmed; and that of* Alstedius *and Mr.* Whiston, *on the one Side, that Christ was present at* Five, *and that other of* Monsieur Lamy, *that he saw* Three *only, are rejected,* 393

A Commendation of Mr. Lamy's Astronomical Calculation *of several* New Moons, *reduc'd to the Meridian of* Jerusalem; *by which it appears, that the* 15th *of* Nisan, *or* 3d *of* April, *A. D.* 33, *was a* Friday, 396

A Table, *wherein the Author gives an Adjustment of the* Jewish *and* Julian *Months, for the* last half Year *of Christ's Life,* 398

A Continuation *of this* Adjustment, *down to the Day of* Pentecost, 401

An Objection *against calculating the* Jewish *Months, as if they consisted, all of them, of* 30 *Days*; answered, Ibid.

A Question, *concerning* Leap-Year, answered; *where a* Rule *is given to know this for ever; which is exemplified in a* Column *of* 40 *Years,* 403

An Account of the most memorable Days *relating to Christ; together with the Reason, why* Sunday *or* Lord's-day *was appointed instead of all other Holy Days; shewing that all* annual *and* monthly Holy Days *are null'd by the Institution of this New-Testament* Hebdomodal Holy Day; *and that the* Annual Course *of the* Sun *is not a* perfect Measure *of the* Flux *of* Time, 406

A Coronis *to this* 3d Obſervation; *wherein two things are conſidered.* 1. *The Appearance of that* extraordinary Bird, *mention'd to have been ſeen in* Egypt, *(and, as the Author ſuppoſes, that very Year wherein Chriſt ſuffered,) by* Tacitus *and* Dio Caſſius, *which they call the* Phœnix. 2. *The extraordinary and ſupernatural* Eclipſe *or* Darkneſs, *together with the ſtrange and præternatural* Earthquake, *which accompanied the Death of Chriſt,* 409

The 4th *and laſt* Obſervation, viz. *That the* Time *of* Chriſt's coming *was the* Fulneſs of Time, *with reſpect to the* concurring Circumſtances *thereof,* both *as to* Men *and* Things; *which were ſuch, all things being conſider'd, as never occurr'd before, nor ſince,* 414

Where theſe following weighty Conſiderations *are inquir'd into and demonſtrated.*

1. *That the* Time, *wherein Chriſt appeared in the World, was the* fitteſt *that ever was, if we conſider the* State *and* Circumſtances *of the* Jewiſh Church *and* Nation. *This proved in* Six *Particulars,* 414

2. *That the* Time *wherein Chriſt appeared in the World, was the* Fulneſs of Time *likewiſe, as it was the* fitteſt Time, *for the* Gentile World, *as well as for the* Jewiſh Nation. *This ſhewed in* Six *Particulars,* 416

3. *That there was a peculiar* Concurrence of Circumſtances, *that never met together, at leaſt in ſuch a manner, in any Age before or ſince; that were advantageous to the ſpreading of the Goſpel, and mark'd out this Time, as every way the fitteſt for Chriſt to make his Appearance in, and conſequently, in this Senſe,* the Fulneſs of Time. *This demonſtrated in* ten *Particulars,* 421

A Coronis *to this Chapter, wherein the Scriptural Meaning of the* firſt *and* laſt Days *or* Time, *is fully, tho briefly cleared up,* 435

The

The *CONTENTS* of the *Four Remaining Chapters* of the *3d Book* of *Chriſtology*: Which make up the *Second Part* thereof.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the *Loganthropos*, *perſonally* conſidered: Wherein a *New Account* is given of his *Incarnation*; together with ſeveral *important* Thoughts, and ſome of them very *peculiar* ones, in relation to his *Sufferings* firſt, and his *Exaltation* afterwards, 437

THE Tranſition from the former Part to this Part, Ibid.
I. Concerning the Incarnation of the *Logos*, 438
Two Inquiries here, with the Improvement, Ibid.
1ſt Inquiry, *into the* Congruity *of the* Incarnation *of the* Son, *rather than of the* Father *and* Holy Spirit, *anſwered, in two Particulars.*
(1.) That whoſoever was to be our Saviour, muſt be both God and Man, in a true and proper Senſe. ——— *Which is demonſtrated in* three *particular Parts*, 439
(2.) That it was altogether congruous that the Second Perſon of the Trinity ſhould undertake this Work, rather than the firſt or third. *Which is alſo ſhewed in* three *Particulars*, 440
The Rationale *of the* Incarnation *of the* Logos, *rather than of the* Father *and* Spirit, *ſhewed further, upon ſome other peculiar Conſiderations*, 443
2d Inquiry, *viz.* How far the Holy *Scriptures* do lay a Foundation of our conceiving and underſtanding this great

great and Mysterious Truth of the *Incarnation* of the *Logos*, 447
Here the Author *proposes to look back upon two Things, which he formerly treated of*, viz. 1. *His Exposition of the Passage*, Luke 1. 35. Ibid.
And, 2. *Of the Expression*, Gen. 5. 1. 450
After which Preliminaries, *the* Author *proposes to present the World, with the* Result *of his Thoughts upon this Great Subject*, Ibid.
And accordingly he presents us with the Result *of his* Thoughts gradually in eight Particulars, 451
The last *of which is considered in* three more, 453
And the last of these, *in* six other Considerations, 454
Which Considerations *leads the Author to discourse of the* Pre-existence *of the* Soul *of* Christ: *Which he clears up from several Places of Scripture*, 456
The vast Importance *of* which Notion *is shewed*, 459
The eminent Advantage *of the* preceding Scheme, *with respect to our Knowledge and Improvement of the Gospel, demonstrated, in some weighty Particulars*, 463
3dly. *A* Practical Improvement *of the* two *preceding* Inquiries, 467
Which is given under the following Heads;
(1.) *The wonderful Condescention of the* Logos *and the* Shechinah, Ibid.
(2.) *The astonishing Exaltation of Human Nature*, 473
(3.) *Our Saviour's Faithfulness to the Interests of Human Nature*, Ibid.
(4.) *Our Duty, in a* four-fold Reference,
1. *To God and Christ*, 474
2. *To Angels*, Ibid.
3. *To Men*, 475
4. *To our selves.* 476

II. Concerning those other memorable *Articles* that relate to the *Person* of *Christ*, *viz.* such as have not been *directly* discoursed of in the preceding Chapters, 478

Viz.

Viz. *These following.*

I. *Christ's* Crucifixion, Ibid.
II. *Christ's* Death, 484
III. *Christ's* Burial, 488
IV. *Christ's* Descent *into* Hades, 489
V. *Christ's* Resurrection, *and his* 40 Days Continuance *before his* Ascention, 490

The Necessity of Christ's Resurrection, 492
The Necessity of our being assured of this Truth, beyond the Possibility of doubting thereof, 493
An Objection drawn from Christ's not appearing to the Jews, &c. Answer'd, 494
A Question, *Why Christ's Disciples should be the only Evidences to us of this Truth,* Answered, 498
Another Question, *What Christ did, or how he imployed himself, during* the 40 Days, *that past between his* Resurrection *and* Ascention, *consider'd: Where several* new and curious Thoughts *are suggested,* 501

VI. *Christ's* Ascention *to Heaven,* Glorification *in Heaven, and* Mission *of the* Paraclete *from Heaven,* 511
VII. *Christ's* Present Work *in Heaven, and the* Assurance *he has given us of his* coming *from thence at last, as the Great and Universal Judge,* 514

A New Exposition *of Christ's Words,* John 14. 2, 3. *given in* four Propositions, 517
Christ's Intercession *in Heaven considered,* 532

CHAP. VI.

The *Office* of Christ the *Loganthropos*, consider'd; wherein, besides a *General Idea* of it, *a new Account* is given of the *Parts thereof:* Which is wholly *Scriptural*, and by which the *Imperfection* of all *Systems*, in explaining this Head of Divinity, is discover'd, 538

THE Names *of Christ, expressive of his Office, consider'd,* Ibid.
Christ considered, 1. *As the* Son of God, 542
And, 2. *As* our Lord and Master *from Heaven,* 545
Our Lord Jesus *demonstrated to be* a Lord, *and* our Lord, *in all manner of Respects whatsoever,* 547
After these things the Author *proceeds to the main and great Thing, which he proposes to do in this Chapter,* viz. *to give* a new Account *of the* Parts *of* Christ's Office, *as* Mediator, *or* Loganthropos, 549
The Prophetical, Priestly, *and* Kingly Office *of Christ, as they are Parts of his General Office,* as Mediator, *no* full *or* perfect *Distribution of the Office of Christ,* Ibid.
Two Offices of Christ never treated of hitherto in any System; viz. 1. *His being the* Second Adam, 550
2. *His being the True and Grand* Legislator, 551
The true Distribution of Christ's Mediatorial Office, *is propos'd to be this,* viz. *that of his being the Supreme* Patriarch, Legislator *and* Executor *of God's Will, with relation to Mankind and the Church,* 553

1. *Christ consider'd as* Patriarch.

Preliminaries to the Understanding of this Subject, Ibid.
Christ's Undertaking *to redeem Man,* 555
A further Account of the Covenant *of* Redemption, 556
The Comprehensiveness of Christ's Patriarchate, 559

All

All the old Patriarchs Types of Christ, this way, more or less 560

But, of all others, Melchisedeck *was the most Illustrious Type,* Ibid.

An Account of the short History of Melchisedeck *and* Abraham, *and of the War between the* Four Kings *and the* Five Kings, *in the* 14th *Chapter of* Genesis, 563

Where it is proved, that Melchisedeck *was no other than* Shem, 565

II. *Christ considered as* Legislator, 575

The foolish Heats that have been between Calvinists *and* Arminians, *in relation to God's secret Will,* 576

A memorable Censure past by a Person of Quality upon a famous Scholastical Book on that Subject, 577

A remarkable Story of two eminent Persons, the one a Calvinist, *the other an* Arminian, *who liv'd in perfect Friendship to the last; together with the Sum of one of their Conferences, in the Presence of one, whom they agreed to have with them, to give his Opinion of their Arguments on both Sides,* 578

Christ eminently typified, as to his Legislative Office, *by* Moses *the* Legislator *of the* Jews. *Where a* Comparison *is run between* Moses *and* Christ, *in* 12 *Particulars. In the* 6th *and* 7th *of which the very Foundation of* Prelacy *is over-turn'd, as to its Pretences to any thing of a* Jus Divinum, 583

Four weighty Particulars, of another Nature from the former; as being so peculiar to Christ, *as that* Moses *neither was, nor indeed could be any Type or Adumbration of him,* 593

III. *Christ consider'd as the Grand* Executor *of his Father's Will,* 598

Some Considerations tending to clear up this Point, Ibid.

A Parallel run between Christ *and* Joshua *the Son of* Nun, *in order to illustrate the* Executive Office *and* Power.

Where the Author, 1. *Considers their being parallel, as to the Name* Joshua *or Jesus*; *where, by the bye, he thinks it were improper for Parents now to call a Child by that Name*, 600
And then, 2. *He proceeds to compare them, in point of Office, in 6 Particulars*, 604
To which he adds 4 other Particulars; *wherein* Joshua *neither was nor could be* Typical *of* Christ, 606
Joshua *the Son of* Josedeck *was likewise a Type of* Christ, *in six Particulars*, Ibid.
The Patriarchal Office *of* Christ *shewed to be the* proper Genus *of his* Prophetical, Priestly *and* Kingly Offices, 607
And the Mediatorial Office *shewed likewise to be the* proper Genus *of Christ's* Patriarchal, Legislative, *and* Executive Offices, 609
The true Notion of a Mediator *stated*, 610
A short Account of the Improvableness *of the* three Parts *of* Christ's Mediatorial Office, *viz. his* Patriarchate, Legislature, *and* Executive Power, 614

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the *Relation* which Christ is represented to stand in to us, in the New Testament. Which is *threefold*, *viz.* That of his being Constituted and Appointed the Great *Repository* of all Good for us; the Great *Medium*, in and thro' whom God and Men can only meet, in order to Intercourse and Communion; and the Great *Organ* or *Minister of State*, by whom God carries on all his Grand Purposes, 619

THe *Transition from the Subject treated of in the preceding Chapter, to the Subject treated of here*, Ibid.

I. *Christ considered as the* Great Treasury *or* Repository of all *Good*, 621

1ſt. *Chriſt proved to be thus conſtituted,* Ibid.
For which Purpoſe, Col. 1. 19. *is explained,* 622
Which is, in three Particulars, *included in that* General Expreſſion, *viz.*
1. *The* All-Fulneſs of God *dwells in Chriſt,* Col. 2. 9. 625
2. *The* All-Fulneſs of Angels, *Col.* 2. 10. 626
3. *The* All-Fulneſs of Men, *Col.* 2. 10. 629
2dly. *How Chriſt bears a* Relation to us, *as he is the* Common Repoſitory, *wherein all theſe* three ſorts *of* Fulneſs *do meet, as in a* Common Centre, *and are laid up as in a* common Treaſury?
Two Expreſſions cleared up here;
1. *The Paſſage,* John 1. 16. 631
And, 2. *The Paſſage,* 1 Cor. 1. 30. 636

II. *Chriſt conſidered, as the* Grand Medium, *in and thro' whom God and Men do meet.*

The Scriptural Paſſage, 1 Cor. 3. 21, 22, 23. *conſider'd and explain'd to prove this Point,* 638

III. *Chriſt conſider'd as the Grand* Organ, *or* Inſtrument, *or* Miniſter of State, *by whom God carries on all his Grand Purpoſes,* 654

Which is proved from an Expoſition of Heb. 12. 2. 655

CHAP. VIII.

The *Obligation* which Chriſt has brought us under, to honour and ſerve him (upon the Account of what he has done and ſuffered for us) Conſidered and Improved, 665

THE *Apoſtle's Words,* 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20. *inſiſted upon for this end,* Ibid.
Where three Heads are diſcours'd of:

The Contents.

I. *The Apostle's Assertion of a Great Gospel-Truth*, viz. That we are not our own, but the Lord's, 666
II. *The Reason of the preceding Assertion*, viz. We are bought with a Price, 672
III. *The Consectary or Inference*, viz. *That we ought therefore to* Glorify God in our Souls and Bodies, which are the Lord's, 678

The Application *of the whole of this Scriptural Passage, and the Subjects treated of therein*, 686

The Conclusion, 696

The ORDER and Principal HEADS of the Preceding

DISSERTATION.

The DEDICATION, *&c.*

THE Introduction, Page 1
Those that divided the Bible into Chapters and Verses, mistook themselves in the first Words of this Chapter, 2
Two *Preliminary* Observations, viz 1. Paul's *Caution against* Oral Tradition. 2. *The Reason of* his Obscurity, *in the* 3d Chapt. *of the* Epistle *to the* Philippians, Ibid.
The Sense of Paul *in the* six *first Verses of* this Chapter, 5
His Sense in the 7th *Verse*, 6
His Meaning in Verse 8. 7
His Gradation of three Things considered in general, in ver. 9, 10, & 11. 8
A particular Exposition of each of these;

I. *Of*

The Contents.

I. *Of* ver. 9. 9
II. *Of* ver. 10. 16
III. *Of* ver. 11. 19

This *Eleventh* Verſe of the *Third* Chapter of the *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, largely treated of, 20

The Difficulty that the Author was under, at firſt, as to the Apoſtle's Meaning in this Verſe, 21
Three Senſes given of this Text; which the Author ſhews to be inconſiſtent, 22
Therefore he was led to think of this Notion of a Special Reſurrection *at the* Millennium, 24
His imparting this Notion to ſome Learned Friends: *and how far it was approved of by them. Where a very ſingular Notion of* One *of the* Company *is taken Notice of,* Ibid.
The Author's Notion ſtated, *and propoſed as the* only Key *of the* 3d Chapter, *and particularly of* ver. 11, 12, &c. 26
Which was only an Article *of* Opinion *in* Paul's *Days,* Ibid.
But is now, ſince John's *Days, an* Article of Faith, *tho a* ſecondary one *only, and not* abſolutely neceſſary *to* Salvation, 28
In treating *of this* Subject *the* Author *propoſes to proceed in this Method,* viz. (1.) *To treat of it* Doctrinally and largely; *and then,* (2.) Practically *and more briefly,* 29
(1.) *This* Subject *propoſed to be* Doctrinally *treated of, in a* twofold Inquiry.

I. *Inquiry.* What are the Grounds or Reaſons from whence it can be collected, that there will be a ſpecial Reſurrection of the moſt Eminent Saints, antecedent to the General One; ſo as to lay a juſt Foundation of our believing it, and of our forming a genuine Conception of it, as a Scriptural and Revealed Truth? Ibid.

The Contents.

This Inquiry anſwered *in a* Gradation *of* four Steps.

The Firſt Step.

Where the Reſurrection *of the* Eminent Saints *of the* Old Teſtament, *mentioned* Matth. 27. 51, 52, 53. *is cleared up, and explained and vindicated,* Ibid.

The Second Step.

Where the Reaſonableneſs of the Reſurrection *of the* eminent Saints *at the* Millennium, *is ſhewed,* 38

The Third Step.

Where the Truth of this Point is demonſtrated from Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. *and* Rev. 20. 3, 4, 5, &c. 41

An Anſwer to Dr. Whitby's *Arguments againſt the Author's Interpretation of the* ſecond *of theſe* Paſſages, *and conſequently againſt the* Opinion *it ſelf,* 52

Mr. Staynoe's *ſingular Notion of the* Firſt Reſurrection *refuted,* 60

The Fourth Step.

Where the Text, Philip. 3. 11. *is particularly and critically inquired into, and prov'd to denote the* ſpecial Reſurrection, 68

A few additional Thoughts concerning the Millennium *and the ſpecial Reſurrection,* 98

II. *Inquiry.* When, or at what Time, or period of Time, may we moſt probably ſuppoſe, that *Antichriſt* will fall, and the happy *Millennium* begin, *and conſequently the Special Reſurrection, which is to be then?* 101

Some things premiſed *out of the Author's former* Apocalyptical Diſcourſe, *&c.* Ibid.

The Æra *of the* Papal Reign *ſtated, and ſhewed to have been at or about the Year,* 758. 107

This weighty Point *further cleared up, and the Grand* Objection *againſt it fully anſwered,* 109

The Contents.

A Refutation of the Apocalyptical Scheme *of the* Bishop *of* Worcester *and Mr.* Whiston, *as it has been published by the latter of these Famous and Learned Persons. Wherein is shewed,* (1.) *That* John *saw the* Apocalyptical Visions *before the Year 96.* (2.) *That* John *never reckon'd by any other Years than* Judaical *or* Prophetical *ones.* (3.) *That it is a gross Mistake to* date *Antichrist's Rise, from* A. D. 456—*Under the* two last *of which Heads, several of the most* material Points *of this* Scheme, *are disproved; and the* Author's Scheme, *formerly publish'd, confirm'd,* 127

The Practical Part *of the Apostle's Discourse —Where we have,*

I. *A* General Improvement, 163

II. *The* Special Improvement *which the Apostle makes thereof,* 164

This Applicatory *and* Conclusory Part *of the Apostle's Discourse, consider'd under* three *General Heads,*

(1.) *His* Improvement *of this, in reference to* Himself, 165

Which he does in three Things;

I. *By* confessing *that he had not attained, as yet, to any* Certainty *or* Proper Assurance, *of being raised at the* Special Resurrection, *at the Beginning of the* Millennium, *where* ver. 12, *and* 13, *are, in part, explained,* Ibid.

II. *By* declaring *that he was* incited *and* incouraged *to pursue the* Special Prize *and* Special Resurrection, *by reason of this, that he was apprehended and laid hold of by Christ, for this very end, where the same* 12th *and* 13th *Verses are further considered,* 169

III. *By* shewing *us the* way, *which he took to reach this End. —Where he does two things:*

I. *He shews us* his End, *or the* Thing he run for, 171

II. *He shews us* the Method he took in Running, so as to reach his End, 173

(2.) *The Apostle's* Improvement *of the Subject of the* Special Resurrection, *in reference to the* Christian Church *of* Philippi, 177

Which is Threefold;

I. *To*

The Contents.

I. *To* thoſe *that were of the* ſame Opinion *with him in this reſpect*, Ibid.
II. *To* thoſe *that* differ'd *from him, as to this* Opinion, 179
III. *To* thoſe *of* both Opinions, 181

(3.) *The Apoſtle's* Reaſons *for his* preceding Improvement *of this Subject of the* Peculiar Reſurrection at the Millennium, *in reference to* both Parts *of the* Philippian *Church*, 188

A N

AN INDEX OF SUCH

Places of Scripture as are not barely cited, but more or less Explain'd, Illustrated or Vindicated, in the Book.

Mark, That the Places that have an *Asterisk* prefix'd, are *remarkable*, either because *more largely treated of*, or upon the Account of some *New Exposition*, *Illustration* or *Vindication* of them, or at least by reason of some *peculiar Turn* given to them.

		Page
GENESIS,	* Chap. 1. ver. 26, 27. chap. 5. 1. chap. 9. 6. chap. 3. 7, &c. v. 22.	244
	Chap. 2. 7.	59
	Chap. 3. 21, 22, & v. 7, 8.	248
	Chap. 9. 25, 26, &c.	573
	* Chap. 14. 1, 2, &c. v. 17, 18, &c.	563
	* Chap. 49. 10.	351
Numbers,	Chap. 13. 8, 16. Comp. with *Matth.* 1. 21.	601
Deuteronomy,	Chap. 18. 15, &c. Comp. *with* Acts 3. 22. & chap. 7. 37.	591
	* Chap. 32. 8, 9, &c. Comp. with *Gen.* 10, 15, 16, &c.	567
	Chap. 32. 15. & 33. 5, 26. & Isai. 44. 2.	593
Judges,	Chap. 9. 8.	539
Psalms,	Psal. 76. 2.	562

		Page
	Pſal. 110. 4.	562
	* Pſal. 72. 17.	540
Proverbs,	* Chap. 8. 22, &c.	468
Iſaiah,	Chap. 53. 2.	23
	* Chap. 53. 8. Comp. with *Acts* 8. 33, 34.	130
Ezekiel,	* Chap. 43. *ult.*	118
Daniel,	* Chap. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27.	371
Haggai,	* Chap. 2. 6, 7.	192 & 362
Zechariah,	Chap. 3. 1, 2, &c.	607
Matthew,	* Chap. 2. 2.	389
	Chap. 10. 14.	160
	* Chap. 14. 22, 23.	323
	Chap. 26. 53, 54,	277
	* Chap. 27. 3, 4, 5.	325
	* ——V. 19.	326
	* ——V. 52.	508, 526
	——V. 38, 39, 42, 45.	270
	——V. 46, 50. Comp. with *Luke* 23. 46. & *John* 19, 30.	271
Mark,	* Chap. 1. 12, &c.	315
	* ——V. 35.	322
	* Chap. 3. 17.	191
	* Chap. 13. 32.	266
	Chap. 15. 34.	270
Luke,	Chap. 1. 35.	447
	* Chap. 4. 1, &c.	314, 554
	* ——V. 35.	314
	* Chap. 10. 1, 2, &c.	157
	* ——V. 10, 11.	160
	Chap. 22. 24.	270
	* ——V. 29, 30.	524
	* ——V. 43.	275
John,	Chap. 1. 14.	470
	* ——V. 16.	631
	Chap. 2. 21.	366
	Chap. 5. 43.	599
	* Chap. 6. 62.	458
	* Chap. 10. 17, 18.	485
	* Chap. 14. 2, 3.	517
	Chap. 16. 28.	458
	Chap. 17. 5.	457
	Chap. 20. 17.	502
Acts,	* Chap. 8. 33, 34, Comp. with *Iſa.* 53. 8.	130
	* Chap. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.	231
	Chap. 17. 19, &c.	427
1 *Corinthians,*	Chap. 18. *per totum.*	26
	* Chap. 1. 30.	636

		Page
	*Chap. 3. 21, 22, 23.	638
	*Chap. 6. 19, 20.	665
	Chap. 15. 14.	492
	——— V. 19.	510
	——— V. 24, 25, 28.	531
Galatians,	*Chap. 4. 4.	330
Ephesians,	*Chap. 2. 10.	330
	* ——— V. 20.	694
Philippians,	Chap. 2. 6, 7, &c.	460
Colossians,	*Chap. 1. 19.	622
	*Chap. 2. 9.	625
	*Chap. 2. 10.	626, 629
Hebrews,	Chap. 1. 2.	349
	Chap. 2. 17.	471
	——— V. 9, 10, 11, &c.	265
	* ——— V. 16.	284
	Chap. 5. 7, 8, 9.	263
	*Chap. 7. *per totum.*	574
	*Chap. 9. 26.	349
	——— V. 28.	301
	*Chap. 12. 2.	655
	——— V. 25, &c.	192
I *John*,	*Chap. 4. 2, 3.	461
II *John*,	——— V. 1.	195
III *John*,	——— V. 1.	Ibid.
Revelation,	Chap. 1. v. 1.	269

An INDEX of such Places of Scripture as are interpreted in the preceding DISSERTATION; many of which were never clearly or fully understood before; especially such as are mark'd here with an *Asterisk.*

	Page
** The *Text. Phil.* 3. 11. Together with the whole *Context* of that *Chapter.*	1*st* to Page *ult.*
*ISAIAH, 26. 19.	32
Daniel, 7. 8.	105
*——— Chap. 12. 1, 3, 4.	36
* *Matthew*, Chap. 27. 50, 51, 52, 53.	30, & 55
* *Luke*, Chap. 13. 29. & *Matth.* 8. 11.	35

Chap.

		Page
	Chap. 20. 34.	79
	——V. 35, 36.	78
John,	Chap. 5. 25.	32
	* Chap. 11. 21, 24, 25, 26.	80
Acts,	Chap. 4. 2.	78
	* Chap. 16. 22, 23.	82
Romans,	* Chap. 1. 4.	69
	Chap. 3. 21.	12
	Chap. 6. 1, *&c.*	95
	——V. 6. 5. chap. 8. 17, *&c.* 2 *Tim.* 11. 12. *Matth.* 10. 23, & 1 *Pet.* 2. 12, 13, 14.	18
	* Chap. 7. 24.	84
	Chap. 10. 1, 2.	13
	* Chap. 11. 15.	89
I *Corinth.*	* Chap. 3. 11, 12. *&c.*	44
	Chap. 7. 25, 40.	27
	* Chap. 9. 27.	85
	* Chap. 15. 29.	90
II *Corinthians*,	Chap. 12. 4, *&c.*	26
Galatians,	Chap. 3. 24.	11
	Chap. 5. 2, 3.	6
Philippians,	Chap. 2. 5.	7
Colossians,	Chap. 2. 12. together with 1 *Pet.* 1. 34. & 3. 18, &c. *Luke* 12. 20. and some more parallel Places.	95
Revelation,	* Chap. 1. 19. compared with chap. 4. 1.	129
	* Chap. 2. 9, 10.	127
	* Chap. 6. 9, 10, 11.	42, 46, 48
	* Chap. 9. 15, *&c.*	133
	* Chap. 11. 11, 12, 13, *&c.*	141
	* Chap. 17. 10, *&c.*	105
	* Chap. 20. 3, 4, 5, *&c.*	41, 45, 49, 56, 60

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAGE 39. Line 31. after *should* read *be*; p. 58. l. 7. dele *can*; p. 169. l. 3. for *too* r. *so*; p. 369. l. 19. for . r. , after *aside*; p. 397. l. 14. for *three*, r. *thirty three*; p. 402. l. *ult.* r. *Isagogic*; p. 403. l. 30. after *and*, r. *may*; p. 412. l. 5. for *as* r. *at*; p. 438. l. 1. r. *Relation*; p. 449. l. *penult*, r. *Grabii*; p. 529. l. 1. of Marg. Note, for 1. r. *in*; p. 530. l. 3. dele *what*; p. 619. l. 7. after *so*, r. *graciously*.

In the DISSERTATION, Page 90. after *Ch.* 15. add *Ver.* 29; p. 105. l. 20. for 1797. r. 1697; p. 128. l. 19. for (1.) r. (2.)

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THE

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OR, A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

CHRIST,

As He is

The *LOGOS*, made Man.

BEING THE

Third Book of *CHRISTOLOGY.*

Heb. 1. 1, 2. *God, who, at sundry times, and in diverse manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets; hath, in these last days, spoken unto us by his Son,* &c.

Augustin. Epist. Volusiano. Venit Christus; complentur in ejus Ortu, Vita, Dictis, Factis, Passionibus, Morte, Resurrectione, Ascensione, omnia preconia Prophetarum.

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A DISCOURSE CONCERNING CHRIST, AS Loganthropos.

The INTRODUCTION.

THE Reader may remember, that in the *General Introduction* to the *First Volume* of this Work, I gave him some Account of my Scheme, as to the *Design* and *Principal Heads* of this Discourse; and that I added something relating to the *different Method* I propos'd to proceed in, in this and the following Books, from what I us'd in the two first. But in the *Introduction* to the *Second Book*, I spoke more plainly as to this last. And indeed, when I consider both the Vastness of this Work it self, and how much my time is taken up with other things, besides the

neceſſary and important Duties of my Function; but eſpecially, when I call to mind the uncertainty of Life, and how many Warnings I have had of late, as to Death, I have reſolved, (as I ſaid before, in the Places referr'd to) rather to give the World a few Materials towards the Building of this Fabrick of *Chriſtology*, than delay until I be in caſe to finiſh it in all its Parts, to the ſame Proportion that I have brought the two firſt Books unto; leſt, by this Delay, I cut my ſelf ſhort of offering thoſe few, but valuable Things, that I have already, through Grace, attained to, and which I hope will not be deſpiſed, tho not ſo perfect as I could wiſh they were.

'Tis true, ſhould the Reader judge of my Subject and Performance here, by the Bulk of this preſent Book and Volume, he might well think that I have reaſon to Apologize rather for my Prolixneſs than Brevity. And I readily confeſs, that I have juſt Reaſon to do ſo in one ſenſe; ſeeing I have been forc'd to alter my Reſolution of ſending forth this 3*d* Book, together with the 4*th* in a 2*d* Volume, as I propoſed to do in the Introduction to the Firſt, *p.* 5. For I did not then imagine, that my Thoughts upon *Chriſt* as *Loganthropos*, as being for the moſt part Hints only, would have ariſen to that Bulk, that I find they do now amount to: But, as the old ſaying is, *Many Littles ariſe to a large Sum at length.* And indeed this is the exact ſtate of my Caſe, as to this matter: For it is not, becauſe I have treated largely of this Subject, that I find this one Book is ſwell'd to ſuch a Bulk, as to make ſo large a Volume by it ſelf alone; but it is, becauſe the Subject is ſo large and vaſt, that the bare mentioning of ſo many things as relate to it, have oblig'd me to inlarge ſo much upon the whole (tho without any great Enlargement upon any one particular Head) as that I find my ſelf neceſſitated to ſend forth this 3*d* Book, in this Volume apart, conſidering what Proportion it alone doth bear to the two former Books.

And yet, how bulky ſoever this Book may appear to be, the judicious and learned Reader will ſoon ſee, that I have been ſo careful to avoid tediouſneſs, that I have either

ther wholly past by, in Silence, many of those Points that our common Systems treat of in reference to Christ, or spoken of them very transiently, which I did on purpose that I might leave the more room to treat of those new Points, that I never met with in any Author before, at least as to such a Cultivation and Improvement of them, as I have been inabled to make here, thro' *the good hand of my God upon me.* For, as the Subject of the three first Chapters, is, in a manner, intirely new, and (properly speaking) never treated of before (tho intirely Scriptural:) So the Materials, in many of the other Chapters, and the Method observ'd in all of them are such, as that I may without Vanity promise the Reader, that he will find the Scriptural Divinity set in a further Light here, than it has ever yet been set in, by any Divine whatsoever. And yet, I believe no Person that has perused the *First Volume*, together with *This*, will think, but that, had I not prefer'd the Satisfaction of others, before my own Reputation, I might, by a further Delay, have sent this Book forth more polish'd than it now is.

For indeed, I must needs acquaint my Readers, that I have for some time hung in suspense in this Matter, between Publishing any more on this Subject whilst alive, and leaving my Thoughts to be publish'd after my Death, upon the account of the Disingenuity I have already met with from some: For, if those things, that are so generally unexceptionable, which I have already publish'd, have had no better Reception in the World; What can I expect, as to those other things, that, at first view, must be supposed to appear as Novelties and Singularities to the Generality of Men? Error, Conceitedness, nay perhaps Heresy it self, are the Brands that I must expect will be affixed to them, by many of all Denominations. So, that they act certainly the most cautious and politick Part, who either keep on in the common Track, (according to the old Saying, *Via trita, Via tuta*, the Way most frequented, or the Broad High Way is the safest;) or, who, if they think freely, keep their

Thoughts to themſelves; or, in caſe they think of publiſhing any of their Notions, reſerve them unto their Death, to be made publick by their Executors, when they themſelves are out of the reach of Oppoſition and Reproach. But then, upon the other hand, it look'd to me, to be a mean, cowardly, and degenerous thing, to be afraid of expoſing Truth in its naked View to the World. And I muſt own, that I have been much incourag'd to proceed upon this Subject, from the Approbation that ſome of the moſt Learned Men of the Age have given of it; eſpecially Foreign Divines. Beſides, that I think meanly my ſelf of moſt Poſthumous Tracts; which can hardly be reckon'd the Genuine Production of thoſe Men, whoſe Name they bear, unleſs they themſelves, in their Life, had not only left ſuch Pieces finiſh'd, but given order likewiſe for their Publication. For there is no true Student, but muſt be ſuppoſed to grow in Knowledge, and conſequently to have had reaſon to alter his Thoughts frequently, eſpecially in more Nice and controverted Points. For I my ſelf have now by me ſeveral Tracts, that might appear to be finiſh'd for the Preſs; which yet I could not publiſh as my preſent Thoughts, tho they were mine ſome Years ago. As therefore, none can put the laſt hand to any thing of mine, but my ſelf, becauſe none knows how far I have had reaſon to alter, or rather to better my Mind, ſince I began to ſtudy in good Earneſt: So I reckon it my Duty to publiſh, if poſſible, in my own time, thoſe things that I think may be of uſe to Men.

And as I have reaſon to thank God, that I have ſeen further into the Receſſes of Divine Truths, than I did ſome Years ago: So, I proceed to offer my Speculations to be canvaſſed, by all that love the Study of Divinity; with a ſincere Reſolution to retract any thing, wherein I have been miſtaken, when fairly convinc'd of it; according to what I have already told the World in the Cloſe of the *General Preface.*

As

As therefore I can honeſtly ſay, That I deſign nothing, by all my Studies, but a farther Propagation of the Knowledge of the Truths of God: So I hope all ſober and ſerious Chriſtians will reckon themſelves oblig'd to conſider what I ſay, before they allow themſelves the liberty to paſs any definitive Sentence, eſpecially of a cenſorious Sort.

For, let me be ſo bold, as to tell the Reader this before-hand; That he will find, if he think over this Volume with Candour and Impartiality, what I do humbly ſuppoſe, he never met with before in all the Books of Divinity that ever he read.

I ſhall not either prevent my ſelf or preoccupy the Thoughts of others, by giving any account here of the Heads treated of in the following Chapters. Only I ſhall hint a few things, by way of Preliminary, as a taſte of that great Subject, that I am deſignedly to treat of, in this Part of my Work.

Now I am ſure, that our Minds will be inſenſibly led in, to ſee ſome thing both of that Wiſdom and Love that paſſeth all created Underſtanding, as to the full Extent and Dimenſions thereof; if we allow our ſelves liberty and cloſeneſs of Thought, in an equal Proportion, as to theſe things following, *viz.* That *Human Nature did ſin, and therefore muſt ſuffer, and that to Death, according to the firſt Threatning and Sentence:* That, *the Woman having been* firſt *in the Tranſgreſſion,* Chriſt *began to Honour Human Nature,* (that where Sin began, Grace might firſt take place and abound) *by honouring the Female Sex, in being born of a Woman:* That *Man, being the nobler Sex,* Chriſt *muſt become a Man, and thus honour that Sex likewiſe:* That *Human Nature could not atone for its own Guilt, becauſe vitiated and corrupted:* That *Chriſt's Human Nature muſt therefore be incorrupted, and without all Taint:* That yet, *Chriſt's Human Nature, as part of the Common Nature of Mankind, came in courſe to be liable to Death:* But that, *He receiving it purified, and offering it up incorrupted, it became a proper Atonement for Sin; eſpecially if we conſider, that it was offered up* (if I may ſay ſo)

upon the Altar of his Divinity, as he was the Logos, *which ſanctified the Gift*, (and therefore ſure the *Croſs* was not this *Altar*, in any Propriety of Speech, ſeeing our Saviour aſſures us that the Altar *(a)* was greater than the Gift offer'd upon it) *and ſo made it a full Equivalent for the Human Nature in General.* Seeing therefore mere Men could merit nothing at the hands of God, both becauſe finite and corrupted, Chriſt both could and did merit; becauſe without Sin as Man, and Infinite as God. He died therefore, that he might have both Authority and Power to govern Men as *Loganthropos*, and to ſave ſuch as ſhould come under his Government ſincerely and univerſally: whence he is ſaid to be *(b) the Saviour of all Men, but eſpecially of thoſe that believe.* He exerted this Power, I readily grant, as the *Logos*, before he actually aſſumed our Nature; but then it was by virtue of the previous Contract and Agreement, that was between God and him, of which I ſhall afterwards diſcourſe. But when he became the *Loganthropos*, it was fit that he ſhould give forth a new Law: which he has accordingly done, owning it, by a Specialty, to be his own. By which hints it does appear, that a mighty Controverſy, agitated with great heat on all Sides, has not yet been duly ſtated, when put after this manner; *viz.* Whether *Chriſt died equally for all Men*, or comparatively *for a few of them only*, or *for all ſufficiently, and for ſome only effectually.* For I ſhould chooſe to put the Queſtion thus; *Whether Chriſt did die, in order to procure to Himſelf, as* Mediator *or* Loganthropos, *a* Headſhip *over ſome Men only*, or *over all Men, in order to ſave thoſe that ſhould believe in him, and obey his Inſtitutions.* Which I ſhall, at this time anſwer no otherwiſe, than in the Words of the Apoſtle, That *(c) He is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God by him*, &c. Which, as to what it ſuppoſeth, I leave to all Men of Candor and Senſe.

(*a*) Matth. 23. 19. (*b*) 1 Tim. 4. 10. (*c*) Heb. 7. 25.

And

And I do, in like manner, desire all my Readers to consider, Whether our Lord Jesus does not rather suppose this Question, as it is stated by me, than as it is stated after the Method of the several contending Parties, (whose Notions are summ'd up in the first complex Question) when he summs up the Gospel in this short Proposition; *(d)* That *God did so love the World, as to give his only begotten Son* for the same, *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life.* For we need no other Comment upon these Words, but what he himself gives us in the following Verses. If any Man desire a more formal and explicite Answer to the Question, let him consider the following Places of Scripture, and then think, whether he has not a sufficient Answer, again and again, *Rom.* 14. 9. *Acts* 2. 30. *Acts* 5. 31. *Matth.* 28. 18. *Joh.* 17. 2. *Phil.* 2. 6----9, 10. *Rev.* 5. 12. But I must not now expatiate upon Controversies.

Only what I have said will help us to conceive of the *Ends* of Christ's Incarnation and Death, which were, to *Atone for Sin*; To *give out a new Edition of the Divine Law*; or, (if that word displease any) to *give us a plenary Account of God's Will*; as far as was necessary for us in this state of Trial; and to *shew us all this liv'd over in a perfect Example.* As therefore, the Perfection of Human Nature was only seen in him; so we are exhorted *(e) to look unto Jesus*, as the *Author* and *Finisher* of our Christian *Faith* and Holy Religion; to the end that we may raise and elevate our Natures, in imitation of him, as high towards God and Heaven, and as far above the degenerate Herd of Mortals as possibly we can; seeing it was one end of his Death to render Sin odious, (which cost him so dear) and to recommend Goodness and Virtue to our Study and Practice, which was his great Concern to promote, and which shone so

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(d) John 3. 16. *(e)* Heb. 12. 1, 2.

illustriously

illuſtriouſly in his whole Management. For it was one great End of Chriſt's Miſſion, that we ſhould be *conformed to the Image of the Son of God*, Rom. 8. 29. And, wherein this Image of Chriſt does ſtand, we may eaſily ſee, if we compare *Col.* 3. 10. *&c.* with *Eph.* 4. 24. not by piecing theſe together, (as has been commonly done hitherto by Expoſitors) as if the Apoſtle had given a defective Account in either place, or rather in both; but by explaining the firſt Place by the ſecond, and the ſecond again by the firſt. For the Image of God ſtands in a ſpiritual and ſaving Knowledge, ſuch as is productive of Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs; or in theſe, as flowing from ſuch a Knowledge, as the directive and regulative Principle of ſuch a Life, of which Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs are the main Ingredients. And ſeeing *Faith works by Love* in all this, and *Love is the fulfilling of the Law*, and is given by our Saviour as the Sum thereof; we may well ſay, that Love is the eſſential Thing, wherein the Image of *God, who is Love*, doth conſiſt, and conſequently of Chriſt who is all Love, and who is therefore, in this, as in every thing elſe, the expreſs Image of his Father. Whence we may eaſily attain to ſee, how remarkably Chriſt, who is the *Wiſdom of God*; and who, *of God, is made unto us Wiſdom*, and is therefore *our Wiſdom*, comes to be *juſtified of his Children*; for we may very reaſonably interpret Chriſt to be meant by this Epithet or Deſignation, *Mat.* 11. 19. *Luke* 7. 35. tho I would not wholly reject the uſual Interpretation, which is every way conſiſtent with that which I have given. But how wonderful is it to think, how great the Love of God the Father, and God the Son was, in condeſcending ſo low, in order to lay a Foundation for our being brought back from the Image of Satan to the Image of God. What a ſtrange *Metamorphoſis* was here, if I may ſo ſpeak, that the *Original* ſhould, as it were, change its own Form, and deſcend ſo far as to become *the Copy of its own Copy*, in order thus to efface all blurs from it, that it might be again reſtored to what it was at firſt. But

I shall have occasion to speak to this further afterwards: Nor shall I prevent the Reader's Thoughts, by saying any thing more here, as to any part of the Subject treated of in this Volume.

However, let me tell him this, that if he be a Bigot either to the *Lutheran*, *Calviniſt*, *Arminian*, or *Amiraldian Scheme*, or any other, so as to think it a Sin to offer any further scriptural Light, he may let this Book alone: For I assure him that mine is not adapted to any of them all; excepting so far as I could find ground from Scripture to be of their Opinion. For I have *(f)* learned to call no Man the *Master* or *Teacher* of my *Faith* and *Religion*, but *God* and *Christ*; according to the old Saying, *Amicus Plato, Amicus Aristoteles, sed magis Amica Veritas*, *Luther* and *Calvin*, and all Learned and Good Men, I honour; but *Paul*, *Peter* and *John* I honour more; and yet none of them dare I put in the room of *Christ*, tho I own their Writings to be Canonical, and found upon them as such; which I do upon no Writings besides, since their Days.

It was perhaps as just a Character, as Great, which was given of *Calvin*'s *Institutions*, when they first came out,

Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora Chartas,
Huic peperere Libro sæcula nulla parem.

But it is very strange, if no Additional-Light has been added to Divinity since his time. I hope none will Deify that Great Man, or make him Christ's Equal. If they do, they have reason to renounce the Christian Name, as well as they have done the Thing. There is a Divine Curse pronounced upon all them that trust in Man: and I am sure it holds in this case, as well as in others. But it is time to go forward to the Work I am to treat of.

(f) Matth. 23. 9, 10.

With

With reſpect to which, let me beg the Chriſtian Reader, that dares allow himſelf to think cloſely and freely, to accept of theſe my Meditations in good part; and, if he receive any benefit by them, to return thanks to God, the Father of Light, Mercy and Conſolation, to whom alone all Praiſe is due. But, in Caſe I have fallen ſhort of Truth, or miſt it in this or the other Particular, I hope he will not ſuffer himſelf to tranſgreſs the Common Rule of Juſtice in this caſe, but that he will do to me, as Reaſon, Equity, and Conſcience will tell him, I ought to do to him, were he the Author of theſe Papers, and I his Reader.

And I hope I may demand this Juſtice from him the rather, becauſe a ſincere Concern to be uſeful to him, has prevail'd with me, above that regard which otherwiſe I ought to have had to my own Quiet and Reputation, by either delaying the Publication of theſe things, until I could have ſent them forth in a more polite Dreſs, or by ſuffering them to lie by me in the dark, until I my ſelf had been called away from this afflictive and miſerable World.

For, as I have already ſaid, the Reader cannot but ſee that the uncertainty of all things in this World, eſpecially of what is future (which, as the Poet ſays, *Caliginoſa nocte premit Deus*, and which is, according to the Scripture, wholly unknown to us, as being *(g) reſerv'd by God in his own hands)* has incited me to ſuggeſt ſome things, material in themſelves, and uſeful to the Church; tho with diſadvantage to my ſelf, not only as many of them may appear new, and therefore obnoxious to Cenſure, but as all of them are ſent forth, without that Accuracy, either as to Stile or Method, or as to that large and ſtudied Illuſtration, which moſt of them ſeem to require, in order to their better acceptance with Men, eſpecially vulgar Readers, and ſuch as are inured to the ordinary Syſtems and Schemes that have obtained

(g) Acts 1. 7.

ſo

ſo long in the World, rather for the ſake of the Fame of Great Names, and Preſcription and Authority that way, than upon any other Account.

But, to leave Prefacing here, I proceed to give ſome Specimen of the remaining Heads of *Chriſtology*.

And, ſeeing I have largely treated of Chriſt, as *Logos*, I now proceed to give ſome Account of him as *Loganthropos*.

CHAP. I.

What thoſe Things are, that ought to be premiſed, by him that would render the World Happy, by a full and compleat Treatiſe concerning Chriſt, conſider'd as Loganthropos ; *where* three Sorts *of* Wiſdom, *conſpicuous in the Goſpel, are propoſed as neceſſary to be treated of: Concerning the* Firſt *of which, the Author diſcourſeth diſtinctly here*, viz. *That* Divine Wiſdom *that is to be ſeen in the* Contrivance *of Chriſt's Appearing in the World, with reſpect to the peculiar Circumſtances of his Lot and Acting among Men.*

IN the Introduction to the 2*d* Book of *Chriſtology*, I told the Reader that I found my ſelf oblig'd to naturalize ſome Greek Words into the Engliſh Language, and gave an Account of my Reaſon for ſo doing. And there I ſhewed that *Theanthropos*, or *God-Man*, tho ſo generally uſed by Divines, was both an *unphiloſophical* and *unſcriptural* Way of Speaking ; and that therefore I thought it neceſſary to ſubſtitute this in its ſtead ; and to ſpeak of Chriſt incarnate under the proper Deſignation of *Loganthropos*, that is, the *Logos made Man*, or, as *John* ſpeaks, *made Fleſh*, *i.e.* the *Logos*, as clothed with, or appearing and acting in and by Human Nature.

Now

Now seeing I propose not so much to treat of this and the remaining Heads of *Christology* (as I have already told the Reader again and again) as to afford some things, as *Hints* or *Materials* to him, that shall be so happy as to bless Mankind, with a full and useful Treatise this way, (which my uncertain Life, various Business, and innumerable Avocations, make me despair of accomplishing) I proceed in the *first place*, to suggest those things that I look upon as absolutely necessary to be premised here, in order to introduce the Reader's Thoughts to the Scriptural Idea of Christ, as *Loganthropos*.

And here; First, Were I to treat of this Subject, according as its Greatness and Usefulness do require, I must premise an exact Breviate of *Matters of Fact*, relating to our Saviour's Birth, Life, Miracles, Parables, Doctrines, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, Converse afterwards for forty Days, and Ascension.

And, in doing this, I must be supposed to prove the Verity of these *Facts*, at least as to the main of the History it self that these relate to; seeing *these* are the Great Foundation of all our Religion.

But in both these, *viz.* the *Narration* and *Probation*, I should think my self oblig'd, in a peculiar manner, to study *Brevity*, as far as that were consistent with *Perspicuity*: Because so much has been said this way already both by *Ancients* and *Moderns*; that nothing seems to be so much wanting now, as an Exact and succinct *Synopsis* or *Abridgment*, of what is already extant at large, but with vast and almost confounding Variety of Thoughts and Methods, in innumerable Treatises; which, without such an *Abridgment*, are enough to tire out the Thoughts and Inquiries, ev'n of most Scholars, tho otherwise both Judicious and Laborious.

But, 2*ly*, It will be convenient, if not necessary also, to insist longer, as well as with the greatest Exactness, in shewing the Divine Wisdom, that is so conspicuous in this Great and Main Foundation of the Christian Faith.

And,

And here, there is a *threefold Wisdom* conspicuous; tho neither of them has ever been so cleared up to this day, by any Writer, either Ancient or Modern, as they ought to have been, so far as I can learn. The 1*st* is, that *Divine Wisdom*, that is observable in the Contrivance of Christ's Appearing in the World, under such and such peculiar Circumstances. The 2*d* is, The *Prudential Wisdom*, that appeared in our Saviour, when he was in the World, in his Conduct and Behaviour, with respect to those he had to do with. And the 3*d* is, That *Spiritual and Heavenly Wisdom*, by which he manag'd himself during his State of Trial, both with respect to God, and Angels Good and Bad, in the Discharge of his Trust of the Affairs of Mankind, in order to obtain that Supream and Universal Empire, as *Loganthropos*, for which he came into the World, and suffered therein.

To treat of any of these fully and exactly; but especially of all three (seeing they have so near a Relation the one to the other, and tend so much to illustrate each other) would be one of the greatest Services that ever was done by any Man to the Christian Church. But as this must be supposed to take up a great deal of time, and afford Matter for a vast Volume of it self: so it will require the most elevated Genius in the World to attempt it.

However, that my Readers may understand what I mean by these *three Sorts of Wisdom*, and what it is that I am so concerned to have cleared up, upon all these Heads; I shall venture to give the World a few Hints in relation to each of them, in hope that they may be as so many Sparks, in order to kindle many more in the mind of some fit Person, who may be so happy as to prosecute and improve them further, than I have leisure for, or perhaps capacity.

Now, as for the First of these, *viz.* the *Divine Wisdom*, to be observ'd in the Contrivance of Christ's Appearing in the World, under the Circumstances that we have an Account of in the Evangelical History; I do think, that the principal Thing observable here, and that

that which this runs upon, is; *That it is the perfect Reverse of Human Policy.* Or, to express this more intelligibly and fully, I lay it down thus: *That Wisdom that was manifested in Christ's Appearing, and the Circumstances thereof, and in the Philosophy or Doctrine which he taught, was wholly abstracted from any thing like worldly Policy.*

And now that I have mention'd this, I cannot but acquaint the Reader, that there is *(b)* a Learned and Ingenious Gentleman, and a worthy Friend of mine, with whom I have sometimes had the Happiness to discourse upon this First Sort of Wisdom, (for of the other Sorts I never knew any Man that had any such Idea, as I have been directed to) whose Thoughts have been long and deeply taken up this way, and who seems to be fitted, above most Men, to render the World happy, by a Compleat Treatise of this kind; if his Health and other Studies will allow him to give us a full Scheme of his Meditations; which I could heartily wish to see finish'd and made publick, and for which I have waited for several years past; suppressing my own Meditations on this Head, all that time, in hope that he would publish his. For I must confess, that in the hope of this, I have long hung in suspence, whether I had best publish any thing of this kind. But at length I was determin'd to treat of this Subject, mov'd by these Considerations: 1. Because I knew not how to treat of Christ as *Loganthropos*, at all, if I did wholly omit this first and eminent Consideration of him. 2. Because that worthy Gentleman and I did differ in one weighty Point, in relation to this, tho we agreed materially in all other respects. For, whereas he proposed his Scheme in such a manner, as if God could not have acted in any other Method, than that wherein Revelation tells us he has acted; asserting, if I understood his Meaning aright, that it was *Absolutely* impossible that any thing, or so much as circumstance, could have fallen out otherwise, than they have done; I

(b) *Mr.* Alexander Cunningam.

was

was of the mind, that this was to carry the Point too high. And therefore I thought, that it was enough to ſhew the Rationale and Wiſdom of the Scheme and Method, that Divine Wiſdom has thought fit to proceed in; as ſuppoſing no other neceſſity this way, than a *Hypothetical* one only; ſeeing I durſt not venture to determine, but that Divine Wiſdom might have proceeded according to a Scheme different from this, at leaſt in circumſtantial Reſpects, if God had ſeen fit to do ſo. I thought therefore, that in caſe my Friend did publiſh his Scheme, it might not be amiſs to publiſh mine; which, tho in other reſpects inferiour to his, might yet, in this reſpect, as I humbly ſuppoſed, be leſs liable to Miſconſtruction. And, *3dly*, Beſides theſe Conſiderations, I could not ſee any Inconvenience could ariſe to the Truth it ſelf (whatever might happen to my ſelf, to be out-done by a greater Genius and better Pen) if he and I both, and a hundred more ſhould emulate one another in a friendly Diſpute, which of us could do moſt for the Defence and Illuſtration of our Holy Religion. And I conſider'd withal, that I never knew any two Authors that wrote without Colluſion, that ever proceeded exactly in the ſame Method or Way, tho they treated never ſo cloſely of the ſame Subject: So that, whatever I may attain to do, on this part of my Subject, I leave room enough for my Friend to treat of it ſtill. But to proceed;

Concerning this Wiſdom there are two Queries, that naturally ariſe in our Minds, *viz.* (1.) *Is this really true?* or *how do I, or can I prove that it was ſo?* And, (2.) If it was ſo, *What was the Reaſon of God's Acting thus?*

In Anſwer to the Firſt, I need only deſire, that every Man would conſider the Facts recorded in Scripture, and judge if it was not ſo. For had God acted in this matter, according to what Human Policy would have ſuggeſted, Chriſt muſt have come into the World, and acted in it, with all the Grandeur, external State, Magnificence, Authority, Power and Glory, that ever was

affected by the greateſt earthly Monarchs. He muſt have liv'd long, made a pompous Show of Wiſdom, Learning, *&c.* in order to render his New Philoſophy acceptable and taking with all Men. And this too muſt have been attemper'd to Mens ſenſual Inclinations, and have given Promiſes or Encouragements, as to Riches, Honour and Power, to thoſe that ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Proficiency in this Doctrine, and their Zeal for its Honour and Propagation: And beſides, Chriſt muſt have pick'd out the moſt nobly Deſcended, and the moſt Learned and Wiſe Men of the whole World, to have carried on the Deſign thereof, after his Departure out of this World. And then he muſt have left the World, as he liv'd in it, in the greateſt Glory imaginable. In a word, he muſt have acted the quite contrary Part, to that which we ſee he Acted, whilſt here among Men.

So, that had God follow'd the Methods of Human Policy, to have made the World fall in with Chriſt, and imbrace his Goſpel; our Lord muſt have come into the World and Acted in it, after ſome ſuch Method as that, which the Jeſuits in *China* repreſented him to have acted in, in order the better to proſelyte that People. A worthy Gentleman, who liv'd a conſiderable time in that Country, told me, That this was certainly their Way, *viz.* to repreſent Chriſt, as if he had come into the World with the moſt wonderful Glory that ever was known. And this is ſo certain, that it is univerſally known, that they have been openly accuſed before the Pope upon this Account, and that great Conteſts have ariſen upon it: Tho what the Deciſion is, the Popiſh Church is ſo Politick, as to keep a Secret from us. However, I was credibly inform'd, that one of their Miſſionaries was heard to Harangue after this Manner publickly to a conſiderable Auditory of the *Chineſe*: "Ye have had many very Great, Wiſe and "Excellent Emperors here in *China*; and no Nation "can boaſt of the like: But yet none of theſe, nor in-"deed all of them, can be compared to the Eternal "Em-

" Emperor, Jesus Christ. That ye may know this, I " will now give a short, but true and exact Account of " him. The World being very wicked, and Men very " miserable, by reason of the Tyranny of those Kings " and Princes that Rul'd before his Coming; especial- " ly the Head of all these, the Emperor of *Rome*, who " Reign'd over the greatest Part of the World at that " time, with terrible Rigour and Cruelty: God took " pity upon Mankind at last, as finding their State " grow worse and worse. To rectify this, he resolves " to send his own Son from Heaven to subdue these " Tyrants, and reduce things to Order again. Well! " at length the Heavens appear more Glorious than " ever before. A wonderful Light, bright and glori- " ous, that out-shone the Sun by ten thousand Degrees, " breaks forth. Great Noises are heard in the Air, " with most wonderful and delightful Musick: And at " length a prodigious Army of more than a thousand " thousand Millions of Angels appears in sight. Before " whom marches a Chariot, of a prodigious Bigness, " all of solid Gold, most curiously wrought, but so " thick set with precious Stones, that the Gold could " hardly be seen for their sparkling and dazling Splendor. " This Chariot was drawn by ten thousand bright and " nimble Spirits, and a hundred thousand of a nobler " Rank guarded this Chariot before and on either Side, " being commanded and led by *Raphael* the Arch-An- " gel; as the rest of the Army that followed the Cha- " riot, was by the Great *Michael*, the First of all the " Arch-Angels, and Lieutenant-General to Christ " himself, who rode in this Golden Chariot, and com- " manded all. Now, says the Jesuit, here all Language " fails me, in setting forth the Glory of this Great " General. He was of a most prodigious Stature, as " big as a thousand Men, but most wonderfully Beauti- " ful and exactly symmetry'd. His Face out-shone the " Sun so far in Splendour, as is beyond all Conception. " He had a prodigious Flaming Sword in his left Hand, " the very Sight of which was terrible. But in his

" right Hand he had the Enſign of the Croſs, which " had a ſanative Vertue in it, to remove Diſtempers, " to chear the Heart, to recover the Frenzical and Di- " ſtracted, to raiſe the Dead; and in a word, to work " all manner of Miracles, to remove Mountains, dry " up Seas, *&c.* Now, ſays he, all Tyrants and wicked " Men were convicted and puniſh'd by him, and the " Roman Empire deſtroy'd. In the ſtead of which, " he rais'd up one *Peter*, a moſt Eminently Holy and " Excellent Perſon, to rule the whole World for him, " as his Vicegerent. He deſtroy'd not only the Empire " of *Rome*, but the Name of Emperor, and the very Form " of that Government. And, in its ſtead he erected a " Holy Conſtitution, over which he ſet this Wiſe and " Holy Man *Peter*; ordering, That when he ſhould " be called out of the World into Heaven, that his Chief " Prieſts ſhould come together and pray to him; and " that upon their ſo doing, he would ſend them an An- " gel to tell them what Perſon he had pitch'd upon to " ſucceed in this Sacred and Univerſal Headſhip over " the World. And, when he had done this, he took " his leave of *Peter* and his Biſhops, and went to Hea- " ven with all his Army, in the ſame Glorious and Tri- " umphant Manner, in which he came. But he aſſu- " red his Vice-Roy *Peter*, that as often as he deſired, " he ſhould hear from him by a ſpecial Meſſenger, " who ſhould aſſiſt him in all dark Caſes and Affairs " of Conſequence. And he never fail'd to do ſo " to *Peter*, and all his *Succeſſors* the *Popes*. So that, " ſays the Prieſt, the *Pope* that now is, has had fre- " quent Meſſages from Chriſt in Heaven, command- " ing him to ſend Holy Men to the Great Empire " of *China*, out of the Great Love he has for that " Learned, Wiſe and Excellent People, to invite " them to leave their Idolatrous Prieſts and falſe " Worſhip, and own him and his Vicegerent the " *Pope*. Now I am one of thoſe Holy Miſſiona- " ries, (continues he) and I aſſure you, that whoſo- " ever of you will do as I ſhall direct, ſhall, when

" he

" he dies, go into that Glorious Paradiſe where " Chriſt is. And that I may know who have a mind " to be thus Happy; Lo, I have here a Book, given " me by the Pope, by Order of Chriſt himſelf; " that I may mark down in it the Names of all thoſe " that deſire his Favour: Which I muſt from time " to time ſend an Account of to the Pope, that he " may ſend it to Chriſt in Heaven; and I aſſure " you, that all thoſe that refuſe to have their Names " thus recorded, ſhall be deſtroy'd at laſt in a moſt ter- " rible Manner. Come therefore, and let me have all " your Names: But know, that every one that expects " this Favour, muſt give me his Offering in Money, ac- " cording to his Ability, that the Sincerity of his Heart " may be known. Thus far the Prieſt and his Ro- mance: Which, as I am told, wrought upon a great many, to his Hearts Content. But my Deſign in rela- ting this Story, is this only; to let us ſee, that Chriſt's Appearing, and his Religion, muſt have had ſomething in it, like that which the cunning Jeſuit inſinuates; had it been any way calculated to ſerve ſecular Ends, or been framed according to worldly or Popiſh Politicks: For, be the Story true or falſe, it ſerves my End at pre- ſent.

But, becauſe what a private Proteſtant ſaw and heard may be objected againſt, as an invidious Reflection up- on the Romiſh Church, in caſe any of that Com- munion ſhall condeſcend ſo far as to peruſe theſe Papers; I ſhall tell the Reader, that this needs not appear incre- dible to any, that is acquainted with the Genius either of the Court or Church of *Rome*, as I might prove at length from their own Authentick Authors. But, be- cauſe I would not detain the Reader needleſly, I ſhall only deſire him to conſult, amongſt many other Books that might be named, *Dr.* Patrick's *Reflections upon the Devotions of the Roman Church*, &c. Where he will find this memorable Story, to this purpoſe (taken out of the *Feſtival. de Invent. Sanctæ Crucis*) p. 347. not to mention Scores of more; and which I ſhall copy out in the

same Dialect, and way of Writing, in which he found it; it being part of one of their old Homilies, that was used to the People on the Day, that was kept sacred upon the Account of the pretended finding of the Cross. Good Frendes, such a daye ye shall have the invencyen of the holy crosse; ye shall not fast the even, but come to God, and to holy Church, as Chrysten people sholde doe, in worshyp of him that dyed on the Crosse. Than ye shall understande, why it is called Inventio Sanctæ Crucis, the fyndynge of the holy Crosse; the which was found in this wyse, as I shall tell you. When Adam our fyrste fader was seke for aege, and wolde fayne have ben out of this worlde; Adam sent Seth his son to the Aungel Keeper of Paradyse, prayeing the Aungel to send him the oyle of mercy to anoint his body therewith when he were deed. Than went Seth to Paradyse, and sayd his Message to the Aungel. Than answered the Aungel, and sayd that he might not have it till the yeres were fulfylled. But have this braunche of the Tree, that thy fader synned in, and set it on his Grave, and whan it bereth fruyte, than shall he have mercy and not erste. Than toke Seth this braunche and came home and founde his fader deed. Than he set this braunche on his faders grave, as the Aungel badde him do; the which braunche growed there tyl Salomon was kynge, and he made to fet it down, for it was fayre for the work of his Temple; but it wolde not accorde with the Worke of his Temple. Salomon than made to caste it downe into the Erth, and it was hidde there to the tyme that the Bishop of the Temple let make a wayze in the same place there as the Tree laye, to washe in shepe that were offered to the Temple. Than when this wayze was made, they called it in their Language Probatica Pisciana. To the which water came an Aungel certayn tymes from Heven, and dyde worshipe to the Tree that lay in the grounde of the wayze, and moved the water; and what man or woman that came to the water nerte after the Aungel, was made hole, what sekenes that ever he had, by vertue of the tree; and so endured many wynters, to the tyme that Chryste was taken and sholde be done upon the crosse. Than this Tree by

the

the ordynaunce of God swamme upon the water, and whan the Jewes had none other tree redy to make the crosse of, for greate haste that they had, they toke the same tree and made thereof a Crosse, and so dyed our Lord thereon, and then the tree bare that blessed fruyte Crystes body, of the whiche welleth the oyle of Mercy to Adam and Eve and all other of their offspring. But when Cryste was deed, and was taken down of the crosse, for envy that the Jewes had to him, they toke the crosse, and two other crosses, that the Thefes were hanged on either syde of Cryste, and buried them deepe in the Erth; for Crysten people sholde not wyte where they were done, for to do it worshyp, and there it lay a yere and more unto the tyme of Eleyna, &c. Now as for the rest of the Story, how *Eleyna* (i. e. *Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine*) found the Cross, it is rather more Romantick, than what I have copied out; but I leave it to the Reader to consider, as he will find it in the above-cited Book of Dr. *Patrick*, *page* 343. *&c.* For I profess my Self to be sufficiently tired, with a little scrap, that I have copied out. Which sufficiently shews, how ingenious the Romish Clergy have ever been, in inventing Stories of this Kind. For, tho this Story is not exactly parallel to the former, yet it equally shews what Latitude that set of Men have used in all Ages, in order to accommodate Christianity to their selfish ends. And as their Invention is vast, so their Reasoning is strong. Of which take a taste out of the *same Author*, p. 381. cited out of *Festival. in Fest. Omnium Sanct.* f. 148. On All-Hallowen-Day, our Prayers shall be sooner herde than any other Day: For this Day all the Saints in Heven come togyder to pray to God for us; and therefore we may well know, that all coming togyder, shall be sooner herde, than yf they come but by one or two by themselfe.

Now, pray Reader, were not all things that related to Christ and his Religion quite contrary to this sort of Proceeding? For as the Prophet says, *Isa.* 53. 2. when Christ came, there was neither the Ancient *Form* of the *Shechinah* to be seen in him, nor any other Sort of *Majesty* or Grandeur, which our Translation renders *Comeli-*

lineſs. His ſuppoſed Father was but a poor Country Carpenter: In which Trade Chriſt himſelf ſeems to have been Educated. And, as if *Joſeph*'s Cottage, and the mean Furniture of his Chamber and Bed had been too magnificent, and ſavour'd too much of this World, our Lord muſt be born in a Country Barn or Stable, and have no richer Cradle than a Manger. His firſt Viſitants muſt be poor Shepherds, and his Eſtate no more than the Charity of ſome poor Women, *Luke* 8. 3. No Houſe he ever had, and often no other Bed than the bare Ground, nor any other Canopy than the Sky and Clouds. He had leſs this way than the very Foxes and other wild Creatures of the Earth, or the Fowls and Birds of the Air, *Matth.* 8. 20. *Luke* 9. 53. Nor did he ever diſcover the leaſt deſire that way. He was ſo poor, that he could not pay a Penny towards the Tax or Poll-Mony, that was then exacted, without working a Miracle to procure it, *Matth.* 17. 24, *&c.* which is ſo much the more remarkable, as to the Humility of the Action, that this fell out a little after his being ſo eminently own'd and honour'd by God, at the Transfiguration. But to return; as he was poor and mean all his Life, ſo he choſe no other Diſciples, than a few poor illiterate Men. And not only ſo, but he was arraign'd and condemn'd in ſo ignominious a manner, that even *Barrabas* the notorious Robber, was reckon'd by the Jews the better Man of the two. He died the ignominious Death of a Slave, in the Company of two Thieves, and had a Grave beſtow'd upon him out of Charity.

Were theſe things the Reſult of worldly Policy? or had they any thing in them that ſavour'd this way? Was this the Politick Method to make all Men fall in love with him and his Ways? What Madneſs then is it for ſome Men to repreſent our Religion, as if it had been contrived by crafty Politicians? Do not thoſe that talk this way want the Diſcipline of a *Bedlam?*

And pray, does Chriſt's Doctrine ſavour any more of Human Policy, than his Perſonal Circumſtances did?

did? Are Self-denial, Poverty, Calumny and Perſecution in this World, ſo lovely, and ſuch inſinuating things to Men, that Politicians could fall upon no finer Arguments of Perſwaſion?

Let this therefore ſuffice as an Anſwer to the firſt Query: And let us now proceed to the Conſideration of

The 2*d* Queſtion; *viz.* What may we ſuppoſe was the Reaſon why God acted at this rate? In anſwer to which, I ſhall wave all thoſe collateral or ſecondary Conſiderations ſo often touch'd upon by our Practical Divines; *viz.* that God deſigned this way to teach us to deſpiſe Honour, Riches, Grandeur, ſenſual Pleaſures, *&c.* and to teach us Humility, Contentment with a mean Lot, Patience under Sufferings, Heavenly-Mindedneſs, *&c.*

For, let theſe things be as Men would have them, it is plain to me, that the Great, Principal and Immediate, if not only Foundation of this Procedure was, to give us full Satisfaction, as to the Divinity of Chriſt and Chriſtianity. For I lay down this as a certain Maxim in this Caſe; That that Religion which was to be given forth by God, as worthy of him, and in its beſt Edition, and that muſt accordingly bear its own Evidence along with it, as truely Divine, muſt not only be Diametrically oppoſite to every thing that is properly wicked, but muſt have nothing in it in common with the Policy of this World. For it muſt appear to be from God, for this very Reaſon, That it was not from Men, nor had any thing in its Contrivance or Frame that look'd like this World.

Hence it was neceſſary, not only that the Founder and Inſtituter of ſuch a Religion, ſhould appear and act in the World, in a poor and mean Lot and Condition, without Noiſe, Pomp, Honour, Riches, Authority, Power, the Aſſiſtance of Great Men, or any Earthly Advantage to recommend his Doctrine, Inſtitutions and Government: But that he muſt never be taught by Men, nor be initiated into either the Learning

ing of the Jews, by any of their *Rabbi's*, nor into the Philoſophies or Learning of the Gentiles, by any of their Doctors. That, by all theſe things, it might ſatisfactorily appear at length, that both his Doctrine and its Succeſs in the World were from God, and not from Men, far leſs from the Enemy of both, who loſt ſo much ground in the World this way.

In order to underſtand this the more clearly; if we ſhould here, by way of *Apologue* or *Parable*, ſuppoſe a Dialogue upon this Head, between three or four of the moſt eminent Perſons of the Three Religions, *viz.* the *Gentile*, *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*; What can we imagine the Chriſtian Doctor to run upon to better purpoſe, than that which I have hinted? In order therefore to bring in things the better, I hope the Reader will not be offended, if I aſſume the Liberty to make this Suppoſition; That *Paul* and *Seneca*, who were Contemporaries, (and who are feigned by ſome of the Ancients to have written Epiſtles one to the other, concerning Religion) had once the Opportunity to Diſcourſe together upon this Subject, in the Company of a zealous Jew. And to lay the *Scene* of this the better, as is uſual in all *Drama's*, let us ſuppoſe this Interview to have been at *Corinth*, upon the occaſion of what happened there, when *Gallio* the Elder Brother of *Seneca* was Proconſul or Deputy of *Achaia*.

The Hiſtory of what happened then at *Corinth*, as it is recorded in the 18*th* Chapter of the *Acts*, may ſerve for a Foundation of ſuch a ſuppoſed Meeting. The Sum of which Hiſtory is this: The Emperor *Claudius (i)* having baniſh'd all thoſe of the Jewiſh Nation from *Rome*; or,

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(*i*) *There is a Paſſage in* Dio Caſſius *ſo very memorable, in relation to this* Command *of* Claudius, *mentioned,* v. 2. *that I cannot forbear to take notice of it here; as it is to be found,* Lib. 60. pag. 768. Edit. Henr. Step. 1591. Τὸς τε Ἰουδαίους, πλεονάσαντας ἄνθις, &c. The Senſe is this: *The Jews abounding ſo at* Rome, *that it was not eaſy to drive them out of the City, without a Tumult, by reaſon of there being ſo great a Multitude of*

or, as *Luke*'s Words are, *Having commanded all Jews to depart from* Rome: This obliged *Aquila* and his Wife *Priſcilla*, who were of the Jewiſh Nation, tho Chriſtians as to Religion, to leave *Italy*. They came to *Corinth*, and ſet up their Trade of Tent-making in that City. *Paul* comes thither not long after from *Athens*; and, being of the ſame Occupation originally, he lodges and works with them. Where, being join'd by *Silas* and *Timothy*, he makes it his Buſineſs not only to frequent the Jewiſh Synagogue every Sabbath Day, but to reaſon there with the Jews concerning Chriſt and his Religion, which, notwithſtanding the great Oppoſition he met with, had ſuch Succeſs, as to convert *Criſpus* with all his Family, and many more. Encouraged this way, as alſo by a Revelation from Chriſt, that he ſhould convert many others in that City, and having taken up his Lodging with *Juſtus*, a Holy Perſon, whoſe Houſe adjoined to the Synagogue, and was therefore the moſt convenient for his Purpoſe, he laid hold on all Opportunities to reaſon the People into the Chriſtian Faith. There he continued for a Year and ſix Months, teaching in the Houſe of *Juſtus*, being excluded the Synagogue. And, ſeeing we read but of one Synagogue, we have no ground of fancying that there were two, as *Grotius* and others have done. For the Caſe was certainly this: *Criſpus*, upon his turning Chriſtian, being

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of them; *He did not indeed properly drive them out, but he prohibited them to meet together (i. e.* to worſhip God) *according to the Laws of their Nation.* Now, as *Suetonius* ſays, *That* Claudius *drove the Jews out of* Rome; *and* Luke, ver. 2. That *he commanded them to depart from* Rome: *So* Dio *lets us know in what manner he did ſo*, viz. *not by any Edict, far leſs concurrent Decree of the Senate, but by prohibiting them to meet together to worſhip God. This I confeſs was materially an expelling them, who were ſo zealous for their own Cuſtoms. However I take notice of it, in order to confirm what I ſaid formerly, when I refuted the Notion of* Grotius *and* Hammond, *as if* Claudius *had formally perſecuted the Chriſtians*; *whereas this is all the Perſecution that he was ever Author of, either againſt them or the Jews. See the* Poſtſcript *of my* Diſcourſe concerning the Riſe and Fall of the Papacy, *Prop.* 2. *page* 140.

turned

turned out from being Chief Ruler, and *Paul* consequently denied Entrance into the Synagogue, by *Sosthenes*, a zealous Jew that came into the Office of *Crispus*; *Paul* keeps a Meeting at the House of *Justus*, next Door to the Synagogue. This inrages *Sosthenes* and the Jews, especially when they find that *Paul*'s Auditory increased, and that abundance both of Jews and Gentiles were proselyted to *Paul*'s Doctrine. Therefore at last they make an open Insurrection, and seize upon *Paul*, whom they carry before *Gallio* the Deputy of *Achaia*. *Gallio* tells the Jews, that if they could prove that *Paul* or any other Man was guilty of any wicked or lewd Action, inconsistent with the Peace, Safety or Laws of the *Roman* Government, he was oblig'd to bear with them, tho they brought *Paul* there in a tumultuous and disorderly way. But, if they accused *Paul* only, upon the account of a different way of speaking, or because he had different Sentiments, as to Religion, and worship'd God in another manner, than they did; he had nothing to do either with him or them: For that he was a Civil Magistrate, to whose Judicature and Province such sort of Matters did no way belong. And therefore he left them to dispute such things out among themselves. An excellent Answer, and such as became *Gallio* and his Character; tho some Practical Divines have very injudiciously fix'd it as a Mark of Infamy upon him; when he does, upon this very Account, deserve to be set up by all Magistrates and Judges, as a most Excellent Pattern. However, the Jews, as it would seem, insisting to rail at *Paul*, in a tumultuous manner, *Gallio* orders them to be driven from the Court and Judgment-seat by force. Upon this Order the Greeks fall upon *Sosthenes*, the Chief Author of this Tumult, and beat him before the Judgment-seat: which *Gallio* thought fit to connive at, either because he judg'd that he deserved to be so treated, or because he supposed that this might prevent the Jews from acting after this factious and tumultuous way for the future.

Now,

Now, this Piece of Hiſtory being ſo memorable, what if we build upon it that which may ſerve to introduce the ſuppoſed Dialogue, which I hope may not be unuſeful to illuſtrate what we are upon? Let us therefore ſuppoſe, that *Seneca* was with his Brother at this time, upon ſome Meſſage from the New Emperor *Nero*, (in the firſt Year of whoſe Reign this Tumult happened, which was *A. D.* 55.) as, ſuppoſe, to confirm his Brother in that Proconſular Government, wherein *Claudius* had placed him, by carrying a new Commiſſion from *Nero*, whoſe Governour *Seneca* was at that time. Now this being ſuppoſed, we may juſtly think, that *Seneca*, tho he approved of *Gallio*'s Conduct in this Affair, might yet be ſtirr'd up, out of a Philoſophical and Rational Curioſity, to lay hold on this Opportunity, to know what lay at bottom with the two Contending Parties, *viz.* the Jews and Chriſtians. For which purpoſe, we may ſuppoſe him to engage his Brother *Gallio*, to ſend for *Paul* and *Soſthenes*, the two Heads, and moſt Learned Doctors of the two Parties and Religions: Which no doubt *Gallio* would readily yield to, not only out of Reſpect to his Brother, but in order to be ſatisfied himſelf. For, tho as a Judge, he had nothing to do with ſuch Matters; yet, as a Wiſe and Learned Man, (for ſuch a Character he bears in the Roman Hiſtory) as well as a Perſon of Eminent Quality, he might have the like Curioſity this way with his Brother.

Well; theſe things being thus adjuſted, and *Paul* and *Soſthenes* being come, let us ſuppoſe ſuch a ſort of Dialogue, as I ſhall here propoſe to the Reader, merely with a Deſign the better to convey what I think cannot be propoſed in another Method, with equal Advantage.

Theſe Preliminaries, I ſay, being thus adjuſted, and all the four being together, and after uſual Ceremonies, ſeated as *Gallio* thought moſt proper; let us ſuppoſe him to accoſt *Paul* and *Soſthenes* after this Manner; which allow me, Good Reader, to expreſs more after the Modern Way of Speaking, than that which obtain'd

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at *Rome* or *Corinth*, when these four were alive. *Gentlemen*, tho as a Magistrate and Judge, I had nothing to do to meddle with the Controversies between you; yet, as a Man that loves to know Men and Things, I thought it proper to send for you both. I hope you are sensible that I treated you both as became my Character, and with Civility. For, if you *Sosthenes* met with the rude Insults of the Mob, it was by no Order of mine; and it was, to be plain with you, no other than you did deserve. For I cannot imagine by what Authority you took upon you to drag *Paul* along with you to my Tribunal, in that rude and unmannerly Way you did. And you cannot but think, that had I been of that violent Temper that some Men are of, I might have punish'd you and your Associates, according to the Rigour of the Roman Laws made against Riots, and those that lead the Dance in them; especially now when the late Emperor himself was oblig'd upon such like Complaints of the Insolence of your Countrymen, to do that, which was, in effect, a Banishment of you from the Seat of the Empire. But I love to forget and forgive Injuries, as being none of those that take pleasure either in Blood or Persecution. Therefore I shall not insist upon any thing relating to the late Tumult: but desire that both *You* and *Paul* may forgive one another, in case of any Injury real or supposed, that one or both of you may insist upon. Let me hear nothing of this: But let both of you remember who I am, and what relation I stand in to the Emperor and Senate of *Rome*, and that you your selves are subject both to them and me, as you are now Inhabitants of this City. Having told you of these things, let me inform you that the Gentleman present here, is my Learned Brother *Seneca*, of whom no doubt you have heard oftner than once. And if you have heard his right Character, you cannot but know that he is one of the greatest Philosophers of the Age, as well as one of the most Eminent Persons now in the World; for I do suppose ye know what relation he stands in to the present Emperor, as his Governour,

vernour, and what his Authority is with him, as his Favourite. But he is no ordinary ſort of Courtier, to value himſelf upon External Circumſtances. He is deſirous to diſcourſe with you as a true Philoſopher: For he is none of the captious or ſophiſtical Sort, who love to argue, for Arguing ſake, or to ſhow his Acuteneſs or Eloquence. His Concern is to know God, Nature, and true Philoſophy and Morals, and to live accordingly, in order to be uſeful to others. And tho I am better acquainted with the *Court* and *Camp*, than with the *Areopagus* or *Forum*, yet I am too much his Brother to be wholly a ſtranger to theſe. Now a Man of his Learning, Penetration, and Inquiſitive Temper, cannot but be ſuppoſed to deſire to be further apprized of the Conſtitution, Laws and Rites of the two Religions, that you do ſo zealouſly eſpouſe: Nor am I without a Concern the ſame way. I have therefore readily concurr'd with his Deſire, to learn from you, who are the Heads of the two Parties of Jews and Chriſtians in this City, what the things are that occaſion ſuch fierce and hot Contention between you.

Seneca. Gentlemen, my Brother *Gallio* has ſuccinctly and fully told you the Reaſon of your being ſent for here. Nor ſhall I detain him or my ſelf from receiving from you, the Satisfaction we expect from you both. Only allow me to tell you, that as we hope we ſhall be Witneſſes to no undecent Heats or mutual Recriminations, but of your Reaſoning cloſely and calmly; ſo we deſire not any long Narrative of Stories and Facts, relating to either *Moſes* or *Chriſt*; or to their Philoſophies and Laws; but only a ſuccinct and nervous Account of what the moſt Judicious of both Sides do advance and inſiſt upon, for the Verity and Excellency of your ſeveral Doctrines or Religions, in oppoſition to, and as excluſive of, one another: For, ſince the Jewiſh Writings have appear'd in the Greek Language, we have diligently peruſed them, and inform'd our ſelves of your Laws and Cuſtoms with the greateſt Care, eſpecially ſince the time that *Judæa* was made a Province of the Empire.

And,

And, as for Christ and his New Model of Religion, the Facts that relate to these are so recent, that we, whose Education, High Station and Correspondence, have afforded us peculiar Opportunities to inquire into them, and to inform our selves this way, cannot be supposed to be Strangers or unacquainted with them. These things I thought fit to premise, that I might prevent you from running out tediously upon things, and from rendring this Conversation uneasy either to your selves or us.

Sosthenes. Most Illustrious and Honourable Lords; Tho I have the greatest Reason to be incensed against this Man, yet the Respect I bear to such Great and Eminent Personages, obliges me punctually, or at least as far as my Duty to God, my Religion and Country will allow me, to observe all that Decorum at this time, which you have laid me under such strict Orders to keep to. And, seeing I have to do with Persons so well acquainted with our Sacred Writings, and Laws, I shall come immediately to the Foundation of our Controversy with, and just Indignation against this Man, and the rest of this pestilent Sect. You tell me, that you have carefully perused our Sacred Writings. And therefore you know how Antient our Nation and Religion has been: The Excellency of which has been so conspicuous, that it has attracted many of other Nations, in all Ages, to abandon their Country's Worship and Rites, and yield themselves Proselytes to our Religion, at least with respect to the first and great Principles thereof. And I perswade my self, that such Wise Men as you are, must see that our Religion is by far the most excellent in the World. I know our Rites are many, and seem to be intollerable. But they are no more, as to Number or Severity, than tend to evidence our Obedience towards God, and to keep us in from those Irregularities, that Men are so apt to run into, if exempted from such Impositions. However one thing you cannot but grant, that the Idolatry of other Nations is such, as is inconsistent with true Reason and Philosophy. We own but one Supreme Being as God, whom we adore as infinitely Perfect:

fect: Infinite Perfection being the only Idea of God, that Reason as well as our Revelation leads us unto. And upon this Supposition, it is impossible that there should be more Gods than one, seeing there cannot be two Infinitely Perfect Beings. Therefore I am perswaded, that tho you may speak, as the Vulgar do, when you speak of a Multiplicity of Gods, you cannot allow your selves to think that there are more than one. And far less can you believe that such Men as *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* or *Hercules* of old, or *Cæsar*, *Augustus* and *Claudius* of late, were exalted to be Gods in any Propriety of Speech, after their Death. This I am the more bold to mention to you, because we Jews are oblig'd to suffer the greatest of Miseries here, rather than allow any Man, or other Creature, to be the Rival of God, in any respect; far less in point of Godhead. And it is not long, since *Philo* and some other eminent Jews durst look *(k) Caius* in the Face, upon this very head, as ye may remember: whom our God did preserve almost miraculously, for so brave a Defence as they made for his Honour.

But, if the Deifying of a *Cæsar* or *Augustus* be so abominable in our Eyes, you may easily imagine how justly we are inrag'd, that a mean Man, a Servant, a Carpenter, a Cheat, an Impostor, should be thus Characterized. I can hardly think of it without the utmost Fury. But your Presence and Commands, most Noble Lords, put a Force upon me, in this respect. Only allow me to shew you the Aggravations of the Sin of this *Paul* and his wicked Associates, in *Deifying* their *Jesus*, above that of you *Romans*, in reckoning your Emperors Gods after their Death. For, whereas *1st.* Your Emperors, by the Providence of God, were Illustrious above other Men, either as to Birth and Family, or Bravery and Courage, or Policy and Wisdom, or Virtue and Goodness, or at least as to State and Gran-

(k) *See* Philon. Leg. ad Caium.

deur; it is no ſtrange thing, if you ſhould think that thoſe whom the Providence of God made Gods on Earth, ſhould be *relati in numerum Deorum*, inrolled into the Number of the Gods, after Death. But this *Jeſus* was neither Emperor nor Prince; nay, had not one Foot of Ground that he could call his own. He was the Son of a poor Country-Carpenter. Nay, as you know, and *Paul* himſelf cannot deny, was Crucified the other day, as an Impoſtor and Blaſphemer, by the joint Concurrence both of the *Romans* and *Jews*. So that I cannot imagine how you can tolerate ſuch a Peſtilent, Enthuſiaſtick, and Frenzical Sect, as this of Chriſtians is, who continue to Blaſpheme God, by calling this *Jeſus* his *Son* and Equal, and by this Doctrine diſturb the Common Peace; at the ſame time that they do thus moſt notoriouſly arraign the Authority, Law and Juſtice of the Roman Empire and Nation of the Jews. In the 2*d* place, You are not ſo mad as to think, that either *Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus*, or *Claudius*, are ſo Deify'd, as to be equal with the Supream Being, (for that were Contradiction and Abſurdity;) but only that, if they may be ſaid to be Gods at all, they are *Dii Medioxumi* or *Minorum Gentium*, inferiour Deities; *i. e.* as we Jews word it, agreeably to our Theology, *Angels*. And indeed, if they were truly vertuous, we make no queſtion but they may be advanced into that Number; and not only they, but all good Men, even tho mean in this preſent World. But here lies the Abſurdity of this new upſtart Religion, or Hereſy rather, that they are not aſham'd to hold forth, that their Impoſtor is indeed the Son of God, and Equal with his Father. 3*dly*. Whereas you *Romans*, tho you Deify your Eminent Hero's, when Dead, were never ſo mad as to reckon them ſuch, while alive; this *Paul* and his Aſſociates are not aſham'd to aſſert, that their *Jeſus* was God whilſt he liv'd; nay would have us believe that he exiſted from Eternity, and aſſum'd a human Body on purpoſe to ſuffer, in order to atone for the Sins of Human Nature, and thus to bring about ſtrange Advantages and Bleſſings to all thoſe, that will liſt

liſt themſelves into their Number, and under his Banner. And then *4thly*, That which aggravates their Wickedneſs further, is, That, whereas you are born and educated Strangers to the Jewiſh Religion and Nation, the Ring-Leaders of this Peſtilent Sect are Jews by Nation and Education. But, tho all of them be to be hated, as the Refuſe of Mankind; yet this ſame *Paul* is the greateſt Apoſtate, and conſequently Villain of them all. For whereas the Reſt of them were originally poor Fiſhermen, or other Mechanicks, and conſequently ignorant of the Jewiſh Law and Learning, or indeed of any, and therefore the more eaſily impos'd upon by the Impoſtor, (being no doubt choſen by him for this very purpoſe;) this Man, upon the other hand, was educated a Scholar, under the beſt and moſt famous Doctors of our Nation, and, to give him his due, is a Man of very extraordinary Gifts, and was likely once to make an Excellent Doctor among us, being as zealous againſt the Chriſtians, as I now am. But all this tends to blacken him now the more, as tending to aggravate his Crime, in turning Renegado and Apoſtate from his Nation and Religion, and becoming the moſt mortal and inveterate Enemy of both. Judge then, if I and my Countrymen have not all the reaſon in the World to hate and abhor this Ring-leader of Hereſy and Sedition.

I have but one thing to add; *viz.* That we Jews do expect, before it be long, that our *Great Meſſiah* will come, and put all things to right. And becauſe this Man and his Aſſociates are ſo infatuated, as to miſtake Jeſus for him, it is fit I ſhould give you ſome Account of him. Our Sacred Authors have aſſured us, that there would be four Great Gentil Monarchies, that ſhould ſucceſſively conquer the World, *viz.* the *Babylonian*, *Perſian*, *Grecian* and *Roman*; and that, after theſe, there would ariſe another, whoſe Head would be the *Meſſiah*, *i. e.* one *Anointed* or impowered by God to govern the whole World. Now this ſhews you the Reaſon of the Name *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt* (as the Word ſounds in the Greek:) For our Kings, and High-Prieſts,

and moſt Eminent Prophets, were anointed with Oil, to ſhew that they were Authorized by God, (who, in the moſt proper and eminent Senſe, was our King) to be our Rulers, in their reſpective Offices. And the Notion that we have of this Great Monarch, is this; That as *Nebuchadnezzar* ſubdued all Kingdom, and ſo erected the *Babyloniſh Monarchy*; *Cyrus* the *Medo-Perſian*, by deſtroying the *Babyloniſh*; *Alexander* the *Grecian*, by deſtroying that; and *Cæſar* the Roman, by deſtroying that which *Alexander* laid the Foundation of: So our *Meſſiah* will deſtroy the *Roman* at laſt, by conquering that Empire, and erecting the *Jewiſh Nation* to be the Top and Supream above all Nations in the World, over which this *Meſſiah* will Reign for Eternity, without Succeſſion, and much more without ſuffering any other Nation to conquer the Jews for ever.

Now pray conſider, what an odd and unaccountable Paradox is advanced by this Apoſtate Jew, and the reſt of his villainous Tribe, *viz.* that the Impoſtor *Jeſus*, (who was no greater Man, than what I told you of,) was this *Meſſiah*, this Divinely impowered Emperor. Againſt whom therefore, is it proper to argue at all? Is it not enough to ask them, what Countries and Nations this *Jeſus* has ſubdued? Where are his *Trophies*? Where his *Victories*? And where and when his ſolemn *Triumphs*? Upon the Croſs! Ay, to be ſure, there or no where! Ah! rare *Triumph!* But, into what *City*? into what *Capitol*? ——— Ha, ha ——— I am inrag'd ——— I cannot contain my ſelf. ——— But my Engagement to you, and the Reſpect I pay you, ſeals up my Lips ——— I preſume therefore to ſay no more ——— Let the Apoſtate anſwer, if he can. ——— But pray, my Lords, take care that he do not blaſpheme the Supream Being; and that the ſame Faſcination, with which he has bewitched others, particularly *Criſpus* my Predeceſſor in the Jewiſh Synagogue of *Corinth*, do not intoxicate and bewitch even you.

Paul. Moſt Excellent *Gallio* and moſt Noble *Seneca*, it is with the greateſt Pleaſure and Satisfaction that I find my

my ſelf in your Preſence, and under your Protection; and I cannot but adore the Goodneſs of Heaven, in allowing me the Company of ſuch Eminent Perſons, and ſuch Admirable Judges, upon the occaſion of diſputing upon the greateſt and moſt important of Subjects. And ſeeing it is ſuch, and that Truth delights not in Shade or Cover, but in the openeſt Sun-ſhine; I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to ſet the Matter in Controverſy between *Softhenes* and *Me*, in the cleareſt Light I poſſibly can. And in doing ſo, I hope you are in hazard of no Faſcination or Witchcraft; unleſs ſober and impartial Ratiocination be loſt in the dark, under that invidious Nickname. But I can hardly think, that even *Softhenes* himſelf will reflect upon me this way, if he allow himſelf to reaſon at all. For, by the way of Reaſoning he has led me into, I find my ſelf oblig'd to proceed in ſuch a Method, as I am apt to think will at firſt View, ſeem to confirm all he has ſaid againſt me. And therefore I muſt humbly beg your Patience, in allowing me a full, as well as fair Hearing, before ye allow your ſelves to paſs Sentence upon what I am to ſay for my Lord and Maſter *Jeſus*, and his Religion. For, if I can prove him to be the true *Meſſiah* or *Chriſt*, all the invidious Reflections caſt upon me and my fellow-Chriſtians, will fall to the Ground of courſe.

Softhenes owns, that a Great and Mighty Prince has been univerſally expected by the Jews. And he cannot deny, but that this was univerſally expected about the time when our *Jeſus* was born into the World. For when the *Eaſtern Sages* were divinely directed to come to *Jeruſalem*, and inquire after him that was born King of the Jews, *Herod* was extremely frighted at the News. What the Determination of the Chief Prieſts and Scribes was, as to the Place where the Meſſiah was to be born, *Softhenes* is not ignorant of. Nor can you be Strangers to *Herod*'s inhumane Murder of the poor Children of *Bethlehem*, and the neighbouring Country, to prevent, if poſſible, the Accompliſhment of the Propheſies that related to *Chriſt's* Birth. I might take occaſion here to

ſhew you, that *Daniel*'s Prophetical Calculation of Years to Chriſt's Birth and Death, is now run out. So that Chriſt muſt be the Meſſiah he propheſied of or none. I might likewiſe ſhew you, that the Prophets do plainly deſcribe the *Meſſiah*, as one that was really God, but one alſo that was to aſſume Human Nature, and that under the Vail or Diſguiſe of a mean Man; and that he was to ſuffer, and that to the Death for Men. It is true they ſpeak of him, in other Places, as a mighty Conqueror, and repreſent his Kingdom in the moſt lofty manner. Which things are no ways inconſiſtent. For *Chriſt* was not to ſubdue the World by force of Arms, as other Hero's, but by force of Reaſon, by the Light of Truth, and by a Divine Energy accompanying both. He was not to depopulate Cities and Countries, or to wade to Empire thro' Blood. No, no, he was to erect a Spiritual, Rational and Philoſophical Empire in the World, that ſhould allure and ingage all that lov'd Truth, Virtue and Goodneſs, to become his Subjects.

And here therefore allow me to reaſon with you as Men and Philoſophers. For, tho, when I have to do with Jews only, I make it my Buſineſs to deal with them at their own Weapons, by proving from their own ſacred Writings, that our *Jeſus* is their promiſed *Meſſiah*: Yet, having to do with thoſe that are neither Jews nor Chriſtians, but Romans and Philoſophers, I am oblig'd to reaſon, in a manner and way abſtracted from all the Religions that obtain now in the World. And here let me beg two Things from you, as neceſſary and rational *Poſtulata* or *Suppoſitions*; 1. That ye would abſtract from all the Ideas and Notions, that ye have imbib'd, either from the Prieſts of your Country's Religion, or from the Founders of the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers, and thoſe who purſue and defend their ſeveral Schemes. And, 2. That ye would abſtract, from all the Prejudices that ariſe from Grandeur, Honour, Riches, worldly Succeſs and Power, which vulgar Souls place their Happineſs

pineſs in; but which true Philoſophy teaches us to deſpiſe.

Theſe things being premiſed, let us bethink our ſelves of three things; (1.) That the true Notion of God is, as *Soſthenes* has truely obſerv'd, that of *Perfection it ſelf.* If God be infinitely Perfect, then he is the Supream Good of Men. And if ſo, as he muſt deſign our real Good; ſo that can only be the truely Divine Philoſophy, that leads us to God, in a way congruous both to the Divine Nature and our own. But then, (2.) Let us conſider, that human Nature is now vitiated. How it came to be ſo, I ſhall not now ſay. But that it is ſo, the Knowledge we have both of the World and of our ſelves, puts it beyond all Controverſy. A good God therefore muſt be ſuppoſed to have left ſomething in the World, to aſſiſt us to counter-act this Vitioſity that is in Human Nature, and that has over-ſpread the World, as an univerſal Contagion. And truly God never left himſelf without Witneſs, or Men without ſome Aſſiſtance this way. He has given to all of us Reaſon, in ſome degree or other. He has opened the Books of Creation and Providence to be meditated upon. He has ſpread the Notices of ſome weighty Truths, by a Traditional Conveyance, from Father to Son. He has raiſed up wiſe Men and Philoſophers, in all Ages and Nations, to teach and inſtruct others. And I muſt add, he has kept up the Jewiſh Nation for many Ages, for this very end, that the Knowledge of the true God and his Worſhip, might not be loſt in the World. And of late, he has ordered Matters ſo, that their inſpired Writings ſhould tranſlated into the elegant and almoſt Univerſal Language of the Learned Greeks. But I muſt add, 3. That tho the Philoſophy and the Study of Wiſdom has ſo long taken place, in *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and other Countries firſt, and ſince in *Greece*, eſpecially at *Athens*, from whence it has been propagated almoſt into all Countries ſubject to the Roman Empire; yet the World ſeems rather to be confounded than edified this way: ſo that the Study of Wiſdom is

turned, for the moſt part, into airy Speculations, Logomachies, Sophiſtical Controverſies, and trifling Subtleties. Sect is oppoſed to Sect, and one Scheme to another, with ſuch Heat and Paſſion, ſuch invidious Reflections, and ſuch endleſs Diſputations; that every one wants an *Oedipus* to unriddle Matters, and to repreſent Truth in its Native Plainneſs and Simplicity, ſo as to make it an eaſy Guide to Human Reaſon, with reſpect to the Conduct of Mens Lives, both apart and in relation to Community and Society.

Now upon the Suppoſition of all theſe things, which I believe ſuch equitable, as well as capable Judges, will readily yield to be certain and indiſputable Truths, let me beg you to ſuppoſe one thing more; *viz.* That the Great and Good God having tryed all other Methods to reclaim Men from Sin, Vanity and Miſery, had deſigned to try one more, that ſhould be ſo attemper'd as to be moſt Glorious and Worthy of himſelf, and at the ſame time moſt rational and plain, adapted to our Capacities and Circumſtances; in order this way, if poſſible, to turn Men from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan and Wickedneſs, to God and Virtue; I ſay, ſuppoſing this, as highly rational in it ſelf: Let me make bold to ask you, Gentlemen, what way were the moſt likely to be that which Divine Wiſdom would fall upon, in this Caſe, purſuant to ſo noble a Deſign?

Seneca. Sir, ſeeing others are ſilent, and that you and they ſeem to put it upon me, to ſpeak upon this weighty Queſtion, I ſhall not fruſtrate your Expectations, even tho I ſhall perhaps run the Risk of forfeiting my Reputation, upon a Subject that is ſo much out of the road of Common Philoſophy.

That ſuch a Suppoſition is highly rational, none can deny. For it is not only a natural, but neceſſary Concluſion from the *Poſtulata*, which *Paul* has moſt judiciouſly laid down. For, ſeeing Mankind has ſunk ſo univerſally into Sin and Miſery; and ſeeing God is the Supreme

Supreme Good, and therefore, as (*l*) *Plato* says, *the only Cause or Author of whatever is Good; whereas we are rather to make any thing whatsoever the Cause of Evil, than to ascribe it to God:* We cannot but conclude, that all those means of Bettering the World, which *Paul* has mentioned, have been used on purpose to do us good. But, tho we have justly provok'd him by turning his Medicines into Poison, yet we cannot but think that he who is Goodness it self has reserved some better thing, as a more happy and sovereign Salve and Remedy at last, to bring us back, if possible, to pursue the true Interest of our own Natures, and consequently that of our Fellow-Creatures. And it is certain, that as the Jews have been big with the Expectation of their *Messiah*, of whom, if I mistake not, even *Moses* himself Prophesied, as one that was to be *a new and divine Legislator, not only to that Nation, but to the whole World*. So we *Romans*, and I think all or most other Nations, seem to have been under an Instinct or Impression, derived from Age to Age, tho I know not whence; that God would raise up *such a Person as should bring a truely Rational and Divine Philosophy into the World, and with it a peaceable and happy Empire*; even such a State, as the Poets represent that of the *Golden Age* to have been, under Old *Saturn*, the First King and Father of the World. Nay, (*m*) at this very time, I know not how nor whence, but certain it is, that almost all Men seem to be big with such an Expectation. And we know, that it is not long since there was a Prophesy of the Sibyls, *viz.* (*n*) *That Na-*

(*l*) Plato, Lib. 2. de Repub. pag. 430. E. Edit. Marsilii Ficini, Lugd. A. D. 1590. (*m*) *See* Virgil Eclog. Corn. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. & Suet. in Vita Vesp. *The Words of this last Author are these:* Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans Opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore, Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. *And* Josephus de Bello Jud. Lib 6. *tells us, That the great thing that induc'd the Jews to hold out the War against the Romans, with such Obstinacy, was the expectation they had of the coming of the Messiah: Whom he flatteringly says was* Vspasian; *acting in this, like a Roman Courtier, or rather Sycophant, & not like a Jew.* (*n*) *See* Suet. in Vita Augusti.

ture

ture was about to produce an Universal Monarch, that should conquer the Romans; or to this Purpose: A Prophesy so frightful then to the *Roman Senate*, that they made a Decree, *that none born that Year, should have Liberal Education.* I confess we generally think, that that Prophesy has been since accomplished, in *Cæsar*'s being declared perpetual Dictator, and in his Successor *Augustus*, and those that have Reigned since. But when I consider, that the Year when this Prophesy was publish'd, was that wherein *Pompey* took *Jerusalem*, and therefore seem'd to denote that Country as the Place where this Monarch was to be born; but especially when I consider how universal the Impression still is, that such a Person is about to appear; I cannot but say, that it is not improbable, but that this Prophesy may have yet a further Accomplishment. But let that be as it will, tho I should be very sorry if ever the Roman Empire should be destroyed, yet I could not but rejoice, if it should please God, to send a Divine Legislator and Philosopher into the World, to teach us Wisdom and Virtue in a new and more perfect manner. I am perfectly of the mind of the Great *Plato*, whom I cannot enough admire, upon the Account of this Rational Wish (tho in other Respects I am not so much his Disciple, as I am the Scholar of the Great *Zeno*.) For, when in one of his Dialogues, he introduces *Alcibiades* consulting *Socrates*, as to the best Method of praying to the Deity, and of offering up Sacrifices to him, he represents *Socrates* at a mighty loss, what to advise him to. But at length, when he had sufficiently shew'd him, the Superstition of the *Athenians*, as to their many and costly Sacrifices, and how unsuitable and little pleasing these were to a pure and infinitely Perfect and Good God; he (*o*) proceeds to tell him, that the best Way for both *Alcibiades* and himself, was; περιμένειν ἕως ἄν τις μάθῃ, ὡς δεῖ πρὸς θεὸς ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διακεῖσθαι, *to wait until some Greater*

(*o*) Plato in Alcibiade, pag. 2. E. 43.

Person,

Perſon, than they, ſhould ariſe, who ſhould be able to teach them exactly how they were to behave both towards God and towards Men. It ſeems the Greateſt Men then were at a loſs in both theſe Reſpects, and that they had the Modeſty to own this, and that all their Knowledge of Divinity conſiſted in ſome rational or probable Gueſſes only; as indeed it is no more with us to this day, if we allow our ſelves to ſpeak out. But it is no leſs plain that it was a current Opinion in the Days of *Plato*, that a Divine or Extraordinary Perſon would come at length into the World, who ſhould bleſs Mankind with a full, plain, univerſal, perfect Philoſophy, as to both the Eſſential Parts thereof, *viz.* our Duty and Intereſt in Relation both to God and Men; and conſequently ſuch a one as would determine all things relating to Religion and its Principles, Laws and Rites, as well as Relating to Ethicks and Moral Virtue, to Polity, Government, and Relative Duties, with reſpect both to Families or private Societies and to Kingdoms, Republicks and Empires, or Publick and General Communities. Now, that ſuch an Expectation obtain'd in the days of *Plato*, appears from what follows. For, he does not introduce *Alcibiades*, as ſollicitious to know what *Socrates* meant, when he talk'd of the Coming of ſuch a Philoſopher, as otherwiſe he muſt have done. But, as if this had been an Opinion too well known and two univerſally receiv'd, to be ſo much as call'd in queſtion; he brings in *Alcibiades*, allowing of this as certain, and therefore ſatisfying himſelf to ask two important Queſtions about it; *viz.* Firſt, when this Perſon would come, and then what ſort of Perſon he was to be; adding a moſt pathetical Account of his Deſire to ſee this Excellent Perſon. His Words are ſo Emphatical this way, and have left ſuch an Impreſſion upon my Mind, that I think I can repeat them verbatim. Πότε ἂν παρέσται ὁ χρόνος τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες; καὶ τίς ὁ παιδεύσων; ἥδιστα γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰδεῖν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τίς ἐστιν. *When ſhall that* Time *come*, O Socrates? *And who ſhall that* Teacher *be*? *For I long exceedingly*

ingly to ſee ſuch a Man, *who he is.* But, tho this be the Common Interpretation, I have been apt to think that Κρόνος might have been written Κρόνος at firſt by *Plato.* For the daſh of a Pen might have made the κ look like χ either in the Autograph, or in ſome Copy afterwards, there being ſo very minute a Difference both between the Form of theſe two Letters and the Sound of them, and conſequently of the Words alſo. For the Greeks make no other Difference between *Cronus*, whom we Romans call *Saturn*, and *Chronus* Time, Age or Antiquity, when they pronounce theſe words, than this; that they ſpeak the latter ſomething more gutturally than the other. And certain it is, that the one of theſe is derived from the other, tho I leave it to Grammarians to ſquabble about this critical Controverſy of Words, which of theſe is the Primitive, and which the Derivative. Whether therefore *Saturn* was called *Cronus* ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, becauſe he was the firſt Man and Covæous with Time it ſelf, *i.e.* with the beginning of it, as ſome think; or, whether Time got its Name *Chronus* from *Cronus* or *Saturn*, becauſe his Reign was the firſt *Epocha*, from whence Men began to calculate the Flux of Time, as others conjecture: I ſay, whether the one or other of theſe Gueſſes be trueſt, it is all one to me. Only I think it not improbable, that *Plato* may mean *Saturn* here. And if ſo, the two Queſtions are reduc'd to one, and the Sentence all of a Piece. For then the Senſe is: *When ſhall this New Saturn appear,* O Socrates, *and bring back the Golden Age to the World? Pray, what ſort of Perſon will this Teacher be,* when he comes? or, *in what way will he appear and act? For my part I long to ſee him, and that happy Change that he will bring along with him, when he ſhall appear.* But let this be interpreted as Men pleaſe, yet ſtill it is plain from hence, that ſuch an Expectation *Plato* had, when he wrote this Dialogue. And that the ſame Expectation did obtain in the World long before him, and has continued ever ſince, ſeems to be highly probable, becauſe the Reaſons that induc'd him to deſire ſuch a Divine Philoſopher, have been the ſame in all Ages.

And

And we are all agreed now in the *Rationale* of this Desire; with this Difference only, that *Paul* asserts that this Person is come already; whereas *Sosthenes* and we are of the Opinion that He is yet to come.

However, seeing we are all agreed in the Supposition, in General, let us now come directly to the Important Query, which *Paul* has made us, *viz.* What is most likely to be the Method, that Divine Wisdom would take, in case God should design to send a Divine Person into the World, in order to propagate an Universal and Perfect Philosophy, and, in conjunction with it, a Government every way Rational and Excellent; in order thus to reclaim Men, and render them, in all respects, happy? This is, I think, *Paul*'s Question, in another set of Words. And a noble one it is, that deserves the utmost Stretch of our Nerves and Thoughts, in order to our being satisfied about it. But I confess that I am no ways *par negotio*, capable of such an Undertaking. For, tho I may pretend to be a Philosopher, yet I confess that this Question has never occurr'd to me before; tho now, that it is propounded, I am convinc'd, that it is the most momentous of all others, and shall reckon that time to be most nobly imploy'd that is spent in Discussing of it. And I am apt to think, that we must be oblig'd to *Paul* to answer his own Question, tho if either *Sosthenes* or my *Brother* will undertake it, I shall be very well pleas'd to hear their Thoughts.

Gallio. For my Part, Gentlemen, tho I cannot but own that the World would be very happy under the Reign of such a Divine Philosophical Emperor as ye talk of, yet I must needs say, that this may be rather wish'd for than expected. Nor do I think it possible to determine how God would accomplish such a Grand Affair, upon the Supposition that he had any such Design. All I can say is, that I have an Idea of Political Management. And I have often thought, that an Elevated Genius, well educated, and under prosperous and advantageous Circumstances, might do much to reclaim the World, and render it happy, if truely virtuous himself,

ſelf, and of a Publick Spirit to deſign the Publick Good. And, if God have a mind to bring back the Golden Age, which the Poets talk of; no more ſeems to be needful, but to raiſe up another *Alexander* or *Cæſar*, but one vaſtly more virtuous than they, *viz.* ſuch a one as ſhall deſign the Good of Mankind, as much as they did their own Glory; and having done ſo, let but God (or as we ſpeak the Gods) fall in with his *Hero*, and make the whole World yield to him; and then the Work is done. And ſeeing my Brother has made mention of a Dialogue of *Plato*, which bears the Name of *Alcibiades*, I cannot, I think, make uſe of a more fit Name or Man than the ſame *Alcibiades*, to convey the Idea of ſuch a Perſon, as I think were proper, if Virtuous and Fortunate, to Reform the World. And here then allow me to do three things; 1. To give you the Character of *Alcibiades*; and then, 2. To ſhew you what I think was only wanting in him, to make him ſuch a Hero, as I think were enough to reform the whole World; and having done theſe, I ſhall in the 3*d* place, Draw the Picture of ſuch a Glorious Perſon, as, I do think, were proper to carry on and manage (at leaſt better than any has ever yet been ſeen to do) all that is neceſſary to be reform'd, both in Civil Government, Religious Rites, and the Philoſophy and Morals of Men.

And 1*ſt*, As to the Character of *Alcibiades*, I ſhall take it for granted, that an Elegant Roman Author has done him no more than Juſtice, in what he has ſaid of him; I mean *Cornelius Nepos*, the Contemporary and Friend of *Cicero* and *Pomponius Atticus*, (*p*) *Alcibiades Cliniæ Filius, Athenienſis. In hoc Natura, quid efficere poſſit, videtur experta. Conſtat enim inter omneis, qui de eo memoriæ prodiderunt, nihil illo fuiſſe excellentius, vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus*, &c. " *Alcibiades*, ſays he, the Son of " *Clinias*, the *Athenian*, was ſuch a Man, that Nature " ſeems to have exerted her ſelf to the utmoſt in pro-

(*p*) Corn. Nep. Alcibiade, cap. 1.

" ducing

" ducing and framing him; as if she had meant to try " all her Power and Skill, to give a Proof of what she " could do. For it is agreed by all, that have written " any thing concerning him, that there was never any " thing known more admirable than He, whether in " Vices or Virtues. He was born in the most noble " City then in the World, descended from the highest " Family, and was by far the most comely Person of " his Age, capable of every thing that requir'd Acti- " on, and at the same time, the most eminent States- " man and Politician. He was the Greatest General " in the World, and equally skill'd to command by Sea " and Land. And he was the First Orator, without " Competition: for such was the Opinion all Men had " of his Address and Eloquence, that there was none " that durst presume to oppose what he said. Such a " Man he was, that when Affairs requir'd it, he " was the most indefatigable in Labours, the most " patient under Hardships, the most Generous and Li- " beral, and the most splendid and sumptuous in his " way of Living, and particularly in his Table; acting " the most affable and insinuating Part, and never fail- " ing to nick Opportunities, so as to make them serve " his Purposes, and that in the most cunning manner. " And yet this same Man, when he allowed himself to " unbend, and nothing important stood in the way of " his doing so, could instantly dissolve in Luxury, Ef- " feminacy, Debauchery and Intemperance, to that " degree, that all Men stood amaz'd, that one and the " same Man could be so different from himself, and act " as if he were compos'd of opposite Natures. But, as the same Historian observes, this Diversity tended to greaten him, rather than detract from him; for that his Debauchery was rather the Effect of Necessity than Choice. For the *Athenians* having us'd him most ungratefully first, he was forced to comply with the Customs and even Vices of other Places and Nations who protected him. And yet, tho he faithfully serv'd the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Thracians* and *Persians* successively;

ly; yet *three things* were equally conſpicuous in this Man; *Firſt*, that he was ever faithful to the State that protected him, and true to their Cauſe and Service; and yet, *Secondly*, That his noble Soul was ever fraughted with new Projects to ſerve his Native Country, where he might do it fairly and honourably, notwithſtanding all the repeated Affronts and Sufferings he met with from them. But then, *Thirdly*, Notwithſtanding all his Virtue and Gallantry, he was ſtill unfortunate from firſt to laſt. It may not therefore be improper to repeat what the Hiſtorian ſays further of him, as to the Reaſon of his being oblig'd to act ſuch very different Parts. " (*q*) This Man, ſays he, tho reflected upon by ſeveral, " has been ſo happy as to be Celebrated with the higheſt " Praiſes by three moſt eminent Hiſtorians, *viz. Thucydides*, who was his Contemporary; *Theopompus*, who " was born a little after his days, and *Timæus* of the " ſame Age. Which two laſt, ſeeing they are noted " to ſpeak ill of every body, I know not how they " have agreed to praiſe him only. For all that I have " ſaid of him, they have agreed in to be true. And they add this further; " That being born in *Athens*, " the moſt Famous City in the World, he had the Happineſs to exceed all that that City had ever to boaſt " of, as to the Glory and Dignity of Life; (he " means, as to thoſe things chiefly valu'd there, " *viz.* Wiſdom, Policy, Philoſophy, Eloquence and " Morals.) But when he was baniſh'd thence, and " came to live at *Thebes*, where none of theſe things " were valu'd, but only Strength of Body, and " Exerciſes that diſcover'd the Vigour and Agility " thereof, he ſo approv'd himſelf to them in theſe, " that there was no Man could pretend to equal or " come near him, in any reſpect. When, from thence, " he came to *Lacedæmon*, whoſe Citizens valu'd nothing " ſo much as Patience, Temperance, and the induring

(*q*) Cap. 11.

of

" of Hardſhips and Fatigues, in which they reckon'd " Virtue principally, or only to conſiſt; he comply'd " ſo readily and naturally with their Maxims, that he " was juſtly look'd upon to exceed all the *Lacedæmonians*, " in Parſimony, both as to Diet and Apparel. When " he was oblig'd to live amongſt the *Thracians*, a ſort " of People that were wholly given to Wine and Ve- " nery, he outſtrip'd them all in every ſort of Debau- " chery. And when he came to live amongſt the *Per-* " *ſians*, who admir'd nothing ſo much as conſtant and " bold Hunting, and ſumptuous and high Feeding, he " fell ſo in with their Methods, that no Man was ſo " much celebrated that way as he. So that where-ever " he came, he had the Fortune to be the Principal and " Firſt Man, in the Eſteem and Love of all People, ſo " as to be the very Darling of all Nations. What a mighty Genius then muſt we ſuppoſe this *Alcibiades* to have been, (*r*) who yet died a young Man of about forty Years of Age? Let me only add what the ſame Hiſtorian ſays of him, in relation to his Edu- cation. (*s*) " He was, ſays he, educated in the Houſe " of *Pericles*, whoſe Step-Son he is ſaid to have been. " His Teacher and Inſtructer was *Socrates*. And he " had for his Father in Law *Hipponicus*, who was the " Greateſt Maſter of the Greek Language then in the " World. So that, it cannot be conceived, that better " or greater Advantages could have met together, in " one Man. For both Fortune and Nature ſeem'd to " contend, which ſhould ſerve him moſt, in order to " buoy him up for the greateſt and moſt eminent Ser- " vices. And now, my Friends, I have given you a Summary Account, of what all Hiſtorians have agreed in to have been the juſt Character of this Grecian Hero.

I come now, 2*dly*. To conſider, what I think was only wanting, to make him ſuch a Perſon, as is fit

(*r*) Cap. 10. (*s*) Cap. 2.

both to Conquer, Rule, and Reform the World. And, 1. This was his Misfortune, that he was not born the Heir of a Sovereign and puiſſant Monarch. Had he been the Son of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and ſucceeded to him, when fifteen Years old, or thereabouts, what could he not have done, eſpecially had he liv'd as long as *Auguſtus* did? But it was his Misfortune to be born in a Republick, the moſt jealous of great and popular Spirits in the World? His Spirit was too great for the narrow Orb in which he mov'd. And his Circumſtances were ſuch, as it was not poſſible to rid his hands of the many Difficulties he ſtruggl'd with. And then, 2. His Compliance with the Vices of all Countries, tho his Misfortune rather than Fault, was too unbounded. And, tho I cannot wholly quarrel with him in his doing after this manner, in the General; yet he ought to have acted ſo, that it might have appeared that it was mere Civility and Complaiſance, that oblig'd him to it. And, by this Method, as he would have oblig'd all Men, as much as he did by his Exceſſes, or rather more, when they had perceived that what he did was wholly from Condeſcention, and not from Inclination: So he would have this way kept a handle to have drawn Men back inſenſibly to the Conſideration of the contrary Virtues, and been capable to reaſon Men from Vice, with the better Grace and greater Authority. Had but theſe two things concurr'd in this Man, I cannot but think, that he might have been fit to have accompliſh'd all that is wanting to render Mankind happy.

And therefore, in the 3*d* Place, I ſuppoſe every one of you may eaſily form the ſame Idea, with me, of a true Hero, ſuch as Reaſon ſeems tacitly to deſire. Let us therefore ſuppoſe, that God does deſign to bring the Golden Age into the World in our own time, under the Reign of a *New Saturn*; I think we cannot but agree as to his Idea. For theſe things muſt of neceſſity concur in his Compoſition. (1.) He muſt be deſcended from the moſt Honourable and Noble Family in the whole World, at leaſt that which is generally eſteem'd

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and own'd to be such at the time of his Birth. (2.) He must be born the undoubted Sovereign of the Greatest Monarchy in the World, and that an Absolute one, to do what he pleases without Controle. (3.) He must have all the Education, that is possible to be given, to form his Mind both for Universal Empire, and the perfect Knowledge of all Sciences that are valuable to Human Society. (4.) He must be a most extraordinary Genius, in order to improve his Education to the highest Pitch. He must, if possible exceed *Alcibiades*, as a Philosopher, Orator, Statesman and Politician, and as a General both by Sea and Land. In short, he must be capable of every thing, to such a degree as to exceed all the rest of Mankind, as far in all the Excellencies of Soul, as he exceeds them in Grandeur and Power. (5.) He must have all the Treasures of the World, at his Command, so far at least, as that none may be able to resist him. (6.) He must keep an even hand between Profuseness and Parcimony; that he may never want to lay out, when Affairs require it, nor miss an Opportuuity of doing so; especially in rewarding Fidelity, Bravery and Virtue. In a word, he must so act, as to be rather lov'd than fear'd, and yet fear'd more than all things in the World besides. (7.) He must be a thorow Master in the Art of Insinuation and Dissimulation, and so compliant with Custom, as never to require or expect any thing that so much as seems to thwart with Mens Inclinations and innocent Follies: I call those such, as are no way hurtful to Society or Government. For whatever is inconsistent with these, must be strictly guarded against, and most severely punished. (8.) But in his Compliance with innocent Vices, such as Luxury, Excess of Wine and Women, he must so act, that Men may believe, that his Condescention this way, is rather the effect of a pleasant, affable and debonair Temper, than of a sensual and unbridled Appetite or Passion. (9.) He must exceed all Men, as much in Beauty, Symmetry, and a Majestick Aspect and Carriage, as in Wisdom, Power, or Riches. (10.) He

must approve himself to be the true Friend and Father of his Country, and the inveterate Enemy of all the Enemies of himself or it. (11.) He must be excessively ambitious of Glory and Fame, and resolve accordingly to exceed all the Hero's of Antiquity, as far as *Cæsar* exceeded *Romulus*. (12.) And in order to this end, he must be indefatigably vigilant and diligent, and matchlesly Brave in time of Action. (13.) He must come early to the Throne, at least as soon as *Augustus Cæsar*, and reign, if possible, both longer and more happily than he; who was so fortunate, as to reign as many Years as his Predecessor *Cæsar* liv'd. (14.) He must not be imbroil'd with any sort of Cares or Troubles, far less foreign Wars, or intestine Seditions or Conspiracies. (15.) And when he has liv'd to the utmost Extent of natural Life, he must die an easy and quiet Death, and be rational, and sensible, and pleasant to the last. (16.) He must be buried with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity, all People lamenting him. A greater Monument, than that erected for *Mausolus*, and more lasting than the greatest *Egyptian Pyramid*, must be erected to perpetuate his Memory; and all Wits and Pens must be at work to transmit the same, as justly and fairly, as possibly can be contriv'd, to Posterity. (17.) He must leave all Affairs in the best order imaginable, that his excellent Laws and Rules may be observ'd in all time coming. And in order to this end, he must, in his own time, have had a Collection of the most eminent Genius's in the World; Men of noble Birth, eminent Learning, and all other valuable Qualifications. And these he must have model'd into distinct Colleges, Courts or Societies; some for Government, Counsel and Polity; some for Commerce and Trade; some for War and Military Affairs; some for Philosophy and the noble Sciences; some for Religion and its Rites; and some for Mechanical Arts and for Husbandry. And all his Disciples, in these several Respects, must have been fully instructed by himself, whilst he liv'd, and brought under the most strict and solemn

ſolemn Bonds and Ties to obſerve his Orders, and oblig'd the ſame way, to hand down his Laws and Conſtitutions from Age to Age, by adopting into their Number ſuch as were fully inſtructed to fill their Places, as they ſhould ſucceſſively drop off by Death. (18) He muſt be ſucceeded by ſuch a Race of Hero's, as ſhall tred in his Steps, and follow his Meaſures, as near as poſſibly they can. (19.) But in caſe of any Degeneracy this way, and conſequently hazard of altering this noble Conſtitution, he muſt be ſuppoſed to erect a Senate, conſiſting of ſuch or ſuch a Number of Delegates from all the ſeveral Colleges I have mentioned and reſponſible to them; which Senate ſhould be veſted with a Sovereign Power, to oppoſe all Innovations that Great Men, or even the Monarch himſelf ſhould attempt to bring in; that thus the Laws may be kept up in full Force, ambitious Spirits curb'd and over-aw'd, and the Conſtitution thus ſecur'd. (20.) And to preſerve all the more ſacred and inviolable, the *Birth-Day* of this Great Prince muſt be kept ſacred to all Poſterity, as the greateſt Anniverſary of all others; wherein the Government muſt Regale the whole People, and divert them with Sports and Plays of all ſorts: And upon this Day, at or about Noon, all Men muſt be obliged to join in a ſolemn Hymn to the Memory of this Prince, under the Character of the Reſtorer and Saviour of Mankind: and having done this, they muſt (all without exception, if come to the Years of Diſcretion) enter into a moſt ſolemn Oath, to continue Faithful to the Conſtitution, Laws and Orders of this Great Prince; vowing, in the moſt ſacred and awful manner, to hold thoſe Accurſed, that ſhall attempt to alter any of theſe, and to oppoſe all ſuch Innovators as the worſt of Enemies, until they bring them to Puniſhment, in the moſt ſevere manner, as Terrors to others.

And now, Gentlemen, I have given you my Thoughts concerning ſuch a Hero, as ye ſeem ſtill to expect, tho I muſt profeſs my ſelf a Sceptick this Way. Had *Julius Cæſar* had all theſe Virtues, equally with that of Am-

bition and Desire of Power, and Fame, yet he had never been capable to effect what you desire; because he waded thro' so much Blood to Empire, and left Mens Minds full of Horrour and Revenge for the Loss of their Friends and Country's Liberty: Which, tho suppress'd for a time, prov'd his ruine at length. *Augustus* had a much fairer Game this way. But his first Beginnings were clouded with Wars and Cruelties. And, tho he conquer'd all his Enemies at last, and labour'd to regain Mens good Opinion by Clemency and Mildness: (*t*) Yet the Memory of old Roman Liberty was not forgotten; tho Men chose rather to sit down quiet, after so many desolating Wars, than to hazard themselves and Families by beginning new Broils. So that a great part of his Reign was spent in securing the Power he had acquir'd, and in making all Men depend upon him. But his long, peaceable and glorious Reign did so inure Men to an Absolute Monarchy, that (*u*) at length they fell even in love with it, especially after all the old Generation were gone off the Stage, and none remain'd that could remember any thing of the old Republick and Liberty of the Romans; all those who were alive having been born, either during the former Civil Wars or afterwards. And both these concurr'd, not only to make all Men submit peaceably to *Augustus*, but to magnify his Government above all others. For the older Men remember'd the Confusion, Misery and Cruelties that the World was fill'd with, first by reason of the Convulsions occasion'd by *Marius*, *Cinna* and *Sulla*, and then by the *Triumvirate* of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, but especially

(*t*) Cum ferociſſimi per acies aut præſcriptione cecidiſſent, cæteri nobilium, quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & Honoribus tollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & periculoſa mallent. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. Edit. Rykii. Lugd. Bat. 1687. (*u*) Domi res tranquilla. Eadem Magiſtratuum vocabula. Juniores poſt Actiacam Victoriam, etiam ſenes plerique inter bella Civium nati. Quotuſquiſq; reliquus, qui Rempub. vidiſſet? Tacit. Annal. L. 1. c. 3.

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the Civil Wars of the two firſt. Others, that could remember little of that time, could yet diſtinctly call to mind the *Second Triumvirate* of *Antonius*, *Lepidus* and *Auguſtus*, and their Wars with *Brutus* and *Craſſus*, and the Wars that enſued afterwards between *Antonius* and *Auguſtus*, and the Severities exerciſed by them, both during their Union and Contention for Sovereignty. And the younger Men that heard of theſe former Tragedies, and ſaw the preſent Splendor and Glory of *Auguſtus*, and felt the Advantages of Peace and Plenty under him, could not but reckon themſelves very happy, above what their Predeceſſors ever were. For an univerſal Calm was then in the World, the Temple of *Janus* ſhut up, every Man at eaſe and quiet, Learning and Virtue encourag'd, all Princes and Nations courting the Roman Emperor, and emulating one another in complaiſance to his Will, and in an Ambitition to ſhew themſelves faithful Allies to our State So that had Heaven deſign'd to have ſent ſuch a Hero into the World, then ſeems to have been the only proper time. And truly had *Marcellus* liv'd to have ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, or, upon his Death, had we had *Germanicus* in the room of *Tiberius*, perhaps it might have gone very happily with us. But a *Tiberius* ruin'd all. And things ſince have ſtill turn'd worſe and worſe. For after we were rid of that cunning Tyrant, we ſaw our ſelves govern'd firſt by a *Mad-Man*; and after that, to ſpeak plain, by a *Fool*. I confeſs now we have a very happy Change. And, Brother *Seneca*, the Gods ſeem to have put it into your Power to render the World as happy this way as we can reaſonably deſire, eſpecially when you have ſo excellent and brave a Man as *Burrus* to go hand in hand with you in ſo noble a Deſign. Let him form the Mind of young *Nero* for War and Empire, and let it be your buſineſs to render him thorowly wiſe and virtuous. I know how difficult a Task this is, conſidering his Youth, Temptations, and too natural Diſpoſition to Pride and Cruelty; and I can eaſily ſee what a hindrance *Agrippina* will be to you. However I hope all theſe are con-

querable. But perhaps I have said too much, especially to one that knows the present Circumstances of our Court, and the Great City so much better than my self. Hasten thither, and assure the Emperor, that as I do heartily thank him, for his continuing me in this Government, so I shall to my utmost promote his Glory and Interest. And as I do most particularly render him thanks for allowing my dear Brother to make such an Excursion, as to come so far as *Corinth*, that we may injoy one another for some days; so I desire you may return with the greater Expedition, lest your absence prove disadvantageous to the true Friends of the Emperor. For, tho you may safely trust in the Virtue of *Burrus*, yet *Agrippina*'s Power may render it a Task hard enough for both of you to prevent *Nero*'s being insnar'd by Temptations, that few young Men, especially in his Circumstances, can be supposed to have the Wisdom, Temperance and Steddiness to resist.

Gentlemen, I hope you are of that Virtue, as not to expose any thing that is said in this private Conference. But, my Brother, only knows the grounds of my Fear, that such a Hero, as I have describ'd, is not yet like to appear. And truely my long experience of Men and Things makes me diffident wholly this way. For, as I have hinted already, there never certainly was any time so proper for the Appearing of such a Hero, as that wherein *Tiberius* began his Reign. For had Heaven bless'd *Augustus* with such a Son, or at least Successor, as I have given a Description of, how happy had Mankind been! Good Gods, how would the World have been mended by this time! which now, alas! grows worse and worse. Had such a Prince been born about 15 Years before the Death of *Augustus*, and declared Successor to the Empire, at the same time (*w*) that he gave forth that great and remarkable Edict for describing the whole World, as far as was possible to do it, as

(*w*) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. c. 11. *See* Luke 2. 1.

to

to number of Countries, Towns, Men, Revenue, *&c.* I ſay, had ſuch a Prince been then born and thus own'd to the World, and accordingly Educated, we might have been at this very time happy under his flouriſhing Government. But ſeeing Heaven has ſuffer'd things to run on in the quite contrary Courſe, I think I have very good Reaſon to continue an Infidel as to the Appearing of any ſuch Prince for the future.

Soſthenes. I know not how *Paul* may reliſh your admirable Diſcourſes, moſt Noble Lords. But I am ſure, I have juſt Reaſon to thank you both. For you have ſpoken, as if you had been divinely inſpired, to confirm our Notions of the Meſſiah and his Kingdom. *Seneca* has learnedly ſhown, that the Appearing of ſuch a Prince has been the Expectation of all the thinking Part of Men, in all Ages. And *Gallio* has diſcover'd what ſort of Prince he muſt be; what his Qualifications; what his Government; and what the Happineſs of the World under it. And both of you are agreed with me, that ſuch a Hero never yet appeared in the World; and conſequently that the crucified *Jeſus* could not poſſibly be he. However I muſt be ſo bold, as to tell you, that there are *two things*, wherein I think the moſt noble *Gallio* has miſs'd that which is proper to compleat the Character of ſuch a Divine Hero, as he has moſt admirably deſcrib'd in all other reſpects. For, 1. He has allow'd him to temporize in point of Virtue and Vice, to give way to Intemperance in ſome reſpects, and to give allowance by Law, as well as Example this way to others, as to thoſe Evils that he ſays do not hurt Communities as ſuch; and he has mentioned Exceſs as to Eating and Drinking and Venery. Now, tho ſome Vices do more directly tend to hurt the Commonwealth than others, yet it is our fixed Opinion, that every Sin tends ſome way to the detriment thereof. Let us but conſider theſe Evils, that ought, according to him, to be tolerated. Are not Luxury as to Eating and Drinking pernicious things, eſpecially the latter? For what Secret can be truſted to a Man, that uſes to be overcome by Drink?

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And who is safe from him, who has thus lost his Reason? And as for Venery, I hope he excepts the Allowance of Adultery. For who can endure to have his Wife, who is his Property, abus'd? As for simple Fornication, I confess the Case is more tolerable. But Limits must be set to Great Men in this: otherwise, who can can secure the Chastity of his Children? I do not much dispute other Points with him: For even our Great Prophet permitted *Divorce*, upon certain Occasions; and our most eminent Patriarchs and Princes allowed of *Polygamy*, by their Example. Only I say, in the General, that such a Divine Hero, as we are in quest of, must be sinless himself, and allow of nothing that is sinful to be tolerated; let the Reason or Pretence to the contrary be what it will. And this is the Notion we have of our *Messiah*. But then, 2*dly*. I must tell you something more, that will perhaps surprize you, *viz.* that we do expect our *Messiah* will be more than a mere Man. Nay our Prophets carry the matter so high, as to assure us, that He will be such a one, as shall be truly God, or the Son of God, as partaking of his Nature. How this can be, I confess is a Mystery to us. But seeing our Divinely Inspired Writers do agree this way, and that the constant Tradition we have of this Matter confirms us in this Notion, it is not lawful for us to doubt of it. You may perhaps smile at this Opinion of ours: But when ye allow your selves to consider, that all your own Theology runs upon this Supposition, I hope you will ridicule ours the less. Yours indeed is stuff'd with innumerable Fables about Gods and Goddesses, and their Progeny, and their ridiculous, and even obscene and wicked Actions; which I question not but you laugh at within your selves. But yet I believe, that Mankind had never run so wild in their Stories this way, had they not from the first Age of the World been possest of something that laid the Foundation of such odd Ideas. Now our most Ancient Writings tell us, that the First Man (whom we call

call *Adam* (x), from the Excellency of his first Formation, and you call Saturn) having Apostatized from God to Sin, by the Insinuation of the Prince of evil Demons, God condescended to take pity upon him notwithstanding, and promis'd that his own Son should appear, in due time, to act *Adam*'s Part over again, so as to regain all that he had lost. This is, I confess, darkly insinuated by *Moses*; but our *Cabbala* supplies this Defect. Now this Son of God, when he becomes Man, is to partake of both Natures; of the Divine, that he may be capable to do whatever he pleaseth, and of the Human, that he may be a proper Prince for Mankind. And seeing he is to be God, as well as Man, we believe that he himself will be our Governour perpetually,

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(x) Adam *is generally supposed to have had his Name given him, from a Word of the same Letters and Sound in the Hebrew, that signifies* Red, *because, say our old Commentators, he was made of a* Red Earth *or* Clay. *But tho* Moses *says indeed,* Gen. 2. 7. *That* Adam *was made of the Earth, and that the Hebrew Word there used signifies* Red, *yet he says not that he had his Name from thence. And therefore it may be as reasonable to suppose that that Name was given to the Earth or Ground from* Adam. *So that we are still left to enquire why God called the First Man,* Adam. Jonathan B. Uz. *tells us, That the Dust of which* Adam *was made, was principally taken from the Ground whereon the Sanctuary afterwards stood, but with a Mixture of other Dust brought from the four Quarters of the World, and that all this was moisten'd with a Mixture of all the Sorts of Water in the World; and that* Adam *was equally Red, Black and White. However, certainly Man, when first created, was a most Noble Creature, and therefore the Name that God gave him must have express'd something of his Nature and Excellency. He appear'd at first like the rosy Morning, and was no doubt called* Adam, *to denote his Excellency. And some Footsteps of this seem still to remain in the Oriental Tongues. In the Hebrew* Aden *signifies a Foundation, and* Adon *Lord or Prince, whence God himself takes the Name* Adonai, *and it may not be improbable, that* Adam, *who was constituted Lord of this World, might have his Name at first from hence, with a small Variation of Sound.* Ludolphus *in his* Ethiopick History, Lib. 1. cap. 15. *as also in his* Lexicon *of the Ethiopick Language, supposes, That the true Original of the first Man's being Nam'd* Adam, *is preserved there, and that it signifies, not only Delightful, or God's Delight, but Brightness and Excellency. And perhaps the Syriack Word* Adamas, *a Diamond, may be derived from hence, as denoting both its sparkling Brightness, and its Value and Excellency.*

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without any Succeſſion, as long as the World laſts. But when the Race of Mankind comes to an end, we do ſuppoſe, that this ſame Glorious Prince will preſent us to his Father, that his Faithful Subjects may be eternally rewarded by him in the Supream Manſions of Heaven, and live there in inconceivable Pleaſure under him, above any thing that this World can admit of. But now when we ſpeak of God's having a Son, we muſt not conceive of this from common Ideas. Our God is infinitely glorious above Matter, and has no Body. We ſpeak therefore Figuratively, when we expreſs our ſelves in Vulgar Terms, of this Kind. If I ſhould call Reaſon or Judgment the Father of Rational Volition, and conſequently, Will the Son of Reaſon, no Body would think, that I ſpake of theſe, in the ſame Senſe that is uſed to expreſs Mens Relation to one another. And, in like manner, you muſt not ſuppoſe that we underſtand that the Pure and Infinite Being is multiplied into ſuch Perſons, as two or more Men, deſcending one from another. However we pretend not to be capable to explain how this is: but reckon it enough to believe, that there is ſome real Foundation this way, known to the Deity Himſelf, tho not to us; ſeeing the Prophets have been inſpired to ſpeak to us in this Strain, when they repreſent our *Meſſiah* to be truely God, and yet deſcribe him as a real Man, when they ſpeak of his coming into the World. And indeed how can a God be viſible, and act among Men as their Prince and Judge, unleſs he aſſume the Nature of Man, and act in and by it? For unleſs this be, how were it poſſible for Men to converſe with ſuch a Ruler, as were infinitely diſtant from us in Nature, Attributes and Operations? And conſequently, how were it poſſible for us to be govern'd by him, in any Political or Social Way, as a King governs Subjects? I thought fit, my Lords, to give you this Taſte of our *Theology*. And I am perſwaded that the more you conſider it, the better you will like it; tho at firſt View, it may perhaps appear to be very odd. But, excepting theſe two Particulars, I do intirely agree

gree with *Gallio*, that the *Messiah* will be just such a Hero, as he has describ'd. And you may remember that I did before give you an account of the Jewish Notion of him to the same purpose, tho more generally and briefly.

Seneca. My Proposal was, my Friends, that *Paul* might be allowed to answer his own Question. But I believe he is not displeased that he has been so happily prevented hitherto. And I hope it will be both to your and his Satisfaction, to consider what I have to add, to what has been already said upon this Great Head. My Brother has drawn the Character of such a Hero, as we are in quest of, in such natural, bright, and noble Colours, that I concluded that it was impossible to find any real flaw in the Description he gave. But *Sosthenes* has, with great Judgment, discover'd its Defect in two Particulars. I confess, that when he mention'd the First Thing that he thought was deficient, I did think he was very much mistaken. For I could not conceive how a Hero could reform the World, without some Compliance with, and Allowance for, such Vices, as are so natural to Men, and that it were impossible for him otherwise to get their Love and Approbation. And I still think, that this was as necessary, as any of the other Qualifications of *such* a Hero, as my Brother describ'd, that is, a *Political One.* But when *Sosthenes* came to his second Particular, and told us that the Hero that he and his Countrymen expect, must be not only Divine, in the Sense that we reckon all elevated Genius's to be, but really God, or one that partakes of the Divine Nature, in the most proper Sense of the Word, as well as truely and really Man; I confess I was not a little surpriz'd. For I must own, that by this the Jewish Nation seems to have a Stretch of Thought, that equals, or rather exceeds any thing that any Philosopher ever fell upon. However something like this seems to be insisted upon by *Plato*; which the Discourse of *Sosthenes* has made me think upon, and, if I mistake not, help'd me to understand further than I ever did: For

I remember, that in the Dialogue mentioned by me before, and immediately after the Queſtion of *Alcibiades*, which I gave you my Thoughts of, he ſeems to inſinuate ſomething not unlike this Jewiſh Notion, if indeed it be not the ſame. For, when *Alcibiades* had ſaid, Πότε ἂν παρεῖναι ὁ χρόνος, &c. *When ſhall that Time come?* &c. or as we may otherwiſe render the Words; *When ſhall this Saturn appear?* viz. to bring back the Golden Age. *And what ſort of Man will this Teacher be, when he comes? For I do exceedingly long to ſee ſuch a Perſon, and to know who he is.* I ſay, to this Queſtion *Plato* makes *Socrates* to return this (*y*) Anſwer. οὗτος ἔστιν ᾧ μέλει περὶ σοῦ, &c. *This is no other than he under whoſe Care thou art. But, as* Homer *repreſents* Minerva, *to have firſt removed the Cloud from* Diomedes *his Eyes, before he could be capable to ſee the Goddeſs that ſpake to him, and know that he was not a Human Perſon, but a Deity: So I muſt tell thee, that it is neceſſary, that the Darkneſs that is now over thy Mind be firſt removed by this God, and then thy mind muſt be drawn nearer to him; and ſo thou ſhalt be made capable to diſcern what is Good and what is Evil; which at preſent thou ſeems incapable of.* To which *Alcibiades* is made to reply after this manner. *Let him therefore either remove this Cloud from me, if he think fit, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of me. For I am ready to Act as he would have me, and ſo, as to omit nothing that he ſhall require of me, whoever he be; provided that this tend to render me better.* To which *Socrates* Anſwers. *Aſſure thy ſelf, that he takes care of thee, even in a moſt wonderful way.* Now, that we may underſtand the meaning of *Plato* further, I ſhall give you an Account of another Paſſage of his to the ſame Purpoſe, which I have mark'd in another Part of his Works: Where, after he had diſcourſed upon ſeveral Points, in relation to the founding a rightly conſtituted Government, and particularly its Metropolis or Capital City, that was to be the Head and Cement

(*y*) Plat. Alcibiad. 2. pag. 43. F.

thereof:

thereof: He comes at length to discourse after this manner: (z) *It were necessary, if we should name such a City thus,* (*i. e.* from the true Governour, for he had said immediately before, that it was usual to give Names to Cities and Countries, from the Founders of them) *To derive its Designation from God himself, who is the true and proper King and Lord of those who are endued with thinking Souls. But who is this God, you'll say? Pray allow me to make use of a Story, the better to set forth and illustrate what I have to say to this Inquiry. We are told, that long before there were any Cities built and inhabited, the Government of the whole World was in the hands of old King* Saturn, *with universal Happiness to Men; and that the best Governments that have ever obtain'd since, do but faintly set forth the Excellency of that first One. And therefore I thought it was worthy of our Thoughts, to consider that Ancient Government, with the closest Intention of Mind. For which end, I have made mention of it to you, at this time. Now the Account, that has been traditionally convey'd to us, of that Ancient Government, is this; that all things did then naturally and copiously spring up of themselves, without the Toil and Care of Men, and that so plentifully, that nothing was wanting that they could desire, either as to Necessity or Pleasure. The Reason of which Happiness is said to be this:* Saturn *understanding that the Nature of no Man was capable to manage Human Affairs so, but that his Weaknesses and Folly would discover it self, to the Detriment of the Publick, either by his being Arbitrary and Tyrannical, or by his Wantonness, Pride and partial Administration of Justice: Understanding, I say, this Point thorowly, he took this Method. He did order and manage things so, that Cities and Countries should not be ruled by* Men, *but by* Beings of a Divine and more Noble Nature than they, *even by* Spirits: *To these he committed the Government of the several Communities of Men, as to so many Kings or Rulers set over them. Which Method or Rule is still follow'd by us in all our Inferi-*

(z) Plato de Legibus, Lib. 4. pag. 599. E. F. G.

our

our Governments, as is seen in our care of our Flocks of Sheep, and Herds of other Creatures. For we do not set Oxen to rule Oxen, or Goats to manage Goats. But we set Men over them, as only fit to rule them; because they are of a Kind and Nature superiour to these, and therefore capable to command them. In like manner God (who goes under the Name of *Saturn*) *being the Friend of Men, set over them at first certain Spirits, of a much more noble Order and Nature, than that of Man. And these excellent Spirits did, with the greatest ease both to themselves and to Mankind, so carefully rule Human Affairs, as intirely to preserve Peace, Chastity, Liberty and Justice, to all Men equally; by which means no Quarrels or Seditions were heard of, but all things remain'd in perfect Tranquility and Happiness. Now the Truth of this Story, and the Use I make of it, is this; That no City, that is only under the Government of mere mortal Men like our selves, and not also under the Rule and Sway of God, can ever be really happy, but must continually labour under Evils and Vexations,* &c. To this Purpose does the Great *Plato* discourse, in a most Divine and wonderful Manner. And I am sure I have given you his Sense, tho perhaps I have not given you his Words *verbatim*.

And now, my Friends, what difference is there between the Notion of *Plato* and that of the *Jewish Nation*, in this Point. It is credibly reported, that *Plato* did converse very much with the *Jews*, when he was in *Egypt*, (where there were always a Multitude of that Nation,) and perhaps he might there imbibe this Notion of theirs, as it is (*a*) certain that he seems to have incorporated a great deal of their Theology into his Philosophy, with this difference only, That he adapts both his Notions and Words, as near as he can, to the Religion and Opinions of his own Country. However, I think we may observe these Things here; (1.) That no mere Man can ever have all those Qualifications, that are fit to render him capable to subdue and govern the whole

(*a*) *See* Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 11, & 12.

World

World, at leaſt ſo as we could wiſh it were Govern'd. (2.) That therefore ſuch a Hero, as we are in queſt of, muſt be more than a Man, and be of a Nature infinitely more noble and capacious than the Human Nature is. (3.) That therefore he muſt be God himſelf, or one that partakes of the Divine Nature, which I think ſignifies the ſame thing. (4.) This Hero then muſt be both God and Man, or have both theſe Natures united, as *Softhenes* has reaſoned very juſtly. For he muſt be God, to have Wiſdom and Power enough, to govern the whole World; and he muſt be Man, to be a proper Head and King to Men. And indeed, if ever a ſecond *Saturn* come into the World, I ſee not how it is poſſible for him to bring in a truely Golden Age, conſidering how the World is now conſtituted, unleſs he be both God and Man. And I cannot conceive what *Plato*'s Meaning ſhould be, unleſs this was his Notion. For there are two Things, that I think are plainly inſinuated by him, in the two Paſſages I have quoted from him. 1. That the Being that he ſpeaks of was not only then exiſting, but the Supreme Ruler, under whoſe Care both he and *Alcibiades*, and all Men were, and therefore he would have his Philoſophical Republick and City to be called by his Name. And here it is memorable, that *Plato* ſpeaks of one, that he calls ſomewhere the *Son of the Good*, as *Softhenes* calls him the *Son of God*. Him he ſometimes diſtinguiſhes from the *Supreme Being*, whom he calls *The Being*, in a peculiar manner; and yet at other times he ſpeaks of him as one and the ſame with him. Now if from this Hero, *The Son* of *The Being*, or *Son* of *The Good*, or as *Softhenes* ſpeaks, the *Son* of *God*, *Plato* were to give name to his Commonwealth and City, it muſt either be derived from that of τὸ ἀυτοαγλὸν, the *Self-Good*, or τὸ φᾶς, the *Brightneſs*, by way of Eminency, or ὁ νοῦς, the *Mind*, or ἡ σοφια the Wiſdom, or the *Logos*, *Eidos* or *Idea*, (which I take to ſignify the ſame thing with the two former,) or elſe *Æon*, by which he denotes him as *Eternal*: For I think theſe are all the Names, that *Plato*

deſcribes this Glorious Being by. But to proceed: 2. As *Plato* ſpeaks of ſuch a Being, as was then exiſting and properly God, ſo it is plain, that he expreſſeth his Expectation, that this God will come into the World, become a Man, or at leaſt appear and act as ſuch, and that he will take upon him the Government and Conduct of Men, and bring in a New Golden Age into the World, as a Second *Saturn*. Nay he tells us this further, that when he comes he will teach us how to worſhip God, and perfectly ſet Limits to things, ſo as we ſhall know what is Good, and what is Evil, and conſequently what makes for our Welfare, and what for our Hurt. But, (5.) There is one thing further obſervable here; and that is a very conſiderable Hint, how this *Hero* or *Saturn* will govern Men, and what the Fundamental Rule of his Government will be; *viz.* that he will place Glorious and Excellent Spirits, or Beings of a Superiour Nature, Excellency and Power, to that of Man, as ſo many Vicegerents, or *Præſides Provinciarum*, Proconſuls or Deputies, to govern the World by. Not, that we are to imagine that there will then be no Political Government, ſuch as now obtains, in the Roman Empire and its Provinces: But that the Emperors, Senators, and other Officers, Superiour or Inferiour, will be all under the Superintendency of higher Beings. So, that here will be an Excellent Order and Gradation. For, as Inferiour Officers are now ſubject to, and reſponſible for their Actions, to the Superiour Rulers; ſo, according to this Notion, even theſe muſt be to the Vice-Roy or Guardian-Spirits, and theſe again to the *Logos* or *Eidos*; who, being a Partaker of the Divine Nature, cannot be ſuppoſed to do any thing amiſs; tho as to the order of things, he be ſuppoſed to have one above him, who is figuratively called Father, according to the Account *Soſthenes* has given of the Jewiſh Notion, which ſeems to be the ſame with that of *Plato*.

And thus I have given you an Account of *Plato*'s Thoughts of this Subject, as exactly as was neceſſary. And muſt profeſs my ſelf to be of the Opinion, that no

no other Hero, but such an one, can be the proper Deliverer and Benefactor of the World. And this being supposed, *Sosthenes* his first Particular will necessarily follow, as a Conclusion from thence. For he that is God as well as Man, cannot be supposed to be capable of Evil, or to countenance it, in the least, in any other. And his Power is such, to command both Love and Reverence, that there is no need to comply with Men in any thing mean or little, in order to secure their Obedience, in other respects.

But alas, my Friends, after all these fine and curious Speculations, can we be certain that ever such a one will come? For my own part, tho I cannot despair, yet I am afraid this is too great and too good to be expected, at least in our Days. Oh! *Sosthenes*, when will your *Messiah* come? How do I long, with *Alcibiades*, to see and converse with such a Glorious Hero! Oh! when will that time come, if indeed it will ever come? But pray, *Paul*, let me now renew my Request, that you would speak to your own Question. For I find you a rational and wise Man, by what you have said. And therefore I am perfectly surpriz'd to find that you are one of those Men, that have fallen off from the Bulk of your own Countrymen, by asserting, That a Crucified Man is the very *Messiah*, that they have been expecting. It seems to me to be the wildest Fancy, that ever entred into Mens Heads. But I have learn'd, as well as my Brother, to condemn no Man, until I have heard what he has to say for himself. And therefore tho this Conference has lasted so long already, yet I am curious to know, 1*st*. What you have to say in Answer to your own Question, by giving us your Thoughts of the Character of such a Divine Hero, as we have been talking of; and then, 2*dly*. I beg you would inform us, upon what Grounds you come so confidently to assert that this Hero is come already, and that your *Jesus* is the Person. And I dare say that my Brother and *Sosthenes* join with me in this Desire, and will likewise concur in giving you a fair and impartial Hearing. For tho *Sosthe-*

nes began with too great Warmth againſt you, yet I hope I may promiſe for him, that he will not interrupt you now, even tho the weight of the Subject ſhould oblige you to be longer, than we could otherwiſe deſire.

Paul. Moſt Noble Lords, I cannot but exceedingly rejoice, upon the account of this happy Meeting. And, as I do heartily thank you both, for your Polite and Learned Diſcourſes, and *Soſthenes* likewiſe for what he has ſaid: So I muſt tell you, that there appears ſomething, more than Human, in what has drop'd from all your Lips at this time. For I am ſure that the things ye ſeem to be agreed in, take in all thoſe Particulars, that I deſire to have granted me, as ſo many Suppoſitions or Poſtulata, in order to lay a Foundation for all that Superſtructure, that I intend to raiſe at preſent.

And here, ſeeing you have allowed me the Freedom to inlarge, I beg the Favour briefly to Recapitulate thoſe things that we ſeem to be all agreed in: Which I ſhall caſt into that order, that appears to me to be moſt natural and eaſy. And I think you will not be diſpleaſed with me, if I repeat them thus:

Suppoſition 1. God is Perfection it ſelf, or infinitely Perfect, and therefore the Supreme and Beatifying Good of Men.

Suppoſ. 2. Human Nature is now extremely vitiated, and therefore ſtands in need of a Divine Cure.

Suppoſ. 3. All Methods hitherto made uſe of, have not been ſufficient to reach this Great End.

Suppoſ. 4. No Method can be ſuppoſed ſo proper this way, or ſo effectual, as Gods ſending a Divine Hero and Philoſopher into the World.

Suppoſ. 5. It ſeems to be highly probable, that ſuch a Method of Cure ſhould be the Deſign of God; The Goodneſs of God, and the Miſery of Man arguing its Neceſſity; and the General Expectation of the thinking Part of Mankind this way, eſpecially of the Jews, confirming us, that this is not the Effect of a mere ſubtilty of Reaſoning.

Suppoſ. 6. No mere Man is capable to be the univerſal Saviour or Ruler of all Mankind.

Suppoſ.

Suppos. 7. Such a Hero therefore, as we are now in queſt of, muſt of neceſſity be more than a Mortal.

Suppos. 8. And it ſeems to be altogether neceſſary, that he partake of the Divine Nature, or be God, in the moſt proper Senſe.

Suppos. 9. And no leſs neceſſary, that he be truely and properly Man; ſo as to partake of both theſe Natures; that he may equally act God's Part to Man, and Man's Part to God.

Theſe Things, being ſuppoſed, I proceed now directly to the Performance of that Task, that is ſo expreſly enjoin'd me, by the moſt Excellent *Seneca*. And both Parts I ſhall labour to perform, thro' Divine Aſſiſtance, with all the Plainneſs and Brevity, that the Subject is capable of, or at leaſt as far as my Thoughts, and the Brevity of Time will permit me to do.

And, 1*ſt*. I begin with the Queſtion, which I ſtarted to you, and which the Learned *Seneca* has judiciouſly repeated, ſo as to make it more plain. And therefore I ſhall ſtudy to keep to his Form of Words as nearly as I can. The State then of the Queſtion in hand is this.

Suppoſing, *That God ſhould really* Deſign *to ſend ſuch a* Divine Perſon *into the World, as we have been diſcourſing of, and as the* Jews *expect their* Meſſiah *to be, in order to propagate an Univerſal and Perfect* Philoſophy, *and, in Conjunction therewith, a* Government *every way Rational and Excellent, in order thus to reclaim Men, and render them, in all reſpects, Happy:* What *is moſt likely, in reaſon, to be the* Method, *that* Divine Wiſdom *would take, in this* Remarkable Diſpenſation?

Now, to anſwer this Queſtion diſtinctly, it will be neceſſary to conſider this Preliminary one; How many Methods are ſuppoſible in this Caſe? I very well know, that the Methods that the Infinite Being may contrive, may be infinitely diverſified, as to Particulars. But, ſo far as we are capable to reaſon from the Nature of Things, there can be two general Methods only; that is a Divine and Human One. For, ſeeing the Parties concerned are but two, God and Man, God cannot

be ſuppoſed to act to Men, otherwiſe than agreeably to his own Nature or to ours. And, I believe, you will eaſily grant, that neither of theſe can be exactly followed, ſo as that one be ſtuck to in oppoſition to the other. For a Method intirely Divine, would be too great and confounding for Men to bear up with. And therefore if God intend the Reformation and Cure of Mankind, he muſt neceſſarily do one of theſe two Things; *viz. either* wholly alter and change the Nature of Man into his own, *or* condeſcend to deal with us, as our Nature and Circumſtances will allow. The *firſt* of theſe you cannot but ſee to be a Contradiction: For, were it ſuppoſible, that Man could be thus altered, God would no more have to do with Man but with God; ſeeing Man were then no more. But the Groſsneſs of this Abſurdity is ſo palpable, that every one muſt inſtantly ſee the Impoſſibility of ſuch a Suppoſition. And therefore, it follows of neceſſity, that God muſt condeſcend to deal with Man, as Man, *i. e.* as his Nature and Circumſtances will allow; if he mean really to cure and ſave us. Let this therefore be diſtinctly laid down as another Suppoſition or *Poſtulatum*. And becauſe I have one or two more to add to this, and would caſt them all into a *Claſſis* diſtinct from the former; allow me to mention them here, according as I ſhall gradually deduce them by way of Inference or Concluſion from what I have to ſay further. And ſeeing, I take this I have juſt now mentioned, to be what you cannot controvert with me, let it be mark'd in the firſt place, as that which is ſelf-evident.

Poſtulatum 1. God, in order to govern and ſave Men, muſt of neceſſity be ſuppoſed to condeſcend ſo far, as to deal with them, as the Human Nature, and our Circumſtances, will allow.

But, in God's condeſcending thus to deal with us, we muſt not think that it is poſſible for him, to act any mean or unbecoming Part. But, he muſt be ſo ſuppoſed to act, ſo as ſtill to preſerve all that Decorum that becomes the Supreme Being. For, it is, at leaſt as neceſſary,

ceſſary, that he act according to his own Nature, as in condeſcention to ours. And indeed this is ſo certain, that were it poſſible for him to do otherwiſe, he muſt ceaſe to be infinitely Perfect, *i.e.* to be the Chief Good. But, this is as palpable a Contradiction, as that other which I juſt now mentioned; and therefore is equally as impoſſible a Suppoſition, as the former. Hence therefore this further *Poſtulatum* does naturally and neceſſarily reſult.

Poſtul. 2. In order to God's Ruling and Saving Mankind, he muſt be ſuppoſed, of neceſſity, to proceed in a Method intirely agreeably to his own Nature and Eſſential Properties.

And this being laid down as certain, you ſee that it confirms and makes good what was ſaid before, in *Suppoſ.* 6, 7, 8, & 9.

Both theſe *Poſtulata* being therefore equally certain and ſelf-evident, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that the Method, that Divine Wiſdom muſt take in this Caſe, muſt be a mixed or compounded Method: not in any groſs Senſe of Mixture or Compoſition, which the Purity and unchangeable Perfection of God makes impoſſible to be conceived: but in ſuch a pure and holy Senſe, as is conſiſtent with the Dignity and Grandeur of the Infinite Being.

To underſtand this, I deſire you to remember, that God can only be conſidered, in a two-fold Reſpect, *viz. Abſolutely*, as to what he is in himſelf, and *Relatively*, as he bears a Reference to his Creatures; particularly thoſe that are endued with ſuch thinking Souls or Minds, as to be capable of a Moral Government, and ſo to be dealt with as his Subjects and Servants.

God, *Abſolutely* conſidered, comes under the Notion of *Being*, in the moſt Perfect and Elevated Senſe. So that whatever tends to Greaten the Notion of *Being*, to the Degrees of unlimited Perfection, ought to be aſcribed to God, as neceſſary to him. And whatever ſpeaks Meanneſs or Confinement, either as to Capacity, Power, Exiſtence or Duration, ought to be abſtracted from him. All the Notion therefore that we have of

him, under this Consideration, is this, that, in the General, we know that he is *The Being* that is *Infinitely Perfect and Happy.*

And, seeing Infinity excludes all Limits, we are sure, that he is *one* only and no more: for two or more Infinites involve the greatest Contradiction; seeing to suppose two that are Infinite, is to suppose that neither of them is so. For that were all one, as to say, that there were two (*b*) *All's*; each of which were *All.* So that God essentially considered is one only. And therefore to talk of a Plurality of Gods, is flat Contradiction and Nonsense.

But then, we must remember, that God, *Essentially* considered, cannot be supposed to *Act at all.* For no Being whatsoever can be conceived of, as acting, in this Abstracted Notion. For all *Action* denotes a *Relation* of one Sort or other: Whereas we are now talking of an *Absolute* and *Abstract* Consideration of God, as to his Being, Essence, Nature or Subsistence.

And yet, to conceive of God *thus only* were merely confounding to us, unless we did also conceive of him, as Acting and Operative. And therefore we are oblig'd to think of him *Relatively,* with reference both to himself and other Beings.

How God acts *Relatively* to himself, or towards himself, is a Secret too great for us to pretend to inquire into, with Exactness. Only, so much we may be allowed to say, that God, being the only Perfect Being, he must of necessity also be the only perfect Object to be contemplated, and when contemplated to be belov'd by himself. For being Perfect, he must *know* himself perfect, and consequently *love* himself perfectly also. So that he must be his own Felicity; because nothing imperfect can make him happy. And therefore, were he not happy in himself; he could not be happy at all, which were the grossest Absurdity.

Now, in *seeing* and *liking himself* perfectly, he must of necessity *beget Images* or *Ideas* of himself. And these

(*b*) *See Dr.* Grew's Cosmol. B. 1. c. 1.

must

must be Infinitely Perfect, because produc'd by him, as the Perfect Representations of him, that is so. They must be Co-eternal with him, and therefore altogether necessary, because he must be supposed ever to be Energetical in producing them, and ever Happy, this way, in this Relative Fruition of himself.

These *Images* or *Ideas* must be conceiv'd of, as *one* and the same both with God and one another, *essentially* considered, and yet *distinct* and *different* from him, consider'd *relatively*.

The *first* of these is necessarily concluded from hence; that God being Infinite, and therefore One, whatever is in him, must be himself.

The *second* is no less necessarily concluded from this; that it is impossible for any thing to be its own Image.

And seeing Understanding and Will, are really *distinct* Things, and *different one* from *another*, (according to our Conception) as well as *both* of them from the *Essence* or *Being* that understands and wills: Hence God, *relatively* considered, comes to be conceived, to be *Three* as well as *One*.

This, my Friends, is that which lays the Foundation of that Great Mystery of our Revealed Religion, which we call the *Trinity*. For God has taught us, that, as he is *One* in *Nature*, so he is *Three* also, as we speak (for want of a better word) in regard of *Personality*.

And, so much I thought fit to hint to you of this *Relative* Consideration of God, with respect to himself; because it is the Foundation of his Relation to his Creatures. For God, *qua Ens*, as Being, cannot be supposed to act, in reference to us, seeing this Consideration of him abstracts from the Notion both of Action and all manner of Relation. But, when once we come to conceive of God as acting in reference to himself, we are led to think of him likewise as acting in relation to us.

Now these three Relations that we have supposed in God, and which we Christians call *Persons*, bear these Characters. God conceived of as *a Being acting in Himself and towards Himself*, we call by the General Name of

of *The One God*, or the Infinitely Perfect Being. But when we conceive of Him as *Contemplating Himself, so as to Beget the Perfect and Substantial Image of Himself*, we call Him *The Father:* While, at the same time, *this Substantial Image or Idea that is Begotten*, is called *The Son of God*. Now, seeing from the Conjunction of these two, we are oblig'd to conceive that a *Perfect Volition*, which is inclusive of an *Energetical Operation*, doth result; this we call by the Name of the *Holy Spirit*, that proceeds from the Father and the Son. We do readily confess, that this is but a faint Adumbration of this Mystery: but seeing we do not believe this as *a Point of Science*, but as *an Article of our Revealed Religion*; it may serve my Design, to have thus far shown you, that there is such a Foundation for what we believe, in the Idea we have of the Deity, that indeed we cannot conceive of God without allowing of some such thing, as is thus necessarily suppos'd in God.

And this will appear further from hence, that we cannot conceive otherwise of God's Acting in relation to Men than in this way: For, seeing we are lapsed Creatures, how, I pray you, should God act towards us, in order to reclaim and save us, if these Personal Relations or Persons be not first supposed?

For, seeing in this Case, God must stand upon a Satisfaction to his Justice, and demand a Reparation to his Honour, at the same time that he desires our Salvation; we must suppose that there are in the Plenitude of the Divine Nature, *one* to demand this Satisfaction, and *one* to undertake to give it. And it is hence, that we are led to conceive of *God the Father*, as *sustaining the Dignity of the Deity*, and of *God the Son*, as engaging to *give him Satisfaction*, in recovering Man from his lost and sunk Condition.

Now, when we have conceived of the Sons Undertaking, we are led to consider two Things to be done; *First*, That a Foundation be laid, by some eminent Appearing of such a Hero, as we have been talking of, and by his giving forth a perfect Scheme of Philosophy and

and Government. And *then*, it will be neceſſary that the Superſtructure be gradually rais'd and carried on, by promoting the End of this Hero's coming into the World, and keeping up the Vigour of his Laws, for the Good of Men. Now our Notion is, that, as *the Son of God* has done the *firſt* of theſe, immediately and by himſelf; ſo the *other* is promoted and carried on by *the Holy Spirit*; who acts as the Sons Vicegerent in this; even as the Son acts as the Vicegerent of the Father: and thus the Order of Acting is made to run on, in the ſame manner with that wherein theſe Divine Perſons are ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt.

I hope you will pardon me, that I have thus far digreſſed, in order to give you a Taſte of the Foundation of our Divine Philoſophy, eſpecially ſeeing it is, in ſome reſpect, neceſſary, to introduce your Minds into the more diſtinct Underſtanding of that Great Subject which I am now about to treat of more directly.

In the mean time, let me beg you to look back ſo far, upon what we have ſaid, as to remember; that the *Relative* Conſideration of God is the proper Foundation of our *Firſt Poſtulatum*, and the abſolute Conſideration of him the Foundation of the *Second*.

But then, let us remember, that ſeeing God cannot otherwiſe act, than according to his own Nature and Eſſential Properties; therefore our *Firſt Poſtulatum* muſt be explained by the *Second*, rather than the *Second* by the *Firſt*.

And hence it follows, that in all God's Condeſcentions to the Weakneſſes of Human Nature, he muſt ever be ſuppoſed to act ſo; that it may be naturally and eaſily concluded by all Men, that it is he himſelf that acts, and not mere Men; even at the ſame time, that he makes uſe of ſuch to be his Agents and Inſtruments in carrying on his Purpoſes. For, if his Method be not ſuch, as to bear full Evidence with it, that it is not Human but Divine, he muſt be ſuppoſed to loſe the main end of his acting, which is to bring Men back to himſelf, ſo as to be poſſeſs'd of Wiſdom, in order to live virtuouſly, and attain thus to Happineſs. So that, of

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neceſſity, he muſt be ſuppoſed to act in ſuch a Method, that all Men that conſider it, may be forced to own and acknowledge, that this is *God's own Doing*. And therefore let this further *Poſtulatum* be laid down here.

Poſtul. 3. In order to God's Governing and ſaving Men, it is neceſſary, that his Method be ſuch, as plainly and evidently to demonſtrate it ſelf to be Divine, in order to its being believ'd, receiv'd and comply'd with by Men, as ſuch.

For, tho God muſt condeſcend to deal with Men, as the Human Nature will bear; yet it is abſolutely neceſſary that the Method of his doing ſo be Divine and not Human, in the Senſe wherein we take the Word Human, when we ſpeak of the Methods of the Legiſlators and Rulers of this World.

And thus I come back, and I hope with a great deal of Advantage, to the Queſtion propoſed. And therefore, let me put you in Mind of the Diſtinction I made before, between a *Divine* and *Political* Method of Adminiſtration or Government.

For whatever Method Divine Wiſdom be ſuppoſed to make uſe of, in order to ſave and govern Men, certain it is, that it muſt not be ſuch, as that which we call by the Name of Human Policy. But upon the contrary, it muſt be the very Reverſe of this. For the Great Maxim it muſt run upon, muſt be this: *It muſt be ſeen to be of God, becauſe it has nothing like human Contrivance or Policy in it.*

This, this, Honourable Lords, and you my Countryman, is that Rule that I beg you to conſider: For, as it is ſelf-evident, eſpecially conſidering the Premiſes laid down, ſo it is the Great *Principle* that I deſire to lay down, as the *only immediate Foundation* of what I have now to propoſe, in anſwer to the Queſtion I am anſwering.

For, this being once fixed, I have nothing to do, but to give you an Account of the Idea I have of a Divine Hero, and the Divine Method that I think he muſt be ſuppoſed to follow, in his taking upon him the Care and Cure of Men. And,

And, in doing this, I need only follow the Method that the moſt Noble *Gallio* has laid down. For I verily believe, that were *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon* and *Plato* alive, and had the ſame Opportunity of Diſcourſing together that we have, and upon the ſame Subject; they could not have painted forth a *Political Hero*, with greater Exactneſs, or to more Perfection than he has done. And therefore, I think I cannot have a more even Thred to follow, than this, which he has laid down. Tho, in following it, I muſt be oblig'd to make my Hero the exact Reverſe of his.

Whereas therefore the Noble *Gallio* truely ſays, (1.) That a *Political Hero* muſt be Deſcended of the moſt Noble Family in the whole World, at leaſt that which is generally eſteem'd and own'd to be ſuch, at the time of his Birth: I muſt ſay, that a *Divine Hero* muſt be the very Oppoſite to this. It is indeed very proper, and even neceſſary that he come from an Honourable and Noble Race, at leaſt ſuch an one, whoſe Genealogy is exactly preſerv'd; that it may be ſeen that he is the proper Deſcendant of Men, who have been Honourable in their Generation. But then, it is neceſſary, that this Family, at leaſt then when he is born, be reduced from the Height of Grandeur to the loweſt Degree of Plebeaniſm; upon Suppoſition, that his Parents be of honeſt and good Report, for real Worth and Virtue. And the Reaſon, why it is neceſſary, that his Parents be low and mean, at the time of his Birth, is this; that there may be no Umbrage given of his being educated by them in the Rules of Human Policy; that his Wiſdom and Conduct may diſcover it ſelf to be wholly from God. And therefore his Parents muſt be under ſuch mean Circumſtances, as to be reduc'd to the neceſſity of getting their Bread, with hard Labour, in ſome honeſt, but mean Employment, and that ſo as to have no time to harbour great or aſpiring Thoughts (had they otherwiſe never ſo great a Capacity this way) after Grandeur, Riches and Empire. I have inſiſted upon this Particular the more diſtinctly,

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becauſe if you apprehend the reaſon of my oppoſing my *Hero* to *Gallio*'s, in this, you will eaſily diſcern it in all the reſt. Therefore to proceed: If, (2.) It be neceſſary, that a *Political Hero* be born the undoubted Heir of the Greateſt Empire in the World, and that an Abſolute One, that he may do what he pleaſeth without Controle; it is equally neceſſary, from my Principle, that the *Divine Hero*, be born one of the meaneſt Subjects of ſuch an Empire, without any Help or Aſſiſtance in the World, to carry on any, even the leaſt, Political Deſign. For, if notwithſtanding his being oppoſed and born down by all things on Earth, he be able not only to bear up himſelf, but capacitated alſo to carry on the general Good of Men; it will then be ſeen, that the Work was God's, becauſe nothing Human was made uſe of to promote it. (3.) It is indeed neceſſary, that *Gallio*'s *Hero* have all the Education, that *Rome*, *Athens* and the whole World can give him. But the *Hero* I ſpeak of, muſt, for the Reaſon aſſign'd, have nothing either of a Polite, Learned, Political or Noble Education, or ſo much as Converſation. (4.) That a *Hero*, whether he be *Political* or *Divine*, be a *Great Genius*, is certain. But ſtill the *Divine Hero* muſt be the Reverſe of the *Political One*. For, the *Political* muſt excel, or ſeem to do ſo, in thoſe things, that are generally valu'd and eſteem'd in the Age, wherein he lives: *E. G.* as things go now, he muſt excel others in Philoſophy, Eloquence, Policy, Military Skill and a Courtly Behaviour. But the *Divine Hero* muſt deſpiſe all theſe, and ſtudy none of them. He muſt think freely, without any Addictedneſs to Human Rules or Great Names. He muſt thwart all the Philoſophies of Men, and ſhew their Weakneſs, by laying down a better Scheme. He muſt ſpeak without Artifice or Affectation. He muſt act an undiſguiſed and impolitick Part; particularly in oppoſing the Great Men and the Wiſe Men of the World. He muſt know no more of War than of Policy, nor give the leaſt Umbrage of his knowing the uſe of any Military Weapon, or of his loving ſuch an

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Art or Practice. And he must be so far from Ceremony and Courtship, that he must reprove and condemn the Great Men, for their Vices, without any weak Regard to their Power or Glory. (5.) The *Political Hero* must be rich, I confess. But the *Divine Hero* must be one of the poorest Men in the World. He must have neither House nor Land, nor Estate nor Credit of that Sort, no not to defray his necessary Expences: but must be maintain'd by the Charity of others, and those too of the meaner sort. For he must have neither Place nor Pension, nor Gratuity, from any of the Great or Rich Men of the World. But, what he receives, must be, as we use to say, from hand to mouth, and that from those that are but of mean Circumstances themselves, who are known to be so poor, as to be in no capacity to afford him any rich Present. (6.) Therefore, however the *Political Hero* act, in rewarding his Friends, the *Hero* I speak of must be in no capacity to incourage any by Gifts, or so much as the Promise or Expectation of great things in this World. Nay, that the Opposition may be the more full, he must assure those that shall follow his Rules, that they must expect Opposition, Hatred, Reproach, Contempt, and cruel and barbarous Oppression, from their Fellow-Creatures, for espousing the strict Ways of Virtue. (7.) He must therefore be so far from complying with any evil Custom himself, or Dissimulation this way, that he must not allow, nor so much as connive at any Vice or Wickedness, of any Sort, in others; let the Pretence be never so specious for such an Indulgence. (8.) And if he is to connive at no Sin or Evil, be it what it will, there is no need of what *Gallio* added, as to his Hero's acting so, that it might appear that his Compliance with customary Evils, was chiefly or only the Result of a debonair or complaisant Temper, (9.) That he be a comely Person, well symmetry'd, and of a noble Presence, is not amiss I confess to be supposed in the Divine Hero; seeing he must have Human Nature, in the utmost Perfection. But then it is as necessary, that

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he be ſo far from making Oſtentation of his Beauty, that he do act ſo under a Vail of Modeſty, and in ſo plain and unaffected a Garb and Habit; that it may not attract the Obſervation of Men, or be generally taken notice of. (10.) And whereas *Gallio* ſays, that the *Political Hero* muſt love his Country and Friends, and hate his and their Enemies: The *Divine Hero* muſt hate none, but love all. He muſt ſhew his Love to be impartial; and therefore, tho he may well be allowed to ſhew a peculiar reſpect to his Countrymen, in making them the firſt Offers of his Friendly Concern for Men; yet he muſt make no real Diſtinction in the main between his Countrymen and others. For all Men muſt be his Friends, and the whole World his Country. Nay, which is more, he muſt love his Enemies, as well as his Friends, and act at ſuch a rate of Generoſity, as to do Good for Evil, and be concerned to ſave Men, whether they will or not. (11.) His Character therefore muſt be, to be equally Ambitious to do good, and to deſpiſe the empty Praiſe of being known to have done ſo. So that he muſt juſt be the Reverſe of *Cæſar* and ſuch like *Hero's*. For he muſt deſpiſe that Glory and Fame, that they courted ſo much. (12.) Therefore he muſt never meddle neither with Court nor Camp, ſo as to ſeek Applauſe either way. But he muſt be as aſſiduous, (and much more) to ſave Men, as they were to humble or deſtroy all thoſe that ſtood in the way of their Exaltation. (13.) He muſt give Evidences of his early Ripeneſs for Counſel and Buſineſs. And yet he muſt not openly enter upon his Great Work, until he come to have liv'd to that Age, wherein all are agreed a Man is come to his full Maturity and Ripeneſs: Which I think we may juſtly reckon to be about 30 Years of Age. And when he has then made his firſt Publick Appearance upon the Stage of the World; He muſt not continue any longer, than juſt ſo long, as that his Fame may ſpread it ſelf thro' the World. And I ſuppoſe 3 Years, or a little longer, may ſerve for this. Which, when ended, he muſt leave the World. For according

according to the *Maxim* laid down, he must not continue so long in the World, as to make Men apprehensive of his being imployed in forming any Manner of Political Schemes or Plots, in order to overturn the Governments that are already fixed; with which he must not in the least concern himself, at least directly. (14.) But, tho he must not meddle either with Civil or Military Affairs, but lead a private Life; yet he must be hated by some, and feared by others, and opposed by all Men, even in his Offers of Peace and Happiness to the World. (15.) And when he has liv'd out his few Years, in struggling with a wicked World, in order to do them good, he must be at length pursued by them, even to Death. So that it will be necessary, that this *Hero* be put to death, for doing good, by those very Persons that he first made his kind Offers unto; and that the Kind of his Death be such, as may bear Evidence of the Rage of his Persecutors, and of a Design to rub Contempt on him and his Doctrine for ever. He must therefore be put to Death, not only in a cruel manner, but in the most contemptible way that can be thought of. For, if after all this, he carry on his Heroical Designs, and accomplish the Good of Men, it will be clearly seen, that his Design and Work is of God; seeing nothing but his own hand is left to favour this Cause: especially if the Case be brought to such a pass, as that all Mankind, without the Exception of so much as one, be seen to have either opposed, or at least deserted, this Hero. (16.) And his Funeral must be as contemptible as his Death. Only, seeing it will be necessary that he conquer Death by Dying, as well as Wickedness and Violence by suffering, and therefore must rise again, because he must be a perpetual Saviour, and demonstrate himself to be more than a Mortal, according to *Suppcsition* 6: We must suppose that it will be necessary also, that Divine Providence do so order the Circumstances of his Burial, that he be laid in a strong Sepulchre, and such a one, as never any Person was laid in before; and that, over and above all this, a strict Guard be set

over it, and all manner of Precaution uſed, that none ſteal his Body away. For, if after all this, he riſe again and force his way out, ſo as to give as evident Proofs of his being alive, as Men had before of his being dead, and of his having continued ſome conſiderable time in the Grave, as we may well ſuppoſe that of about 36 Hours to be: What elſe can we ſuppoſe, but that this muſt be the immediate Power of God? It is true, that it will be neceſſary, that ſome Account of this wonderful Perſon be given, that the Hiſtory thereof may not be loſt, becauſe this muſt be the Ground-Work and Plan of all his Government and Laws afterwards: Nay, it will be neceſſary that more than one Account of this be preſerved to Poſterity. But then, it will be equally neceſſary, that the Hiſtorians be Men of mean Figure and low Circumſtances, and of no Learning: For they muſt write without Artifice or Eloquence, or any ſhew of theſe or the like Qualifications, for which Authors are generally eſteemed. They muſt add no Comments of their own, but only write bare matter of Fact, in the moſt plain, and, as it were, ruſtical and impoliſh'd Dreſs. And it muſt appear likewiſe, that they wrote their Accounts, without knowing of one anothers Deſigns, or at leaſt collating Matters, that their Agreement in Facts may be an Evidence of their Verity; not only becauſe of the Difference of their Stiles and Methods, but upon the account of the ſeeming Diſſonancy of the things related, at leaſt as to ſome Circumſtances. (17.) The Divine Hero muſt not only die and be buried, as I have ſaid, but muſt leave the World, to appearance, juſt as he found it. It is true, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have had ſome Diſciples. But theſe muſt be a few only, and Perſons of Mean Fortunes and Circumſtances, of no extraordinary Parts, and of no Breeding or Learning at all. And all the uſe he muſt make of theſe, while he lives and converſes with them, muſt be to make them Witneſſes of what he did and what he ſaid. And, tho he may let them into the knowledge of ſome part of his

his Mind: Yet he must keep himself and his Design hid, even from them, and much more from all the rest of Mankind; in so much, as to leave even his most eminent Scholars almost as ignorant as when he found them. For thus, he must not only act an opposite Part to all other Legislators and Founders of Sects: but he must leave room for God, after his Death, to attest the Verity of his Mission, and the Divinity of his Doctrine, by inspiring those Men to understand those things fully, which he himself, whilst alive, kept secret from them: on purpose, that it may afterwards be seen, that his Religion had nothing of Human Policy in it, to recommend or promote the ends thereof. (18.) And, seeing he must Live and Reign Eternally, after his Resurrection, he can have no Successor. Only he must institute such Orders of Men, as shall have it for their Business, to explain and prove the Verity and Truths of his Religion or Philosophy, and excite Men to fall in with the same, and to live accordingly. Which Servants of his must not expect or seek after Honour, Riches and Grandeur in the World; but must embrace his Service for the Works sake. For thus Men must be brought over to the Institutions of this Divine Legislator, by seeing his Votaries act so, as to follow their Master, by living according to the Rules of a Divine and not Worldly Policy. (19.) All therefore, that such, as are his devoted Servants, must do, in order to promote the Institutions of their Master, and the Good of Men, is to strengthen themselves mutually in this Work, by exciting and encouraging one another. And, in case of any more formidable Attack against them and their Scholars, or in case any extraordinary Difficulties be started; it will be needful for them to meet together, that they may be the better directed and assisted in their Work, and in the Management of themselves therein, under whatever Circumstances they may be stated. (20.) And, tho it be necessary that same Day, like an *Anniversary*, be kept up, in Memory of this Divine Prince, together with some *Solemn Institution* to be celebrated in

all time coming: Yet, that he may be the exact Reverse of the *Political Hero*, in this, as well as in all other respects, he must neither institute Anniversary Day, nor any Action, by which his *Birth* may be celebrated. But, instead of this, the Memorial of his *Death* must be solemnly kept, by a Holy Feast, where his Followers must renew their Allegiance to him, and solemnly swear or declare, that they will ever be faithful to him and to one another, in keeping up the Honour and right Observance of all his Institutions. And seeing he must rise again, his *Resurrection-Day* must be the Grand and only Holy Day, to be religiously observed statedly by his Votaries and Followers. And, because it will be necessary that he be look'd upon to be the only *Hero*, that ever appeared in the World, in a Divine Sense, I mean properly so; and seeing he must be supposed to null and vacate all other Religions, and consequently Holy Days: it will be necessary, that his *Resurrection*-Day be observed not once in the Year, but frequently, as being that which is to take place instead of all others. As therefore, the *Seventh Part* of time, or *Seventh Day*, is religiously observed by the Jews; so nothing can be more proper, than that that Day of the Seven, upon which he shall rise, be held Sacred. And seeing this septenary Revolution of Days has been not only observ'd by almost all Nations, tho in different Methods, but is mark'd out now, by the Names of the *seven Planets*, or, supposed *Deities* that preside over the World: It will be even necessary, upon this account, that the *Resurrection-Day* of *Him*, who is the Lord of the *Planets* and all *Nature*, and who must put an end to all *Idolatry*, be observ'd *weekly*. Suppose then, that the Resurrection-Day of this Divine Prince should happen to be on the *First Day* of the Week, as the *Jews* and many others reckon that Day to be, which is sacred to the *Sun*, amongst you *Romans*; it might justly be look'd upon to bear Evidence of Divine Wisdom in it; that he, who gave Light to that great Luminary, and who may not unfitly be shadowed forth by it, should be celebrated on that Day.

And

And if the Sun's Day be *thus* disposed of, so as to be observed weekly, we may easily conclude, that we are divinely admonished to keep no Day in Memory of the *Moon*, or of *Mercury*, *Jupiter*, *Venus* or *Saturn*.

And thus I have given you a summary Account of the Character of a *Divine Hero*, as he must be the Reverse of the *Political One*. But, seeing the Generality of Men cannot be supposed to follow such an abstract Way of Reasoning, as I have now used; allow me to pre-occupy the only Objection, that can be used, as I think, with any shew of Reason, against what I have said. For I foresee, that you may readily tell me; Here is indeed a very specious and plausible Scheme. But all Men are not Philosophers, to see the Force of this Reasoning; and far less can it be supposed, that one of a thousand should discern the Divine Hero under all this Disguise.

Gallio. Aye, truely, Sir, you now come at length to that Objection against your Scheme, which my Mind has been full of, ever since you first started your Notion, in opposition to mine. And seeing I am big with it, allow me to ease my self by giving a Vent to that which lies so heavy upon my Thoughts. I readily own, that you have given us an evident Proof of your being a wise and accute Philosopher: and I am so far from being displeased upon the account of what you have said, that I assure you I was never so satisfied with any Discourse as with yours; as giving me a new Scheme of Philosophy. I am sensible now, that no *Political Hero* can ever fully reform the World or render it happy. And I pray Heaven therefore that we may be bless'd at length with a *Divine One*. And I confess, you have drawn a very fine Philosophical Scheme of such a one and his Management. But pray, Sir, seeing you were just about starting an Objection against it, let me give it you, in all its Strength, according as it does at present occur to my Thoughts. I shall, for this end, suppose, that your *Divine Hero* were just now in the World, acting that part you suppose he will act when

he comes. Now pray let me ask you, how it were ſuppoſable, that he could reach his end, which is the General Good of Mankind. I ſee you have foreſeen the Objection. But, for my own part, I cannot ſee what Anſwer can be given to it. I think I underſtand as much of the Generality of Men as you do, and that I am as impartial to my Light and Reaſon as almoſt any Man can be. Now ſhould I ſee and converſe with your Hero, and ſee him ſo barbarouſly treated by Men, as you ſay he muſt be; I think, tho I ſhould hate to have any hand in his Perſecution, yet I ſhould be ready to conclude, that he muſt ſecretly be a very wicked Perſon, whatever his Pretences might be. For, by your Scheme, Heaven and Earth muſt jointly oppoſe him, even to the laſt; at leaſt the Gods are repreſented as looking on and ſuffering Men to hound down their own *Hero*. I confeſs, Sir, upon the Suppoſition of this Man's Acting, as you have ſaid, his Generoſity muſt be ſurprizingly Great, even above all Thought. For what can there be imagin'd ſo Noble, ſo Brave, ſo Heroical and ſo Divine, as for one to deſign and carry on the Good of thoſe that hate and perſecute them, in ſpite of their Malice and Ignorance, and whether they will or no? But then, as Mankind is repreſented thus to be univerſally degenerate, ſo the Deity ſeems to be propoſed as acting a very odd part. For you ſuppoſe God to ſend this *Hero* (whom you make to be no leſs than his own Son) and yet to deſert him. I confeſs this is the true Notion of a Hero in the general. But then we always make our Hero's to come off bravely at laſt. I confeſs this was proper for your Scheme, ſeeing you make him the Reverſe of ours. And I own alſo, that you have ſalv'd the Caſe admirably, by making your Hero riſe from the Dead, and ſo receive his Glory and Reward afterwards. So, that I can readily yield you all you deſire to be granted, in theſe reſpects But then I inſiſt upon this, that Divine Wiſdom muſt give full Evidence to Men, that this Hero is of God's own ſending, and ſuch Evidence as may balance or over-balance the apparent Diſadvantages

tages that Men are laid under, who judge of things, from the outward appearance, and must therefore think it impossible that a Deity should, in assuming our Nature, for our Good, be exposed naked and defenceless in the World, in order to carry on such an end. Untie to me this *Gordian Knot*, if you can, and then, as we use to say, *eris mihi magnus Apollo*, I will look upon you to be as wise as even *Apollo* himself.

Paul. I was happily prevented by you, most Noble *Gallio*, as to the Objection, I was about to propose to my self. You have done it fully and to better purpose. For, besides that it appears more natural and sprightly, as coming from you; you have also happily interwoven some things, as yielded by you, that help to shorten my Work. For you have reduc'd all to one single Point, in the Supposition you have made; *viz.* That Divine Wisdom must, in this case, give full Evidence to Men, that this Hero is of God's own sending, and such Evidence as may balance or over-balance the apparent Disadvantages that Men are laid under, in other respects, who must be supposed, at least the Bulk of them, to judge of things according to outward appearance, and must therefore think it impossible that a Deity, in assuming our Nature, and that for our Good, in conjunction with God's own Honour, should yet be exposed, naked and defenceless in the wide World, in his carrying on such noble Ends and Purposes; nay, and so exposed, as to be (seemingly at least) deserted and persecuted by God himself as well as Men. Thus I have repeated your Supposition, and I hope you will allow me to have done it candidly, seeing I have labour'd, if possible, to render the Difficulty greater, by adding some Words that do represent it, as I think, with greater force. And now I proceed to discuss this matter.

The *Supposition* you have made, most noble *Sir*, is altogether just, and even absolutely necessary to be made, in this Case, as I was just about to have told you, when you prevented me. So that your Thoughts and mine

have been hitherto materially the ſame. The Queſtion therefore, that follows upon this *Suppoſition*, is; How, or in what way, muſt Divine Wiſdom be ſuppoſed to proceed, in bearing ſuch Evidence to this Hero, and in owning him in all his Actions and Sufferings, as that there may be full Proof, both to the Thoughts and even Senſes of Men, that he is indeed what we ſuppoſe him to be. Now, there are but *two Sorts* of Methods ſuppoſable, in which Divine Wiſdom can proceed, in giving ſuch plenary Evidence this way, as may fully ballance the Diſadvantages, that his mean Circumſtances and ſevere Sufferings, ſeem to put him under, in order, to reach his end; and conſequently alſo to put Men under, with reſpect to their judging aright of him and his Intentions.

The *firſt ſuppoſable* Method (if indeed it be at all ſuppoſable) is that of God's miraculous influencing or changing the Minds of all Mankind to receive, own, and ſubmit to this Divine Perſon and his Inſtitutions. But, tho this be *ſuppoſable* in the general, becauſe accompliſhable by Almighty Power, had God a mind thus to exert it; upon which account I thought fit to mention it here: Yet it is not *ſuppoſable* in this preſent Caſe, as being inconſiſtent with the Scheme I laid down; which made me add theſe Words: *If indeed it be at all ſuppoſable.* For if God ſhould change Mankind thus all at once, there were no need of any ſuch *Hero* at all: At leaſt it would render it impoſſible for him to ſuffer, becauſe all Men are ſuppoſed, by this, to fall in with him as a Divine Benefactor. And beſides, for God to change Mankind after ſuch a miraculous manner, were not to deal with Men as Men, ſeeing it would leave no room either for deliberate Reaſoning or free Choice, nor conſequently for the Reward of Virtue, in acting wiſely and honeſtly. Nay this were rather to alter and new-make Men, than to deal with them as rational Creatures and free Agents, with reſpect to Cure and Salvation, upon Terms. So that all things ſeem to concur, to render this Method impracticable, according to

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the preſent State and Circumſtances of Perſons and Things.

The *ſecond* Method therefore, and the *only* one, that Divine Wiſdom can be ſuppoſed to take, in this caſe, is to give all thoſe *Evidences*, that can be expected to be given, in reaſon, this way; in order to certify and aſſure the World, of the *Divine Miſſion* and *Commiſſion* of this *Hero*, in order to the Cure and Salvation of the World.

And therefore we are now brought to this Inquiry, what thoſe Evidences are, that are neceſſary to be given, in this Caſe, and which when given, amount to a plenary Demonſtration of the Divinity of this *Hero*; ſo far at leaſt as to put it beyond the Poſſibility of doubt (where Men allow themſelves to think impartially) that this ſame Perſon is owned by God, in all his Deſigns and Actions? And, as an Anſwer to this, I ſhall give you an Account of what I do humbly judge, muſt be done by God, in this Caſe, and which, if done, doth contain all that Men can conceive of, as neceſſary, or even convenient, to be performed by him, in order to Mens full Satisfaction, with reſpect to the Divinity of this Hero, as to his Miſſion, his Conduct of himſelf, and the Greatneſs and Integrity of his Scope and Intention. And, (1.) I think it neceſſary, that before this *Hero* be introduc'd upon the Stage of the World, there be not only a general Expectation of ſome ſuch Perſon; but that alſo Divine Wiſdom take care, to inſpire fit Perſons, from Age to Age, to propheſy of his Coming. And I think it highly congruous to Divine Wiſdom, that thoſe Propheſies be at firſt ſomething obſcure; and that the older Propheſies be gradually revived and confirm'd in ſubſequent Ages, by others; and that in ſuch a manner, that the nearer the time of his Appearing be, the more plain alſo the Predictions do appear. However I would have ſome of them to be ſo exact, as not only to tell the time of his Coming, but alſo to deſcribe ſome of the moſt eminent things relating to his Appearance, and particularly ſo, as may be deſcriptive

descriptive of his mean State, Sufferings and Death. And, that the Truth of these Prophesies may not be question'd, it is necessary also, not only that an Account of the Principal of them be preserved in Writing but that they be preserved in such a manner, that when the time of their Accomplishment comes, there may be sufficient Evidence, that they are not then obtruded upon the World, but that they were given forth and generally believed also; at least by that Nation to whom these Prophesies were first publish'd. (2.) Besides *Propheſies* previous to the coming of this Hero, I think it highly congruous to Divine Wisdom, and therefore, if not absolutely necessary, yet necessary *ex superabundanti*, (*i. e.* for the farther Confirmation of Men, with respect to their seeing and owning the Divine Care and Concern in this Matter;) That God do interweave previous *Signatures*, or *Hieroglyphical Strokes*, for this end, into his former Management of the World, at least of that part of it, and those Persons therein, that had most of his Presence and Countenance. Or to speak my sense more plainly, I would have God act so, from Age to Age, that some certain *Persons* may be raised up to act in such a manner, that when this *Hero* comes, it may appear, that they were so acted by God, as to carry along with them some Vestiges of the same Wisdom or Management, that was to discover it self more fully in him. And, besides *Persons*, I would have such a *Set* of *Ordinances* and *Ceremonies instituted*, as should be Emblematical of this Great Person, and of his Office and Conduct; and that in such a manner also, That when he himself comes, Wise Men may be able to look back upon them, and say, Surely all these were thus ordered, as a Train of things, that pointed at this *Hero*. In a word, I would have *such a number* of *Select Persons*, and *such an Institution*, as to Customs and Rites, as might be like a *Draught* of a *Building*, or *Plan* of a *City*, to be *afterwards* erected: But then, this must be so done, that *no one* of those Persons or those Customs be the Emblem of the *Whole* of this Great *Hero*; but only

only that *one* be Typical of him, in *one respect*, and *another* in *another*. As suppose a Great and Wise Emperor should design to erect a *Magnificent Structure*, and should draw a *Scheme* of it, without discovering the Whole to any Person or Persons at *once*; but should give at one time the *View* of the *Plan* of a *Porch*, at another time of a *Court-yard*, at another time of an *Out-House*, at another time *one Part* of the main *Mansion-House*, and then of *another Side*, and so on: Every Part would look very fine; but yet so, as no Man could easily guess what the *whole Plan* would be. But, if after a thousand particular Views, of distinct Parts, he should at length produce an *intire Model*, of the *whole* of his *Project* and *Scheme*, and that such a *Perfect One*, as to answer exactly to all the Views shew'd before, and to take them all in: Then the curious and skilful *Comparer* of things, would be surprized to see, how admirably the preceding particular *Schemes*, were answer'd, adjusted and taken in, in this *one compleat and perfect Model*. And yet this would appear to greater Satisfaction, if the curious *Spectator* of these *previous Schemes* of particular Parts, should be conducted to see a *perfect Edifice*, that all these answer'd to. For then he would be able to reflect that, the wise Artificer had projected this *Edifice* with design to render it a *perfectly finish'd Piece*; and that all those *previous Adumbrations* of this or the other Part, were not *meerly* design'd for the sake of themselves, or for Diversion and Amusement for a time; but as so many *Typical* or *Emblematical Representations*, of what was at length to be of standing Use. (3.) And, when this *Hero* comes; tho for the reason formerly assign'd, he must act under all manner of outward Discouragements; yet he must have such Gifts and Qualifications, as may lay a Foundation for Mens believing him to be a Divine Ambassador to Mankind. These things therefore must appear most conspicuously in him. 1. Such eminent Wisdom and Knowledge, as may strike Men with awe, and plainly discover him to be the most raised and elevated *Genius* that ever appeared. Which will so much the more

more ſurprize Men, if, tho young and deſtitute of all Education, he be found too hard a Match for the greateſt Sages of the World, even in thoſe Points that relate to their own particular Profeſſion. 2. His Holineſs and Purity muſt be as peculiarly eminent, as his Wiſdom; even ſuch, that the exacteſt Critick may find it impoſſible to find any one real flaw in his Conduct, or any Defect or Sin in his Life and Converſation. 3. He muſt evidence himſelf, to be the moſt generouſly diſpos'd Perſon, that ever appear'd, in making it his Buſineſs always to go about and to do good, both to the Minds and Bodies of Men. And this he muſt do, in the moſt diſintereſted manner in the World, that it may evidently appear, that he is wholly ſelf-deny'd as to Paſſion, Prejudice, or any private Regard, and that his ſole End is the general and publick Good of Men, without any the leaſt Reſentment againſt even his worſt Enemies. 4. He muſt evidence himſelf to know the very Hearts of Men, as a Proof of his unlimited Knowledge. For, being a *Divine Legiſlator*, he muſt give Law to the Mind, as well as to the outward Man, (which no *merely Human* or *Political Legiſlator* ever did or can do:) and therefore muſt give Proof of his ability this way, by diſcovering his Infiniteneſs of Knowledge, by ſhewing, in more than one Inſtance, that he knows the Secrets of Mens Minds, by an intuitive View of them. 5. And he muſt give Proof of his Knowledge of Things future as well as of what is paſt or is preſent, by predicting ſuch things, that could not be known by any but God himſelf, or thoſe that are inſpired by him to know them. 6. But, in a peculiar manner he muſt be endowed with ſuch Power, as no Man ever diſcover'd. He muſt cure all manner of Diſtempers by a bare word, and that in his own Name, and by his own Authority. He muſt demonſtrate himſelf to be the God of Nature, as *E.G.* by commanding the Air and Water, upon ſome occaſion or other. Nay, he muſt raiſe the Dead when he has a Mind: and ſo order Matters,

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as to give Proof of his Authority over Dæmons or Spirits; that it may be ſeen that he is Lord of the inviſible World as well as of this. And, which is ſtill more, he muſt not only riſe again, but give Evidence that he raiſed himſelf by his own Power; and that conſequently he is more than a mere Man. Nay, what if I ſay further, that it will not only be neceſſary to raiſe his Human Nature, after Death; but alſo that he act ſo in the firſt Aſſumption of this Nature, that it may evidently appear, that he was not an ordinary Man or Deſcendant from Man, but that he did by his own Power form to himſelf the Human Nature, *i. e.* to ſpeak plain, he muſt form to himſelf a Body in the Womb of a Virgin, who never knew Man. Now, as he muſt thus give Proof of an Almighty Power, by innumerable Miracles: So he muſt openly declare that theſe are done, as Signs of his Father's approving him in all things; that ſo the Miracles may be properly *Evidential* ones. For, if upon this Declaration, eſpecially if there be at any time, an open and ſolemn Appeal to Heaven this way, God do continue to concur to work Miracles in or by him; it muſt then be ſelf-evident, that God approves him in every thing, and expects we ſhould do ſo too: unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that the Great God ſhould thus concur to confirm an Impoſtor, in his wicked Deſign of putting an univerſal Cheat upon Men, in the Matters of the greateſt Importance to their Souls, and that for ever. Which is a greater Abſurdity, in my Opinion, than to ſay there is no God. For his Eſſential Notion being that of *the Infinite Being*, and conſequently, in relation to us, *the Supreme Good*; it is more blaſphemous and abſurd, to ſay he is a *monſtrous* or *wicked Deity*, than to ſay, that *he is not*: For, beſides that the latter is involved or ſuppoſed in the other (ſeeing he cannot be a Deity that is any way defective or evil, that being the very oppoſite Notion) it is direct Contradiction, as well as the higheſt Blaſphemy in it ſelf; for Infinity being the higheſt Perfection of Being,

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and *Monſtrofity* or *Wickedneſs* involving Deficiency in the very Word and Notion; it is impoſſible that *theſe* and *Infinity* ſhould be conſiſtent or meet in one and the ſame Being. Therefore God, being infinitely Good, muſt of neceſſity oppoſe ſuch an Impoſtor, as ſhall (eſpecially in Matters of the higheſt importance) appeal to him, to aſſiſt him to work Miracles. So that he that does ſo again and again, before Multitudes of Spectators, and that in ſuch a way, as it is impoſſible it ſhould be Juggle only (as ſuppoſe in raiſing a dead Man, after being three Days in his Coffin and Grave;) and is evidently countenanc'd this way by God, by the continuance of this miraculous Power: I ſay, he that does ſo, and is thus aſſiſted, muſt of neceſſity be own'd by God, to be that which he gives himſelf out to be, when he makes this Appeal or Declaration, and ſhews undoubted and frequent Miracles, as evidential of his Being from God. But, (4.) I think, it will be neceſſary alſo, in order to this Hero's being known to be the Great Ambaſſador of God to Men, That Heaven it ſelf ſhould give evident Demonſtration, of a real Concern for this Glorious Perſon, and the Succeſs of his Negotiation. And therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that there muſt be ſeveral *concurring* Divine Appearances and Atteſtations, in order to the calling back the Thoughts of Men from worldly Conſiderations, to an attentive and ſerious Contemplation of this Great Perſon and his Meſſage. And I do therefore humbly conceive, that it will be very proper, if ſuch a Method as this be fallen upon. 1. That for ſome conſiderable time before the actual Appearing of this *Hero*, there ſhould be a *Ceſſation* of both *Propheſy*, and the *Power of working Miracles* in the World, even in that Province or Country, where this Great Perſon is to be born. I ſaid before, that it was neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſucceſſive Prophets, who from Age to Age, ſhould ſpeak of the coming of this Prince; and I did ſuppoſe that you would underſtand, that ſuch inſpired Men ſhould be empow'red to work more or fewer Miracles: For theſe are neceſſary, to aſcertain Men, that their Propheſies

phesies were indeed from God, and not Delusions, or the Product of a heated Imagination. But now, under this Head, I must suppose, that it will be highly congruous to the Maxims of Divine Wisdom, and very proper, in order to pave the way for the readier Reception of this Prince; that God suspend the Efflux of both the Gifts of Prophesy and working Miracles, for a considerable time before his Coming. And my Reason is this, that when this Hero comes, and evidences himself to be the very same Person that the old Prophets spoke of, his Prophesies and Miracles may be the more conspicuous and taken notice of; and may therefore seem to insinuate this, that God had withdrawn these extraordinary Gifts from mere Men, because he was to send him, that was the true Spring and Original of them, into the World. And, tho I cannot pretend to say positively how long these Gifts must cease in the World before this Prince's Coming, yet I think it necessary that it should be for more Ages than one. And I think it may not be an incongruous, far less impertinent, Conjecture, if I should suppose, that this Cessation or Suspension should be for as many hundred of Years, as they had continued for thousands. Let us suppose then, that this Prince be born exactly after 4000 Years had elapsed from the Creation of the World, (a little after which, upon the Supposition of Man's Lapse, and consequently need of being set right again, we must reckon the first Prophesy concerning this Hero to have been given out) I think we may very well suppose, that the Cessation of these Gifts should continue for 400 Years or thereabouts. But then, 2. When this Prince comes to be born; it must be precisely in *the Fullness of Time*. What I mean by this I may afterwards explain. And therefore I am not willing to detain you this way now. Only that I may not seem to use an Expression without any determinate Sense or Significancy, I tell you that I mean such a Time, wherein Mankind has so far propagated its Kind, as sufficiently to fill the whole World; and such a time, wherein Arts and Philosophy

loſophy have come to the higheſt Elevation; and, in a word, ſuch a Time, wherein all Circumſtances concur to determine it to be the moſt proper Time that Divine Wiſdom could make choice of, in order to the ſending ſuch a Divine Embaſſador into the World. And truely I am perfectly of the ſame Opinion, with the Excellent *Gallio*, that no more proper time ever was, for ſuch a one to make his publick Appearance and Entry into the World, than that was when *Auguſtus* died, and *Tiberius* came to the Throne. But of this more afterwards. 3. However, let the time of this Prince's Appearing be what it will, we muſt ſuppoſe it neceſſary, that ſome very memorable things ſhould happen to prepare the way for it. And I think ſome ſuch things muſt be ſuppoſed to fall out, as I ſhall juſt now hint to you: and I leave you to judge whether any things more proper, in order to reach this end, can well be thought of, *E.G.* if an Eminent Perſon ſhould be born juſt a little before this, whoſe Birth ſhould be miraculous, and at the time of whoſe Birth, Prophecy ſhould begin to be revived, and which Perſon ſhould be made uſe of to prepare Men, in an extraordinary way, for the Reception of this Divine Hero; giving evident Demonſtration of his being that long expected and moſt Glorious Prince. This I think may be juſtly look'd upon to be very expedient in order to this Prince's Reception; eſpecially if God ſo order it, that he be mark'd out to be ſuch, not only by him as Uſher to him, after his publick Miniſtration for this end; but before he came to the due Exerciſe of Reaſon; and more eſpecially, if this Acknowledgment be miraculous likewiſe. But, beſides this, it will be convenient, if not neceſſary likewiſe, that God manifeſt himſelf in behalf of this Hero, both before his Birth, (and even Conception) and at his Birth, and afterwards, by ſome ſuch Appearances as theſe; *viz.* By Viſions of Angels, celebrating his Nativity, to be ſeen and heard by Perſons leaſt liable to invent ſuch things, and in a Method that might take away all Suppoſition this way; By the Creation of ſome new

new *Phænomenon* in Nature, that might call all Men to contemplate and consider it with Wonder; By impressing the Minds of some of the greatest Sages in the World, at a great distance from the Place of his Birth, to understand the meaning of it, and to take a long Journey, to pay their Homage to this Great Prince, and that so as to own him as the Divine Hero, tho under the greatest Disguise at that time; By putting the Government, this way, upon a Consultation of the Wise Men, and learned in such things, what all this must mean, and, in order to be satisfied, ordering an Exact Inquiry to be made into the Ancient approved Prophesies that were believed to relate to this Person; By their unanimous Determination, as to the Place of his Birth, and so concluding, that, probably at least, this was indeed the long expected Hero; By the Governments acquiescing in this Determination, and the Prince's Fear, least he should be put from his Royal Dignity, by his Means; By his wicked Design, to make sure of destroying him in the Bud, and so acting a bloody Tragedy this way; and By God's defeating him in his own Method, and preserving the young Prince, in spite of all his Craft and Power. But further, we must suppose, that God do attest from Heaven, that this is his own Son, and the Saviour of Men, as soon as this Prince begins to make his Appearance. And this must be done more solemnly and remarkably afterwards to select Witnesses. And, as God must give Demonstration of his being such a Person, during his Life; so, in a most special manner, at his Death. Nature it self must be so managed, that he, tho then suffering, may be seen and own'd to be the God of Nature. Some miraculous Signs must therefore be then given, *viz.* such as a Preternatural Eclipse of this World's Chief Luminary, the Sun; the rending (c) the Rocks, in an unusual

(c) *A worthy Gentleman, that travelled through* Canaan *told me, that an ingenious Person his Fellow-Traveller, who was a Deist, used to make merry*

manner; and the raiſing of the Dead. And, when afterwards he ſhall raiſe himſelf (as I ſaid before) from the Dead, I think it will be neceſſary, that he remain in this World for ſome conſiderable time, at leaſt ſo long, as to have Opportunity to converſe with ſo many Perſons, and that ſo frequently, that it may be beyond doubt that he was actually alive. I pretend not to reckon what number of Days or Weeks are neceſſary this way: But I think, that if he continue on Earth ſo long as to appear to proper Witneſſes, for above a Month, it may be ſufficient. So that I ſhould think, that near a Month and a half, or about 40 Days were a very competent time, for ſuch an end. But to confirm this further, it may alſo be ſuppoſed to be highly reaſonable and proper, that he ſhould not remove from Earth to Heaven clandeſtinely, but openly and viſibly, and ſo, that there might be juſt reaſon to believe, that he was actually gone to God, and that with the higheſt Evi-

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merry with all the Stories that the Romiſh Prieſts entertain'd them with, as to the Sacred Places and Reliques they went to ſee; and particularly when they firſt ſhew'd him the Clefts in the Rock of Mount Calvary, *which is now included within the Great* Dome *that was built over it, by* Conſtantine *the Great. But when he came to examine the Clefts more narrowly and critically, he told his Fellow-Travellers, that now he began to be a Chriſtian. For, ſaid he, I have been long a Studient of Nature, and the Mathematicks, and I am ſure theſe Clefts and Rents in this Rock were never made by a natural or ordinary Earthquake. For, by ſuch a Concuſſion the Rock muſt have ſplit, according to the Veins, and where it was weakeſt in the Adheſion of the Parts. For thus, ſaid he, I have obſerv'd it to have been done in other Rocks, when ſeparated or broken after an Earthquake: And Reaſon tells me it muſt always be ſo. But it is quite otherwiſe here: For the Rock is ſplit quite a-thwart, and croſs the Veins, in a moſt ſtrange and preternatural, or ſupernatural manner. This therefore I can eaſily and plainly ſee to be the Effect of a real Miracle, which neither Nature nor Art could have ever effected. And therefore, ſaid he, I thank God that I came hither, to ſee this ſtanding Monument of a miraculous Power, by which God gives Evidence, to this Day, to the Divinity of Chriſt. He that will look into* Sandys *his Travels, will ſee ſome Account of theſe Clefts in the Rock of* Calvary, *together with a ſmall Copper Cut that repreſents them: Tho Mr.* Sandys *ſeems not to have viewed them ſo critically as this Gentleman did afterwards.*

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dence of his Approbation. And yet all these things must be so manag'd, in a Consistency with what I said before, that it may be seen, that nothing of Human Policy, or so much as like it, can be discerned in all this Procedure. And therefore he must not immediately give such Demonstrations to all Men in gross: For this were to leave no room, either for Ratiocination or Faith, or consequently for Virtue. But the immediate Witnesses must be a select Company, *viz.* of such Men, as he is afterwards to make principal Use of in carrying on his Design; and the Veracity of whose Testimony (lest they should be suspected, as self-interested or partial) he must afterwards confirm by miraculous Gifts, Signs and Appearances. And this leads me forward to another thing, that I shall propose further, in the (*5th*) Place; *viz.* That the Divine Appearances, Confirmatory of the Divinity of his Person, Mission, Doctrine and Design, must not end with his Resurrection and Ascention; but must be continued afterwards: That it may not only appear, that he is alive in Heaven, and received there with the utmost Applause, but that as a peculiar Reward, he is intrusted with the immediate Management of all Human Affairs, and that he carries them on, in a Method every way congruous to those most excellent Purposes, for the carrying on of which he came into the World. And here I do suppose, that it will be highly congruous to these Ends, if not absolutely necessary: 1. That he do, pursuant to his Promise when on Earth, send down such an Efflux of Divine Energy, upon his Friends, whom he had selected to carry on his Ends, as may be justly the matter of Astonishment to all Men. Let us suppose then, that there be a Divine and Extraordinary Appearance upon them, as Emblematical of their Mission and Commission from God, and that in the View of a mixt Multitude of Spectators from several Parts of the World; And that, upon this strange Appearance and Sign, every one of those, thus mark'd out by Heaven, be immediately wrought upon, by so new and wonderful a Change, as to be, as it were me-

tamorphoz'd, on a ſudden, from being ordinary Men, to be extraordinary Ones; and to give Evidence of this, by being, more or leſs, indowed with the Gift of working Miracles, and of ſpeaking thoſe Languages they underſtood nothing of before, and of underſtanding them that ſpoke ſuch Tongues and Dialects, as they underſtood nothing of formerly. But, 2. In all the Miracles they work, they muſt ever own, that it is by a delegated Power from this Hero, that they act. And this they muſt do, ſo as not only to diſclaim all ſuch Power, as flowing from themſelves, but alſo ſo, as to ſpecify this Hero, by Name, as the only immediate Source and Original thereof: That thus his Exaltation and Authority may be evidently ſeen, by this Appropriation of all this Power to him, leſt otherwiſe, if they did ſpeak, in the Name of God, in general Terms only, Mens Minds might be confounded ſo, as not to diſcern, at leaſt diſtinctly, that all theſe Gifts and Miracles were directly intended to aſcertain Men, as to the omnimodous Divinity of this Great Prince and Benefactor of Men. 3. Theſe extraordinary Gifts muſt not only be beſtowed on this or the other particular Perſon, that ſhall yield himſelf to be the Diſciple and Subject of this Prince; but, more or leſs upon them all, at leaſt for ſome conſiderable time after his Aſcention. And, becauſe we muſt ſuppoſe, as I ſaid before, that his Ends muſt be reach'd, without any worldly Policy, or ſo much as Human Aids and Aſſiſtance; therefore, to balance all Diſadvantages of this kind, we muſt ſuppoſe, that theſe extraordinary Gifts muſt be continued in the Society of his Followers for more than one Age. For they muſt not ceaſe totally, until ſuch time, that the Hero's Doctrine come to be generally receiv'd in the World, and be eſtabliſh'd by the prevailing Powers, and even incorporated into their Conſtitution and Law. When this comes to paſs, as we muſt ſuppoſe it will at laſt, there will be no further need of ſuch Gifts, at leaſt, as to any ſtated Exerciſe of them. But till then, it will be neceſſary that they be continued; tho not

not with equal Universality, yet so, as they may not be removed all at once, but gradually; and then cease to be (at least in such a manner as formerly) when the Hero's Philosophy and Laws shall receive the Civil Sanction from the Rulers of the Empire and its Provinces. And therefore, 4. This Hero must be supposed so to manage Affairs, from Heaven, as the Seat of his Empire, as at length to conquer the whole World by degrees; and that in such a manner, that the Sufferings of his Followers, and the miraculous Gifts bestowed upon them, together with a Divine Energetical Power accompanying both, may be seen to be made use of, as interwoven one with another, in order to the Conviction and Conversion of the World to the Interests of this Great Prince. For he must not conquer, by human Force, as other Conquerors (who may thus indeed make Men Slaves, but never can make them Converts;) but by the constraining Evidence of naked Truth and undisguised Virtue and Honesty. Now, if all these things concur, I confess my Self at a loss to think of any one thing more, that can be supposed to be wanting, as to Divine Appearances, in order to satisfy Men, that this Hero is truely Divine, and of God's own sending, in order to the true and eternal Benefit of Men. However there is one thing, that I must further add, as that which is as necessary as any thing I have said, with respect to this end. And therefore, tho it be not exactly of the same kind, yet I shall mention it here, seeing it is calculated to reach the same end with the former. Therefore I add, in the (*6th*) Place, that it will be necessary, not only that this Prince do come again, at the end of time, as the visible and great Judge of Men, to call them to an Account, as to their Behaviour in this World; But also, that all those that know of his first coming, have sufficient Reason to convince them of the Certainty of his Second Coming, and that he will come then in the most solemn, august and aweful Manner, as the Supream and universal Judge of the World. For the Knowledge of this will be one of the most effectual

Methods, that possibly can be, to ingage Men to fall in with this Prince and his Institutions, notwithstanding his Disguise and mean Appearance; seeing they must thus be supposed to understand, that tho he act, as it were, *Incognito* at first, he will appear, in all the Splendor of the Deity at last, and reward or punish Men according to their Desarts. And therefore that this may be believed, he must not only make the Article of his Second Coming a Fundamental One, and accordingly give a plain and full account of it; but he must likewise confirm this and all the other essential Parts of his Philosophy, by the Concurrence of such Divine Appearances, as I have been mentioning, and by the continuance of the Gift and Power of Miracles, with those that propagate this Doctrine, in order to be thus Confirmatory thereof.

And now, I have at length come to an end of the Task, laid upon me by the most Excellent *Seneca*, as to the Great Question I was to speak to. I confess I may seem to have been too prolix: But, when the Greatness of the Subject is considered, I perswade my self of an easy Pardon from such Equitable and Judicious Judges. For I do really think, that I have mentioned nothing, but what was material, and that I have not dwelt upon any one Head longer than was just necessary to render it clear. So, that I may rather fear, that my Care not to be tedious, may have left the matter under some disadvantage to you, in point of Obscuriry. But then I promise my self, that your piercing Wit and elevated Minds will prevent this Disadvantage; and that therefore, tho my Brevity might render my Subject and Design obscure to others, yet it will not have any such Effect upon you.

Seeing therefore you have had Patience, to hear me out, in giving you a Resolution of the Great Question propos'd; I must earnestly beg you to bear with me further, in making some Application of it, in order to my answering the further Desire and Expectation of the Learned *Seneca*, as to the second Task, or second Part of it, which he has injoyn'd me. There-

Therefore, *2dly*, Seeing I am desir'd, to inform you, upon what Grounds I do so confidently assert, that this *Hero*, we have been discoursing of, is come already; and that *Jesus*, whom we Christians adore, is *he*: I come now to answer your Expectation, in this Respect also, if you will allow me (as I desire and hope you will) a fair and impartial Hearing. And seeing I foresee that my Discourse may bear hard upon *Sosthenes*, tho I shall be far from using any hard or grating Expressions to irritate him; I hope the Presence of two such Roman Princes, and the Consideration of the Decency, that was resolved upon, in our entring upon this Free Conference, will prevail with him, not to interrupt me. For I do honestly promise, that I shall represent things just as they are; and that I shall be ready afterwards to hear and answer any Objections, that shall be made against me, either by you or him, with all the Calmness and Fairness I am capable of, and with the greatest Readiness to yield to Truth, in what Scale soever it be found to lie. For whether I yield to you or you to me, it ought ever to be remembred, that neither of us can be properly said to conquer or be conquered; but that Truth, which I hope we are all of us ready to yield to, is the Conqueror of all, and we the Disciples and Subjects thereof. To proceed therefore.

Whereas I have given you an *Abstract View* of the Character of a *Divine Hero*, I have nothing to do now but to make Application of it to *him*, that we know by the Name of *Jesus Christ*, *i. e.* the *Divine Saviour who is the Messiah*. For *Jesus* or *Joshua* signifies a Saviour, in the Hebrew Language, as *Sosthenes* knows. And *Christ* is the Greek Word, that answers to the Hebrew Name *Messiah*; both of them denoting one that is *Anointed*. Now the most Illustrious Kings and High-Priests, and the most Eminent Prophets of the Jewish Nation being anointed with Oil, when set apart to their several Offices, (as *Sosthenes* has already said) hence the Prophets give the Name of the *Messiah* or the *Anointed*, by way Eminency, to the Divine Hero, that they were

ever expecting; in order thus to Characterize him, as *he* that was to be King, Prieſt and Prophet, in the moſt perfect manner. So that the Union of theſe two Names denotes his being the *Divine Hero*, who was to ſave Men according to the moſt elevated Senſe of the Word Salvation, as being the *Meſſiah* or *Divinely Anointed*, or commiſſioned and appointed Perſon for this Work.

In order therefore to give you an Idea of this *Jeſus Chriſt*, I ſhall demonſtrate to you, that all the Parts of the Character of the *Divine Hero* do perfectly meet in him.

Whereas therefore I told you, (1.) That the Divine Hero muſt neceſſarily act ſuch a Part, and carry on his Great Ends, in ſuch a way, as that it might be ſeen, that there was nothing of Human Policy or worldly Wiſdom in the Caſe; and that therefore he muſt be the very Reverſe of Political Hero's or Princes: I need only to appeal to your ſelves, whether our Jeſus did not exactly proceed in ſuch a Method. Indeed ſo notorious this is, that his mean Circumſtances and Appearance, together with his Sufferings, have been the only things, from whence his Enemies have fetch'd their Arguments againſt his being the Meſſiah. And I have often admired the Divine Wiſdom, in this very caſe. For, as all Men, that oppoſe us, are careful to preſerve the Narrative of the principal Facts and Circumſtances of his Life and Death, on purpoſe to ridicule and run him down this way; they are not aware of the vaſt Reach of Divine Wiſdom, in out-witting and defeating their Deſign, and eſtabliſhing the Truth of Chriſtianity, by their own Conceſſions. For theſe very Matters of Fact, are all we deſire, in order to prove our Point by. As therefore the Facts are too certainly and univerſally known to be now denied; ſo I queſtion not but that God will take ſuch care, that the Memory of them ſhall never be loſt in the World, but ſo preſerv'd, that it ſhall never be in the Power of any Man, to arrive at that Impudence, as flatly to deny them, unleſs he

he mean to be hooted at by every Body, as equally mad and wicked.

But, tho you have heard a great many things concerning this *Jesus*, yet perhaps you have not had an Account of him, with all those Circumstances, that are necessary to your being able to form a just Judgment of him, as a *Divine Hero*. And therefore I shall give you a succinct Historical Relation of the plain Matters of Fact that relate to him, which can be proved by many thousands of Witnesses yet alive, in case any Person should call any of them in question. But seeing, as I said, even those that are his greatest and most inveterate Enemies own them to be true, at least as to the main of them, I can fear no Opposition this way. And you may remember that *Sosthenes* made use of some of the Principal of them, as Topicks that he thought he might justly argue from, against our *Jesus* his being the *Messiah*. To proceed therefore:

The Historical Character of our Jesus is, in short, this: (1.) That he was descended from the ancient Lineage of *David*, the first Hero and King of the Jewish Family and Nation, according to the Prophesies that did of old, determine, that the Messiah must be the Lineal Descendent of that Great and Good Prince. And that this is true, the exact Genealogies of the Families of our Nation, which the Jews are critical in above all others, will evince to a Demonstration, if any Person will take the pains to be informed (*d*). So that we can shew (which no Prince besides in the World can pretend to) the intire Genealogy of Christ, in a lineal Succession from the First Parent of Mankind. But *Herod*, an Ambitious and Political Ruler, tho an Alien and Usurper, had the Chief Command of the Jewish Nation, when our *Jesus* was born. So that, tho he was by lineal and successive Right the true and proper

(*d*) *Several of the Fathers, particularly,* Just. Mart. Apol. 2. & Tertull. in Marc. 4. 19. *appeal for the Truth of this to the Censual Tables, extant*

per King of the Jews; yet his Family was reduc'd to ſo low a State by Oppreſſion, that his Mother was eſpouſed to no higher a Perſon, than a poor Country Carpenter, tho he were originally deſcended from the ſame Stock with her ſelf, *i. e.* from another Son of the ſame *David*. Thus our *Jeſus* was deſcended, that he might be oppoſed, as to his Right, in all reſpects. But, as *Herod* thought it Policy to degrade this Family, that it might inſenſibly be obliterated, by being rendred Contemptible: Divine Wiſdom, which knew how to turn things, in a quite other Channel, thought fit, that his Son ſhould aſſume the Human Nature, from one indeed nobly Deſcended, but in ſuch mean Circumſtances, that he might not have any polite, far leſs political Education; nay to ſpeak the matter fully, no literate Education at all. Therefore, (2.) Our *Jeſus* was ſo far from being born to the Inheritance of the greateſt Empire of the World; that he was born one of the meaneſt Perſons in the World. For lower he could not well have been, to have had a Name to come of an honeſt and creditable, tho at that time mean Family. (3.) So far therefore was he, from having all the Education the World could afford him, that we are aſſured, (*e*) He had not ſo much as the Knowledge of Letters from any Man. For it ſeems his Parents were ſo poor, that they could not afford ſo much as to pay for his being taught the Hebrew Alphabet, or any other Part of the Rudiments of Learning. (4.) He was very far therefore from being taught the Principles and Rules of either Philoſophy, Eloquence, Policy, Military Skill or courtly Breeding. And, tho it is certain he knew all theſe things, and every thing knowable beſides (which muſt have been immediately from God himſelf;)

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extant in their times, which were made by order of Auguſtus Cæſar. *In which* Joſeph *and* Mary *are mention'd amongſt others, as being taxed at* Bethlehem, *becauſe deſcended from* David; *tho they themſelves dwelt in* Galilee. (*e*) Joh. 7. 15.

yet

yet it is plain, from all his Conduct, that he perfectly despised these, according to the Estimate that Men usually put upon them. For he taught a Philosophy more noble, than any that ever yet obtain'd in the World. He spake freely, but without Artifice or Affectation of Ornament. He spoke the Truth, without any regard for Names or Parties. Trick he abhor'd, and every thing that veer'd towards it. And tho he honour'd human Governours, as such, tho he affected no such Authority himself; yet he durst censure and reprove their Vices, when open and hurtful, without any mean or servile regard to their Power. (5.) He was so far from affecting Riches, that he had neither House, Land nor Money; but was so poor, as to be maintain'd *(f)* by the Charity of others, and those not rich or great, but of such mean Circumstances, as to have but just a Competency themselves. So that their Charity and Benevolence was no more than what they could just spare, by a frugal Management; and therefore was far from putting him in any Capacity to attempt any Change or Alteration of the State or Constitution that obtain'd then. (6.) He had therefore neither Place, Pension nor Gift to bestow upon any of his mean Followers. And so far was he from any Promise this way, that he carefully forwarn'd them of Persecution, Contempt and the loss of all worldly things, if they meant to follow him. (7.) So far then was he from allowing, or abetting any evil Custom, or using any Dissimulation this way; that he did constantly declaim against all Vices, tho never so fashionable, and strictly required all Men to be virtuous, let the Consequences be what they would. (8.) And therefore there was no need of his acting so, as to put a fair Face on his Compliance with Vice. For he never complied with any. (9.) He was indeed the most comly and majestick Person, that ever appeared in the World, exactly and perfectly symmetred, and

(f) Luke 8. 3.

of

of the most venerable Aspect. For it was necessary he should be such, who assum'd Human Nature, without Sin or Imperfection. But then he took care to vail this Noble Appearance, by an ordinary Habit: Which, tho neat and comely in it self, and someway (*g*) emblematical of his Integrity and being all of a Piece, was yet so mean, that no Man could suppose, that any Prince or Great Man would be seen in it, even when acting *Incognito* or under Disguise. (10.) He show'd himself impartial, as in all other respects, so particularly in that, which the mistaken Philosophy of Men has hitherto celebrated as the greatest Virtue; I mean the partial and divided Love, of what Men call their Country, in opposition to all the World besides, and particularly those Nations that are Neighbouring to it, especially if at Enmity with it. For, tho Heaven was properly his Country, yet having become Man, the whole World was such to him, and all Mankind his Relatives, tho, in a more special manner, (*b*) those that fell in with his Institutions. To serve them all, especially such, was his Ambition, without any little regard to this or the other Spot of Earth, or the *Shibbolah* or Discrimination of Language or Dialect; which he did with that Heroicalness, as to resolve to save them, whither they would or not, in spite of all their Enmity and Opposition. To love only those that lov'd him, was too mean for his great Soul. And it was not consistent with his divinely elevated Genius, to act so inconsistent and degenerous a part; as to condemn other Mens Hatred to him, and to patronize their doing so, at the same time, by returning Hatred for Hatred, or Evil for Evil. For, tho their Enmity was unjust, yet he knew this proceeded from Ignorance and mistaken

(*g*) *For so we may justly reckon his Coat to have been, which was all of a Piece,* Joh. 19. 23. *tho it was also thus ordered in Providence,* v. 24. *that an ancient Prophesy,* viz. *that in* Psal. 22. 19. *might be fulfilled.*
(*b*) Luke 23. 19, 20, &c.

No-

Notions; and therefore he consider'd them as the Objects of Pity and Compassion, and not of Hatred or Prosecution. And hence he laid down this noble Rule to himself, *to do to them, not as they did to him, but as they ought to have done.* Which Rule he therefore fixed, as a Fundamental Maxim of his Constitution; That (*i*) *What we would desire or wish others to do to us, we should do to them; and what we disapproved in them, we should avoid to do our selves to them.* And indeed, how odd is this partial Love to ones Country, if duely considered? For, if we are for confining our Love at all, there will be no stop at length, if we act by this Principle of Partiality. For, if I am to love those that speak the same Dialect or Language, and are under the Prevalency of such a Constitution, and such Laws and Customs, and who inhabit such a Part of the World, *E.G. Judæa, Greece* or *Italy*; I may be led from larger to smaller Inclosures, by the same sort of Reasoning. And so I may come to hate all those, that were not born in the same City or Village; and from thence to hate all that are not the Natives of the same Street, and consequently those that were not born under the same Roof. And then it will be equally or more natural, to set up my self in opposition to all Mankind. Which if I do, my Reason must tell me, that every one ought to do the same. So that at length, by this selfish Principle, Men are led to act as so many wild Individuals, who set up for *Anarchy* and *Ataxie*, that is, for dissolving all Relations, Ties, Constitutions, *&c.* And what is this, but to declare against Reason, Nature, Order and Virtue, and to appear for Madness, Ruin, Confusion, and Wickedness? Judge therefore, my Friends, whether my great Master *Jesus* did not act a wise and generous part, though opposite to all your Philosophies and Notions. For, his Design being *the general Good of Men*, the Prosecution of *that* must be in such a way, as that he must be sup-

(*i*) Matth. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31.

posed

poſed to deſtroy all irregular Incloſures; ſo as to engage his Followers (*k*) to *love thoſe that hated them, to bleſs thoſe that reviled them, and to do good to thoſe that injur'd them, and were their greateſt Oppreſſors.* For, as *divide & impera*, divide in order to overcome and ruin was the Devil's Maxim firſt, and then the wicked Politicians Rule: So my Lord, who was to bring univerſal Love into the World, muſt be ſuppos'd to eſtabliſh a Principle in his Government, quite oppoſite to that, by which the Devil had ſo far prevail'd over Mankind, as firſt to ingage them in different Intereſts, and then to hound them on to one anothers Deſtruction, and that under the ſpecious Pretence of Vertue too. A Politick Contrivance, I confeſs; for we all know that there is no Hatred ſo cruel, as that which a Man thinks he is oblig'd to, from a Principle of Virtue or Religion. But how ſtrange an Infatuation is this, when we conſider, that Hatred to Men is what all ſober Reaſon, and conſequently all that deſerves the Name of Religion, muſt oblige us to look upon as Inhuman? But to go on, (11.) The bleſſed *Jeſus* acted ſo, that every one that knows any thing of his Hiſtory muſt own, that he was not more concern'd to do good, than not to be known to have done ſo; and therefore his Care was to enjoin thoſe whom he miraculouſly cured, that they ſhould *tell no Man* who it was that wrought the Cure. For here alſo, he was deſirous to live down another grand Error of the Philoſophies and Sentiments that hitherto have ſo univerſally prevailed in the World, *viz.* that Happineſs ſtood in what they call'd Fame; that is, in being generally talk'd of in the World. As if a Man's Felicity conſiſted in what was wholly foreign to him. A ſtrange Whim, and wholly ridiculous in it ſelf, as being contradictory to impartial Reaſoning. No Man perhaps ever made a greater Noiſe in the World than *Julius Cæſar* and *Octavius Auguſtus*; but, as they were un-

(*k*) Matth. 5. 43, 44, 45.

known

known to all the Ages that preceeded their time, ſo what are they now the better though they ſhould be known to all ſucceeding Generations? A few Letters, caſt into this and the other Form, is all that Poſterity can know of them, as denoting that two Perſons who liv'd at ſuch a time were ſo and ſo dignified, and acted after ſuch a manner. But if they are talk'd of long and variouſly, as Mens Information concerning them may be, or according to the Ideas that Men have of Perſons and Things, and by which they are apt to judge of them, are they either the better or the worſe? And yet, upon the account of this *Chimæra*, call'd Fame, theſe Men ſeem to have been prompted to do as they did. If they did any thing great, it was that they might be fam'd for it. And ſo they acted as other Political or Worldly Heroes did before them. But *Jeſus* manifeſted himſelf to be acted by another Spirit. He valu'd not Popularity or empty Applauſe: No, no, his Concern was to flee from it. For, when the *Jews*, mov'd by the Miracles he wrought, were at length perſwaded that he was the *Meſſiah*, (notwithſtanding all the Inſinuations of their Rulers and Doctors to the contrary,) and were therefore (*l*) reſolv'd to take him by force, and proclaim him King; he was forc'd to abſcond and hide himſelf, to prevent their Deſign of ſeating him thus upon the Throne of his Anceſtors. So that he was in this, as in all other things, the exact Reverſe of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and ſuch like worldly Princes. (12.) As therefore they were careful to deſtroy or otherwiſe take off all thoſe that ſtood in the way of their Glory, my Maſter Chriſt was wholly concern'd to ſave Men, and to render them, in a true and ſpiritual Senſe, Good and Great, without affecting to be prais'd for it. And therefore he had nothing to do, either with Court or Camp, or any thing that the great Men of this World make choice of, to render themſelves known by.

(*l*) John 6. 14, 15.

(13.) He

(13.) He did indeed give early Proofs, and thoſe moſt admirable ones, not only of a moſt elevated Genius, but ſuch a one, as no mere Man could ever boaſt of. For (*m*) though he had never been taught ſo much as the Alphabet of Letters, and had no higher Converſe, from his Infancy, than that of poor Country People; (*n*) yet upon his coming to *Jeruſalem* to the Paſſover, when he was but twelve Years of Age, he took the opportunity to diſcourſe with the *Jewiſh* Doctors, in the Temple, concerning ſome of the niceſt Points of their Law, with that Gravity, Wiſdom, and Judgment, as ſhewed him to be an Over-match to them all. By which it was eaſy to conclude, that what ſeem'd to be deficient as to human Education, was more than abundantly ſupply'd by the peculiar Preſence of God. And yet, ſuch was his unparallel'd Humility, that when his Mother and ſuppoſed Father commanded him to return with them to their Country Cottage, he readily obey'd, (*o*) at the ſame time that he gave them to know, that he had not done any thing raſhly in that matter, but in compliance with God his Father's Will, in *whoſe Houſe* he then was, meaning the Temple. Nay, ſuch was his Compliance, as not only to go down with them, but to remain with them; and (though vaſtly ſuperiour to them and all Men) (*p*) yet to *be ſubject to them* in ſuch a manner, as to give a perfect Example this way of the Duty, which every Child owes his Parents. For he remain'd with them, and aſſiſted them to get their Bread (as if he had been deſign'd for nothing higher than that of a Prentice or Journey-man to his ſuppoſed Father *Joſeph*) until he was 30 Years of Age; at which time I did ſuppoſe that the Divine Hero ought to make his

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(*m*) John 7. 15. (*n*) Luke 2. 42, 46, 47. (*o*) Ibid. v. 49. *Where what is render'd in our Verſion*, Wiſt you not that I muſt be about my Father's Buſineſs? *ought rather to be underſtood thus*, What! is it not fit for me to be found in this my Father's Houſe? *meaning the Temple, where they then found him.* (*p*) Ibid. ver. 51.

Pub-

Publick Appearance, and (*q*) which was the time alſo prefixed by the Law of *Moſes*, for the Prieſts entring upon their Publick Office, as ſuch. And yet, though he entred upon his Publick Work no ſooner; that no Man might have any, even the leaſt Umbrage of his affecting worldly Power, he continued in it no longer than about 3 Years. (14.) During which time, though his Life was wholly ſpent in doing Good both to the Souls and Bodies of Men, yet all the Return he had was to be ſlighted and hated by thoſe he was ſo concerned to be uſeful unto. (15.) And tho' the niceſt Critick could find no Flaw in him, either as to his Doctrine or Life, yet the infernal Demons, whoſe Kingdom he was about to deſtroy, found means at length, (God, in great Wiſdom, permitting it) to incite the Bulk of Mankind againſt him, and at length to kill him, in the moſt barbarous and inhumane manner that ever was known, all things conſidered. But this matter of fact is ſo recent, and ſo univerſally known, that I need not, I ſuppoſe, refreſh your Memories with what you have heard ſo much of. Only, it is fit that I acquaint you with one thing, that I can prove to be true, from Authentick Witneſſes yet living; *viz.* (*r*) that when *Judas* the Traitor came with the Officers and Soldiers, that the High Prieſts and Doctors ſent to take him, he was ſo far from running away from them, that he told them again and again that he was *Jeſus*, reproving one of his Followers, that would have reſiſted; and yet he manifeſted his Power at the ſame time, in ſuch a manner, as to confound his Enemies, nay, and to force them backwards, and make them tumble on the Ground; to ſhew, that it was not in their Power to have taken him, had he not deſign'd to be taken. But to return, (16.) His Funeral bare proportion to the Ignominiouſneſs of his Death; excepting that Divine Providence did ſo over-rule matters,

(*q*) Numb. 4. 3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47. 1 Chron. 23. 3. (*r*) John 18. 1, 2, &c.

(*s*) that he ſhould be laid in a new Sepulchre, cut out of a Rock, where never any body had been laid, that ſo there might be no Suſpicion, who it was that roſe from thence. And the *Jews* and *Roman* Governour too took Care, that the Body ſhould not be ſtolen from thence. For all Precaution imaginable was uſed this way, (*t*) by ſecuring the Door, by rolling a great Stone againſt it, and by ſealing it, and by ſetting a Watch Night and Day to ſecure the Body from being removed, in caſe any ſhould have attempted to do ſo. But all this was over-ruled by Divine Wiſdom, on purpoſe to confirm the Verity of his Reſurrection. For (*u*) though the *Jewiſh* Doctors were ſo wicked as to bribe the Souldiers that guarded the Sepulchre, to tell the People, that whilſt they ſlept Chriſt's Diſciples came and ſtole the Body away: Yet the Truth could as little be kept buried, as the great Patron of it. For the Story was ſo nonſenſical, that a few unarmed Men ſhould attempt this, or, had they attempted it, been able to effect it, without waking the Soldiers, that a Miracle muſt have been wrought to have carried on their Deſign. And ſurely God would not work a Miracle of this Nature; which, if wrought, had been a Contradiction to all he had done before. I am perſwaded that neither *Softhenes* nor any Man of Senſe ever dreamt of this. For, as the Soldiers told one Story before they were brib'd, and another after; ſo we cannot ſuppoſe, that they ſpoke in earneſt, or all in the ſame ſtrain, or that they did not whiſper ſomething of the Truth to their Intimates, and they to others. Beſides, it was to render themſelves ridiculous, to tell the Story as they were ordered. For how ſhould they know how the Body went out, if they were aſleep all the time? And if this was the Caſe, why were they not puniſhed for neglect of Duty? But not to detain you, Certain it is, that they were far from

(*s*) Luke 23. 50, 53. John 19. 41, 42. Mark 15. 46. (*t*) Matth. 27. 64, 65, 66. (*u*) Matth. 23. 11, &c.

being

being asleep. For (*w*) there was a terrible Earthquake at that time, and a *Glorious Spirit* was seen to come down from Heaven, who roll'd away the Stone. His awful Appearance made the Keepers tremble, who become as unable to oppose him, as if they had been dead Men. And when they assumed the Courage at length to run away and tell the News, there were others who came to the Sepulchre, and were not only Spectators of this Divine Messenger, but allowed to converse with him. And, as they had an account of Christ's Resurrection from him; so they were Spectators of it afterwards, by seeing and conversing with *Jesus* himself. (17.) However, though it was necessary that God should thus approve his Hero, yet that he might evidence further how much he avoided all worldly and political Measures, he manag'd himself so, that, when he left the World, his poor Disciples were as much or more in the dark than ever. They had indeed been Witnesses of his Wisdom, Holiness, and Power, in working Miracles, more than others. But they understood almost nothing of the Nature of his Kingdom, and what he design'd to do with them or by them. They had, 'tis true, some apprehension that he was the Messiah. But they knew not what sort of Prince that was. They were sunk into the same Notion with others, in their expecting a Political Hero, (*x*) fancying that he would make them all Grandees and Princes of this World. So, that when he suffer'd, (*y*) they were confounded what to think of him. Now Divine Wisdom did, on purpose, order things thus, as I said before, in the abstract Character which I gave of a Divine Hero, that the stress of Christ's Divinity, Mission, Behaviour, Doctrine, and Sufferings, as to the Belief of all those, might lean afterwards upon an immediate Appearance of God from Heaven, by way of Attestation of the Truth of them. (18.) But though his Followers were to be divinely instructed af-

(*w*) Mat. 28. 2, 3, &c. (*x*) Mat. 20. 21. (*y*) Luke 24. 19, 20, 21.

terwards, and impower'd to work Miracles, as all Men know we are at this day: Yet we are taught to despise Glory, Riches, and Honour, after our Master's Example. And though I might say some things considerable this way in relation to my self, I shall forbear, lest I should give any the least Suspition of designing or affecting the Applause of Men. Only I shall take this occasion to thank *Sosthenes*, for his owning me to have been once none of the most illiterate of the *Jewish* Doctors; amongst whom I might have indeed expected any Honour or Preferment, had I not chosen Sufferings, Want, and Reproach, in following this *Jesus*, before all the Advantages of the World in any other Course. I confess I was once as violent against him and Christianity, as he now is; which makes me pity him rather than be angry with him But as soon as God opened my Eyes to see the Truth, I could continue no longer in opposition to this great Benefactor. And I pray God, that both *Sosthenes* and you may attain to the same Idea of *Jesus*, that I am now labouring to possess you with; and then I am sure you will not think it below you to follow my Example. For I hope you will not be affronted, when I tell you, that I look upon it to be a greater Honour to be, as I am, an Apostle of *Jesus*, than to be the first Favourite of *Nero*. (19.) I confess, we may justly appear to be a poor, despicable, and defenceless sort of People, to the Eye of Sense, seeing all the Method that Christ has allowed us to make use of, at present, to promote his Religion by, is to evince the Truth thereof by strong Reasoning, to live up to it by a holy and exemplary Walk, and to work Miracles, when proper Occasions offer, in confirmation of it. And, in case of any Difficulty, we are directed to consult one another, that what we do may have the Face of the greater Authority. And in doing thus, we are oblig'd to strengthen one another, by mutual Incouragement, to persevere to the last, and in Case of suffering for our Religion, to seal the Truth of it, even with our Blood; as being assured of being eter-

eternally rewarded, when we leave this World. (20.) And in order to the perpetuating the Memory of our Dear Master and his Institutions, we do constantly assemble together, upon his *Resurrection-Day*, which was the first Day of the Week, and which you call *Sunday*, and we the *Lord's Day*, because Sacred to him. For we apprehend, that the *Jewish Sabbath* has now run in to this Day: In the Observance of which we keep sacred the seventh Part of time as much as before; and that is all that is substantial or properly Moral in an Hebdomadal Holy Day: tho we acknowledge, that something Divine must lay the Foundation of Mens fixing upon this or the other Day. And sure nothing more wonderful, this way, could occur, than the memorable Resurrection of our Lord *Jesus*. If therefore, it was proper to observe the seventh Day of the Week, before Christ's Resurrection, as the Jews justly did in Commemoration of the finishing the Works of Creation, according to the Mosaical Account; because that kept up the Memorial of that Innocency, wherein Man was made at first, in a Paradifical State, which you of other Nations represent, as the Golden Age under old *Saturn*: It was altogether proper, that the First Day of the Conquest of the *Second Adam* or *Saturn*, who came to bring back the Golden Age again to lapsed Men, should be Celebrated to the Praise of so great and admirable a Benefactor. So that, if the seventh Part of Time be kept up by us now, as well as before; the Moral Part of the Sabbath is preserved, and that with advantage too, the latter being much more apposite to the State of Man, as lapsed, than the former. Seeing then both cannot reasonably be observed, because two Days of seven answer not to an Hebdomadal Sabbath, but destroy the very Notion of such a Holy Day; either, by making our Christian Sabbath to be the Eighth Day of the Week (which is impossible, for tho our Lord's Day be indeed the Eighth Day, if we consider the number of days only, and abstract from the Hebdomadal Revolution, and tho our Lord's-Day was

(z) propheſied of under the name of the Eighth Day, as that which was to ſucceed to the Jewiſh Sabbath, which I ſuppoſe *Softhenes* is not ignorant of, yet to ſuppoſe but ſeven Days in a Week, and at the ſame time to talk of an Eighth Day Sabbath, were mere Contradiction) or by altering the Property of the Jewiſh Sabbath, from being the ſeventh Day, to be the firſt of the Week (which the Revolution of time, from the Creation, allows not of:) Therefore it is neceſſary that we

(z) *The Place I refer to, is* Ezek. 43. ult. And when theſe days are expired, it ſhall be (*or, it ſhall come to paſs*) that upon the Eighth Day, and ſo forward, the Prieſts ſhall make your Burnt-Offerings upon the Altar, and your Peace-Offerings (*or, Thank-offerings*) and I will accept you, ſaith the Lord God. *It is ſtrange to me, that I find not one of our Criticks or Commentators, that has taken any notice of theſe Words. And yet all Chriſtians, that I know of, are agreed that the Myſtical Temple, that this Prophet ſaw in Viſion, is deſign'd to ſhadow forth the New Teſtament-Church. And, if ſo, what other Senſe can theſe Words bear, than this, that all the Jewiſh Weeks, with all their Worſhip and Service, which depended upon, and was meaſured by Hebdomadal and Lunar Revolutions, were to terminate and run in unto a new Conſtitution of Affairs; their Sabbath being changed from the ſeventh Day to the eighth,* i. e. *from the laſt Day of the former Week, to the firſt Day of the following one. And as the Jewiſh Worſhip run almoſt wholly upon the number ſeven, in reſpect of time, ſo here it is ſaid,* v. 25, 26. *That* ſeven days ſhould be ſpent in offering Sacrifices, and ſeven Days ſhould be alloted for the Prieſts to conſecrate both the Altar and themſelves. *And then it follows,* that upon the eighth Day *ever after,* the Prieſts ſhould offer their Sacrifices of all ſorts. *Now an eighth Day, as a Holy Day, was unknown to* Moſes, *and all the Hebrews. And therefore it muſt of neceſſity be the Chriſtian Sabbath, that is here intended. So that I think it will not be wholly precarious to obſerve here,* 1. *That the Jewiſh Sabbath was to be afterwards changed from the ſeventh Day to the Day following.* 2. *That the Chriſtian Sabbath was to be the firſt Day of the Week.* 3. *That the Inſtitution of this later vacates the Obligation of the former. And here, let me advertize the Reader, that I am of opinion, that this ſhort Hint may ſuggeſt, to thoſe that are Thoughtful and Induſtrious, the Idea of that Key, by which only we can attain to unriddle this Enigmatical Temple of* Ezekiel; *which can only be done, by ſtripping the Prophet's Words of the Judaical Figures, taken from their Tabernacle, Temple and City, and their ritual Law and Service, and accommodating the whole to the Goſpel-Inſtitution; but ſo as to remember, that it is the* perfecter State *of* Chriſtocraty, *in the time of the* Happy Millennium, *that theſe Figures principally point at; which is the reaſon, that this part of Prophely is ſo dark to us now.*

ſhould

ſhould ſuppoſe, that Divine Wiſdom intended to put an end to the neceſſity of obſerving the ſeventh Part of Time, after the Jewiſh Way, by laying a Foundation, that neceſſitates our Obſervation of it, after our manner. And, to avoid Confuſion, in this Change, the Divine Wiſdom was pleaſed ſo to order Matters, that Chriſt's Reſurrection-Day ſhould be the immediate Day that follow'd the Jewiſh Sabbath; that ſo the Change might be, as it were, inſenſible. And yet, that the Day, which our Lord roſe in, might be the more memorable, Divine Wiſdom ſeems to have ſo ordered matters at firſt, that the ſeventh Day from the Creation ſhould be obſerved, rather than the Firſt, when God began to create; as if he had done it on purpoſe, upon the Fore-ſight of Man's Fall, and after-Redemption: That, as ſoon as the Second *Adam* ſhould obtain his great End, and enter upon his Office, after his Sufferings were over, it might be early that very Morning, that followed the Ancient Sabbath, and upon that Day that was the firſt of the Week, and mark'd out, amongſt moſt Nations, by the firſt and moſt glorious Luminary, the *Sun*. And, as if things could not be caſt into any other Method; tho by the Type of the Meſſiah's being buried, it was neceſſary that he ſhould be three Days in the Grave: Yet, as that Tranſaction that is doing, for part of three days, takes its Denomination from thence, as much as if it had occupied the whole of theſe; ſo, ſeeing it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the Meſſiah's Body ſhould not be liable to Corruption, when buried, and therefore could not lie three whole Days; and yet neceſſary likewiſe, that he ſhould keep an intire Sabbath in the Grave (and that with ſuch a peculiar Honour put upon the Jewiſh Sabbath, the only one of Divine Inſtitution, as to obſerve that Day only, as an intire one, in the Grave, with a Deſign, that that peculiar Honour put upon it ſhould ſerve alſo to give it an Honourable Burial;) and no leſs ſo, (as I have ſaid) that he ſhould riſe early the Morning of the Day following it: It was, I ſay, upon all theſe Ac-

counts requiſite, and even neceſſary, that our Bleſſed Jeſus ſhould lie in the Grave juſt as long, and no longer, than he did; which was from three a-clock in the Afternoon, on Friday, to the time when then the Sun roſe on the Lord's Day, uſually called Sunday. Pardon me, moſt noble Lords, that I have digreſs'd ſo much, upon the Subject of the Reſurrection-Day of Chriſt: But ſeeing it is the only Holy Day that we obſerve, and ſo very remarkable upon all Accounts, I thought it proper to give ſome Account of it. Now upon this Day we do conſtantly aſſemble our ſelves, before the Sun riſe; where, after Prayers to God and Praiſes for the ſending ſo excellent a Saviour into the World, together with ſome inſtructive Diſcourſe upon ſome part of his Divine Philoſophy; *(a)* we join together in a ſolemn Celebration of the Memorial of his Death and Sufferings, after the manner which he himſelf taught us, a little before his Sufferings; and in doing ſo we do bind our ſelves by a ſolemn and ſacred Oath, never to allow our ſelves in any Sin, or to do any Action, unworthy of our Maſter and his Inſtitutions. But, having detained you ſo long with other things, I ſhall not ſpend any part of our remaining time with an Account of this.

I proceed therefore, with your Allowance, to make Application, of what I ſaid in the 2*d* Place, when I drew the *Abſtract Scheme* of a Divine Hero. Whereas therefore I did then tell you, what, I thought, God muſt be ſuppoſed to do, to aſcertain to Men the Divinity of one, that ſhould appear and act in the World, under ſuch outward Diſadvantages as Jeſus Chriſt did: I am not aſham'd to tell you, that I did then draw my Scheme, from God's Management in relation to Chriſt.

(a) Plinii Epiſt. Lib. X. Ep. 97. Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante Lucem convenire; carmenq; Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem; ſeq; ſacramento non in ſcelus, aliquod obſtringere; ſed ne furta, ne Latrocinia, ne Adulteria committerent, ne Fidem fallerent, ne Depoſitum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem ſibi Diſcedendi fuiſſe: rurſuſq; coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium.

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For I am bold to ſay, that neither I nor any Man elſe, could have invented ſuch a Scheme as I did preſent you with, had not God himſelf laid the *Plan* of it. And yet, I am ſure, nothing can be more reaſonable, or ſo little liable to Objection, than it is, now it is given, if duly and impartially conſidered.

I have therefore nothing further to do now, than to deſire you, to put in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the Room of the General Term I choſe to make uſe of before, when I talk'd of a *Divine Hero*, in a general way of ſpeaking. And then I am ſure, you will have a ſatisfactory Idea of my bleſſed Maſter, and of that Divine Wiſdom, that appeared in and for him, and which did ſo fully anſwer what ſeem'd otherwiſe to be too weak to lay a Foundation of Mens Believing him to be the Meſſiah.

Seeing therefore I have no time left, that can be ſuppoſed to be ſufficient for my diſcourſing largely upon this Subject, or ſo as the weight of it does require; I ſhall content my ſelf now, to refreſh your Memories, by putting you in mind of what I ſaid before, tho I did not then mention the Name of my Great Maſter. And I aſſure you, that I ſhall, as in the Sight of God, ſay nothing of him, but what I know to be true, and can prove to be ſo, if required. Let me therefore tell you, (1.) That he was expreſly propheſied of, by inſpired Men, whom God raiſed up, from Age to Age, to propheſy of him. *Softhenes* knows this to be true; and that theſe Prophets were ſo particular and expreſs, as to ſpeak of his Sufferings with the Circumſtances of them, ſo as even to prefix the very preciſe time wherein he ſuffered. For were it not to avoid Tediouſneſs, I ſhould think it no hard matter to prove, that both *Jacob* and *Daniel* (two of the greateſt Prophets of the Jewiſh Nation) did expreſly ſpecify the time of the *Meſſiah*'s Coming and Sufferings, to be the very ſame with that of our *Jeſus*: Who was born at that very time, which the judicious *Gallio* fix'd upon, as the moſt proper that ever was, for the coming of ſuch a Hero as we have been

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discoursing of. For he was born, towards the end of the peaceable Reign of *Augustus*, and at that very time when an Account of all the Roman Empire was ordered to be taken by him; and, after he had liv'd 33 Years and about an half, and made his Publick Appearance about 3 Years, he was crucified, about the 20*th* Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, whilst *Pontius Pilate* was Deputy of *Judæa*. (2.) God so ordered Affairs of old, especially among the Jews, that there should be innumerable Rites and Customs, that should be as so many Types and Emblems to prefigure him. And were it not, that this would render my Discourse long and tedious, I might shew you, that all the Ceremonial Law of the Jews was intended this way. For I would, 1*st*. Shew you, how exactly the one pointed at the other; and then, 2*dly*. I would put *Sosthenes* to this plain Test, whether it be possible, without such a Reference, ever to satisfy thinking Men, as to the *Rationale* of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*. For, is it consistent with the Notion of God, to impose upon Men so many costly and burdensome Customs, such as the sacrificing of such innumerable Multitudes of brute Creatures, merely for the sake of the Customs and Rites themselves? So that, if God had not had a further View and Reference, than what the Bulk of the Jews now talk of, or rather dream of; we should be extreamly puzzl'd what to make of such an Institution; which yet we are sure was of God. But tho the end of the Ceremonial Law be now fully answered, and consequently all its Rites vacated and of no use further: Yet it is altogether necessary, that the Mosaical Account of these be preserved to the end of time; that the train of Divine Wisdom in these (as they pointed at Christ, led to him, and ended with his coming) may ever be the Subject of new Inquiries, in order to Mens discerning more and more the wise and admirable Harmony of all God's Methods, even in their seeming Dissonancy. But I forbear to insist upon these things now. Therefore let me desire you to consider, the in (3*d*) Place, with what wonderful Gifts and Qua-

Qualifications the Bleſſed *Jeſus* was endued, in order to fit him for his Divine Embaſſy. For, 1*ſt*. He was matchleſly wiſe and knowing. His Genius was elevated to ſuch a Degree, that was indeed more than Human. He ſpake with that Penetration (*b*) that confounded all the Wiſe Men that attack'd him. And yet tho an awful Majeſty accompanied him, and ſtruck the Minds and Conſciences of Men, ſo as to force a ſacred Veneration of him upon their Thoughts, he ever look'd and ſpoke with that inſinuating Sweetneſs, that ingag'd Men rather to love him, than fear him. 2*dly*. And as Human Nature appeared to be perfect in him, in regard of Wiſdom, ſo alſo in reſpect of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Sanctity; in ſo much, that no Man could ever tax him with any Word, Action, or ſo much as Geſture, that was either indecent or mean. 3*dly*. But his Goodneſs and Concern to be diffuſively uſeful, was that which ſhone in him, with the greateſt Brightneſs. For he acted with that unbounded and unexemplified Generoſity, as to do good to all, even thoſe that treated him the worſt. 4*thly*. Being to give Law to the Mind, as well as external Actions of Men, he ſhow'd his Ability for this Part of his Office; by giving undeniable Proofs of his (*c*) knowing all that was in Man, by diſcovering to them the very Secrets of their Hearts. 5*thly*. And no leſs plainly and remarkably did he give Evidence of his Knowledge of Futurity, by fore-telling things to come. 6*thly*. And as for his Power, no Man can doubt of its being Almighty, who has heard of his innumerable Miracles. What Diſtemper or Malady was there, which he did not cure again and again? and that often with a Word only; nay and ſometimes at a great diſtance from the place, where the Patient lay. The Wind and Waves obeyed his powerful Command. The Dead aroſe, when he pleaſed to call them back to Life again. And evil Spirits pretended not to be able ſuc-

(*b*) Matth. 22. 46. (*c*) John 2. 25.

ceſsfully

ceſsfully to oppoſe him. Nay ſo far were they from this, that they were oblig'd to own him to be the Son of God; tho they could not but be ſenſible, how fatal to their own Intereſt ſuch an Acknowledgment was like to be. But, that which ſurmounted all other things was, that God bare Evidence of his prior Power, in his forming to himſelf a Human Body in the Womb of a Virgin; and that it was he that rais'd himſelf from the Grave to Life again; and that aſcended to Heaven, to be there approved in all he had done and ſuffered, and conſequently to be divinely and gloriouſly confirmed in that wonderful Headſhip and Supremacy over Mankind, that he had been formerly commiſſioned unto and inveſted with. And, (4.) Together with theſe Qualifications, ſo undeniably conſpicuous in this our *Jeſus*, we are to take notice alſo of thoſe remarkable *concurring* Appearances and Atteſtations, which God was pleas'd to give, in relation to him as the appointed Saviour and Deliverer of Men. And here let us take notice, 1. That, for a conſiderable time, before he came among Men, both the Spirit of Propheſy and the Power of Miracles were withdrawn from the Jews. The laſt inſpired Prophet of that Nation, as they themſelves own, and as *Joſephus* knows, was *Malachi*. And, by the beſt account we have of his Age, it was about 400 Years before Chriſt's Coming that he liv'd; and we muſt ſuppoſe that proper Miracles were not known nor ſeen all that time. Nay, ſo concerned ſeems God to have been this way, that even the Great *John Baptiſt*, was denied this Power, tho he had all other Qualifications of an eminent Prophet. 2. Chriſt therefore was born, (as far as can be collected from the Jewiſh Annals of time, which are the exacteſt in the World) in the Year 4000 from the Creation of the World, which may juſtly be called the Fulneſs of Time, upon more accounts than my preſent time will allow me to take notice of. Only let me remember you of this, that it was about 15 Years before the Death of *Auguſtus*. Now, 3. Before Chriſt made his Appearance in the World, God

God so order'd it, that *(d) John the Baptist* was miraculously conceiv'd and born, *(e)* and pay'd Homage to Christ yet unborn, when in the Womb of his Mother, by a miraculous Motion there *(f)* confirmed by the Prophetick Raptures of both the Mothers. Both these miraculous Conceptions were predicted by Angels: And Visions of Angels, with other concomitant Divine Evidences, concurr'd to render Christ's Birth illustrious. *(g)* A new Star appeared at his Birth, and God directed Wise Men to understand its Signification, so as to come from a remote Country to inquire after this Illustrious Infant, and to pay Homage to him as soon as they saw him, acknowledging him thus for their Sovereign, and consequently for the Sovereign of all Men. *Herod* and the Jewish Doctors do, upon this occasion, inquire into the place of the Messiah's Nativity, and own it to be the very City *Bethlehem* where Christ was born. *(h) Herod* thinks by a barbarous Murder of the poor innocent Children of that place, to elude the Event, and render the Prediction abortive; but to no purpose. For this gives Birth to a new Evidence of the Divine Care, in the Preservation of *Jesus*. Well, he is preserved. And, after he had long remain'd obscure, and is about to appear, his Usher the *Baptist* comes forth publickly to prepare Men for his Reception. *(i) Christ*, who was oblig'd to ratify every Divine Institution of his Father, makes his first Publick Appearance, in coming to *John* to be baptised, that he might countenance and confirm *John*'s Commission and Ministry. *(k)* There *John* is divinely inspir'd to know him, (and it must be Divine, when an elder and popular Preacher gives the Preference, especially in so eminent a manner, to one that had not yet made any Publick Appearance) and owns him before all his Hearers to be his Great Master the *Messiah*. God from Heaven concurs

(d) Luke 1. 7, *&c.* *(e)* Luke 1. 41. *(f)* Luke 1. 41, 42, *&c. and* v. 46, *&c.* *(g)* Matth. 2. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* *(h)* Matth. 2. 13, 16, *&c.* *(i)* Matth. 3. 13, 14, 15. *(k)* John 1. 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, *&c.*

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in the Publication of this Truth, by a miraculous Light, and the Emblematical Appearance of a Dove that lighted upon Christ, in order to point forth his Temper, Character and Design, and the Nature of his Doctrine and Kingdom. And, lest all these should be too little to bear Evidence of his being the *Messiah*, God himself proclaims it from Heaven by an articulate Voice. Yea, lest this should be forgotten, God took care afterwards to renew the same Appearance and Voice to Select Witnesses, with some further and more remarkable Circumstances. And, as God bore Evidence to Christ's being the *Messiah* all his Life, so most eminently at and after his Death: insomuch that all those things I mentioned before, did exactly fall out, in relation to Christ; such as an extraordinary Earthquake, a preternatural Eclypse of the Sun, his Resurrection, *April* 5. (which was the day that immediately followed the Jewish Sabbath) his Converse with his Disciples for 40 Days afterwards, and his Ascention to Heaven at last, in a visible and glorious Manner. But, (5.) The Divine Appearances, confirmatory of Christ's being the Messiah, did not end either with his Death, Resurrection or Ascention, but rather flowed down more illustriously afterwards. The Reason, why this was necessary, I hinted to you before, in my Abstract-Scheme. I shall therefore confine my self now to bare matter of Fact, and that with the utmost Brevity I can be Master of. Know then, 1. That when Christ had ascended to Heaven visibly from Mount *Olivet*, two Angels appeared to his Disciples, whilst they still gazed upwards; commanding them to depart from thence, and think of Christ's Second Coming. Upon this they depart to *Jerusalem*, where they give themselves to Prayer; chusing *Matthias* to be Apostle in the room of the Apostate and Traitor *Judas*. Now whilst they spent their time thus, in Divine Adorations and Meditations, waiting for the Coming of the Holy Spirit, according to Christ's Promise; lo, at last he is sent in an extraordinary Manner, on the Day of *Pentecost*, which was

May

May 24. (*l*) An awful Noiſe, like a mighty ruſhing Wind gave notice of his Approach, and fiery cloven Tongues that fell down upon them was the Emblem of his Operation and its Effects. They are inſtantly inabled to underſtand and ſpeak all Languages. Innumerable Jews and Proſelytes were providentially directed, to be Witneſſes of this, and ſaw how the illiterate Apoſtles and other Chriſtians preſent, were inabled on the ſudden to ſpeak as many Languages and Dialects, as there were Perſons of different Nations and Countrys preſent. Which unuſual Miracle, upon *Peter*'s opening up the reaſon of it, wrought ſo upon the Minds of the Multitude, that whereas the number of Chriſtians was (*m*) but 120 before, (*n*) no leſs than 3000 more were converted to the Faith of *Jeſus*. And, as all thoſe that thus believed were endued, more or leſs, with the Gift of Languages, ſo alſo with the Power of working Miracles: of which ſo many Inſtances are known, that it is beyond the Power of Infidelity it ſelf to call them in queſtion. But then, 2. Let it be remembred, that no Chriſtian ever aſſumed to himſelf the Honour of working any Miracle, by any Power or Authority of his own. No, no, we ever did ſo (*o*) in the Name of *Jeſus* only, and by his ſole Authority and Power. However, 3. If indeed it ſhould be poſſible for any to doubt of the Truth of the innumerable Miracles, that have thus been wrought by the Diſciples of Chriſt, we dare venture to appeal to the Senſes and Reaſons of all Men now alive, as to the Verity of thoſe that are wrought by us almoſt every day. I pretend not, that I can ſhow you *Oſtentative* Miracles, to gratify a meer Curioſity: For that were unworthy to be demanded of my Maſter, or granted by him. But, if there be any Perſon to be found, that is given over by Phyſicians for Dead, or that is deaf, blind, lame, *&c.* I am willing

(*l*) Acts 2. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* (*m*) Acts 1. 15. (*n*) Acts 2. 41. (*o*) Acts 3. 12, 16. *and* chap. 4. 9, 10. *and* ver. 29, 30, 31, *&c.*

to

to put the Teſt of Chriſtianity upon ſuch a charitable Cure; upon Condition, that the ſick or impotent Perſon declare himſelf willing to return Thanks to my Great Maſter, as his Phyſitian and Benefactor, in caſe the Cure be ſpeedily and effectually wrought. I hope I propoſe nothing, but what is highly reaſonable. And let me tell you, that whether you deſire to ſee ſuch miraculous Cures or not, yet I can without Vanity aſſure you, that I am indued with this Gift; and not only I, but all true Chriſtians, tho not equally as to degrees. For this Gift muſt continue in our Society, for near 300 Years ſtill, *viz.* until the time that Chriſtianity comes to be the Religion of the Empire. For I muſt tell you, 4. That tho Chriſt and his Religion, do appear mean and deſpicable, at preſent, to the Generality of Men, eſpecially the wiſe Philoſophers, Politicians and Grandees of the World; yet he will begin to be univerſally own'd and ſubmitted to, as the Great King and Saviour of Mankind, before that Number of Years be run out, that I have juſt now mentioned to you. I know indeed, that the whole Force of the Roman Empire will be frequently ingag'd to root out the Chriſtian Society and Religion, and that ſometimes with that ſeeming Succeſs, as to reckon they have reach'd their end. But they will ſoon find their Miſtake, and that they celebrated the Triumph before the Victory. For I aſſure you, that Chriſtianity will conquer by Suffering, and have ſuch a Reſurrection as Chriſt himſelf had, and that all its Enemies ſhall at laſt be cut off. Nay, (6.) Let me tell you one thing further, That we are no more certain, that Chriſt appeared in the World, not long ago, under the diſguiſe of a mean Man; than that he will come again, at the end of time, in ſuch a Glorious Manner, as will be inconceivably above the moſt Grand Appearance, that ever any of your *Conſuls* or *Dictators* was ſeen in, when they paſs'd thro' *Rome* in Triumph to the *Capitol*. For he will come, as the Supream and univerſal Judge of Men, with all the Celeſtial Glory and Majeſty, to call all Man-

Mankind to an Account of their Life and Actions. This he has assur'd us of by solemn Promise. This the Spirit of God has miraculously confirm'd, as a Great Truth. And this all I have said bears Evidence unto. But it is time to come to an End. And therefore let me conclude all, with an earnest Request to you, that you would allow what I have said a serious and impartial Re-consideration, as that which concerns you most nearly, nay above any other thing whatsoever. May that God therefore, who has given so many and so eminent Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Verity, Excellency and Importance of his Doctrine and Institutions, incline your Hearts so to consider them, as to espouse them, and so to countenance and defend them, that ye may attain to live up to them; that so, when this Blessed *Jesus* shall come the second time, both you and I may be approved and rewarded by him, as faithful at once to our own Reasons, the Honour of God, the Dignity of Human Nature, and the Joint-Interest of Christ, our selves and others. *Amen.*

And thus, Reader, I am come at length to the Conclusion of what I intended to convey the Idea of to thy Thoughts, in this way of *Drama* or *Dialogue*. For seeing I made choice of this Method, for no other end, than to convey my Notions of Christ, as a Divine Hero, with the more Life and Force, I have nothing to do with the *Decorum* of an *Epilogue*, or any other sort of *Conclusion*, by which such like Discourses use to be winded up. And indeed, when I consider how long I have dwelt upon this Part of my Subject, notwithstanding my Concern for Brevity; I cannot but reckon it high time to pass forwards to something else.

But yet, before I do so, allow me to tell thee two things, (1.) That, what I have discoursed of in this Chapter, is of the greatest Import that can be, as being the very immediate Foundation of the Christian Religion. And, tho in treating of it, I have laboured rather to give Hints, than any full Account of Matters; yet I believe

that I may venture to say, without any Presumption, that I have put this matter in a clearer Light than any one Author ever did, nay perhaps I may say further, than all Authors, that ever yet appeared. And yet, (2.) I may say this likewise, that there is Matter enough behind, for the most elevated Genius in the World to improve and inlarge upon. I shall not presume to prevent the free Inquiries of others this way, further than to observe; 1. That it were worth any Man's Time and Pains, to trace, thro' the Old Testament, the many Instances (tho some of them little observed hitherto) of the Hope, and Desire of the Saints, in reference to the *Messiah* and his Appearing. 2. How gradually the Expectation of the Messiah grew and increased, and how universally it spread in the World, against that time, wherein he was born, especially amongst the Jews. Some things very memorable this way I have already taken notice of. But much more might have been said. For not to insist upon the more controverted Predictions of the Sybils, (a point that requires to be yet further cleared up;) it will deserve our Thoughts to inquire into the Import of these Passages of Scripture, among others, *viz. John* 4.25,29. *Chap.*6.14,15. *Chap.*7.31, 40. *Chap.*10.41. and *Chap.*12.13. especially if compar'd with what we read of in *Josephus de Bello Jud. Lib.*7. *Cap.* 12. in *Tacitus, Hist. Lib.* 5. and in *Sueton. in Vesp.* And, 3. This Consideration of the Greatness and Universality, of the Jewish Expectation of the Messiah, shews us the Heinousness of their Guilt, in pursuing Christ to Death. Where, among other Passages, that of *Isa.* 53. 8. as it is explained and applied, *Acts* 8. 33, 34. will deserve to be considered; and whether this may not be a more natural and just *Gloss* on the Word *Generation*, than the common one, *viz.* that by the Exclamation, *Who shall declare his Generation?* We are directed to understand the Wickedness of that Generation or Age of the Jews, wherein Christ liv'd. As if the meaning were; what Tongue, Pen or Pencil can declare or describe the Villainy of that wicked Generation

tion of Men, that agreed, to cut off their Messiah? This sense is altogether agreeable, with the Character which that Generation of Men gets elsewhere in the New Testament. For it is called a Generation of Vipers, *Luke* 3. 7. an adulterous Generation, *Matth.* 12. 34, 39. a wicked Generation, *ver.* 45. and an untoward Generation, *Acts* 2. 40. Nay it was (*p*) the current Tradition of the Jews, that the Generation wherein the Messiah was to appear, would be generally a wicked and reprobate Generation. So that *Acts* 8. *ver.* 33. may justly be thus paraphrased and understood; *In his Humiliation* (*i. e.* in the State thereof, and upon the account thereof, being despised as a mean Man) his Judgment was taken away (*i. e.* he had no Right or Justice done him, but the very contrary to these;) Or, as the Hebrew has it, *From Force and from Judgment he was taken away*; *i. e.* it proceeded from a Force put upon *Pilate*, by the repeated Instances of the Jews, and from *Pilate*'s Judgment this way extorted from him by their Rage and Clamours, that *Christ* was taken away. And then it naturally follows; *And who shall* then *declare* (or be able to set forth) *his Generation?* (*viz.* as to the monstrous Wickedness thereof.) *For his Life was taken from the Earth*; (*i. e.* for nothing less than his Life could satisfy their Rage.) So that I think it is plain, that this and no other can be the genuine Meaning of that Place; and that by *Generation* we are to understand that *Generation* of the Jews, wherein Christ was born; who did indeed fully verify the Character which *John* gave of them, *Luke* 3. 7. For they acted to their Messiah, as the genuine Seed of the old Serpent.

(*p*) *See Dr.* Lightfoot *on* Acts 8. 33. *and Dr.* Whitby *on* Philip. 3. 2.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Second Sort *of* Divine Wisdom *observable in* Christ, viz. *That* Prudential Wisdom *by which he manag'd himself, as a Man, in relation to Men, whilst he liv'd and convers'd among them.*

THEY that will allow themselves thorowly to consider, what I have said in Relation to the *former Sort* of *Divine Wisdom*, conspicuous in Christ and the Gospel, will not need any long Discussion of this *second Sort*.

But there are so few, even of Scholars, that seem to have thought either of *this* or the *former*, so far as my Knowledge or Reading goes, that I remember not of any one Author that has touched directly either upon the *one* or the *other*, to any purpose; excepting the Author of *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. And he, I confess, has treated of this second Sort of Wisdom, with a great deal of Ingenuity: Tho, I think, he has, for the most part, fallen short of the Mark; at the same time, that he seems to have honestly aim'd at it.

What my Notion of this Point is, I have already acquainted the World with, (*q*) in the *General*; and shall therefore refer the Reader to it; not being willing to trouble either him or my self with any thing like Repetition.

However a more *particular* Discussion of this Point seems to be necessary, in order to our more full and distinct Understanding of Christ and the Gospel. And therefore, I hope, it will be neither unpleasant nor un-

(*q*) *See the* 1st *Book of* Christology, pag. 48.

profitable

profitable to the Students of Chriſtianity, to go along with me, in what I have to offer on this Subject.

And here, let me deſire the Reader to remember, that the Summ of what I ſaid as to the *former Wiſdom, viz.* that which is conſpicuous in the Contrivance of the Goſpel, amounts to this; *That* Chriſt *ſhould act the* oppoſite Part *to that of* Human Policy: *And that, in order to make up this* ſeeming Defect, *there ſhould be ſo many and ſuch* eminent ſupernatural Atteſtations and Evidences, *as to the* Divinity *of* Chriſt, *and his* Doctrine *and* Inſtitutions; *as ſhould be* ſufficient *and* full *towards the Satisfaction of all Men this way, that will allow themſelves ſeriouſly and impartially to conſider Things.* For it is plain, that the exact *adjuſting* and *ballancing* of theſe *two*, is the *Main*, if not *only Thing*, wherein the *Divine Wiſdom* is to be ſeen, in the *Contrivance* of the Goſpel.

And, ſeeing this is the very Truth, tho hitherto little minded (and by moſt not at all;) I would beg the Reader to carry the diſtinct Notion and deep Impreſſion of it along with him, in all his Meditations: and then I am perſwaded he will readily fall in with what I have to ſay, with reſpect both to this *ſecond Sort* of *Wiſdom*, at leaſt as to the main of it, and to the *third Sort* alſo, that I muſt refer to another Chapter.

I am ſure, that this will be ſelf-evident, in the *firſt Place*, that this *ſecond Sort* of *Wiſdom*, muſt wholly harmonize with the *firſt*. For, if the adjuſting of theſe two things, which I have juſt now mentioned, be the great Thing conſpicuous in the Divine Wiſdom, as to the Contrivance of the Goſpel; Certain it is, that the *very ſame thing* muſt have been the *Maxim* of our Lord *Jeſus*, in his Management of himſelf, whilſt he was in the World; ſeeing the *Hiſtory* of *this* was deſign'd to be the *immediate Foundation* of our *Religion*.

For nothing can be plainer, from what I have ſaid, than this; That the *Grand Prudential Rule* of our Saviour's Conduct of himſelf in the World, *as he was Man*, and ſo and ſo circumſtanced in the World, in reference to others, was this: *To behave himſelf with ſo exact and per-*

fect a Decorum, *in relation to the Circumſtances of his State of* Humiliation *and* Trial, *and with reſpect to the* Ends *of his Appearing thus among Men; That he might equally hit and adjuſt theſe two Points*, viz. *To act as the perfect* Reverſe *of Earthly* Politicians *and* Hero's, *and* yet *give indelible, certain and plain* Proofs *and* Evidences *of his being the true* Meſſiah.

This I take to be the exact State of the Caſe, as far as I am able to conceive of it, and caſt my Notion of it into Words. And, if this General be once rightly underſtood, it will be eaſy for us to conclude, what thoſe particular Rules were, that follow upon it, and that he manag'd himſelf accordingly by.

For, we muſt abſtract here from the Conſideration of Chriſt's being God, or the eternal *Logos*; and conſider Chriſt only *as Man*, intruſted with the grand Concerns of Human Nature, in order to his regaining, as the *Second Adam*, what the *firſt* had loſt. And therefore I am now to conſider Chriſt only as to his Human Conduct (tho I hope none will quarrel me for calling the *Wiſdom* conſpicuous therein by the annexed Deſignation of its being *Divine*, as being not only in an eminent Senſe, but alſo in an unparallel'd one, above what any other Man could poſſibly be capable of) of himſelf, in relation to thoſe he had to do with in the World, in a *viſible Manner*; in order to deduce from thence thoſe particular *Prudential Rules*, which flow'd from his cloſe Adherence to the general one, which I have mention'd, according as this was accommodated by him to the Perſons he had to do with, and conſequently to his own Circumſtances this way.

Now there was a *fourfold Set* of Men, or four Sorts of Perſons, with whom our Saviour, as Man, had to do with while he was in the World, *viz.* 1. The *Roman Power* and *Government*, under which *Judæa* was at that time, having been for ſome time before, reduc'd into the Form of a *Province* of the *Roman Empire*, tho, in other reſpects, it was govern'd by its own Laws. 2. The *Jewiſh Government*, or the *Rulers*

Rulers of the Jewish Nation, who had also a hand in the Publick Management, according as things were modell'd at that time; the Power being lodg'd in the High-Priest and Priests, together with a Counsel of the most eminent Doctors and Scribes; who were then split into several Factions and Parties, differing both in Opinions and Customs. 3. The *Jewish Populace*, or the common Sort of Jews, of all sorts. 4. Those *few* that were openly *proselyted* to him, as the true *Messiah*; especially the 12 *Disciples* of the First Rank, who were admitted to the most close Relation to him, and most intimate Attendance upon him.

For, we shall find, that the General Rule I laid down before, when accommodated to Christ's Circumstances, in a Relation to this fourfold Set of Men, admits of a fourfold Consideration; and that, by these, we are directed to understand the great Springs of our Saviour's prudential Conduct of himself, as Man, and consequently to conceive, more distinctly than it is possible for us otherwise to do, how exactly wise and just our Saviour's Measures were, in all he did and said, whilst he liv'd and convers'd among Men.

In the 1*st* Place then, let us consider how our Lord was circumstanced, with respect to the Roman Government, and how he managed himself in relation to the same. Now we are to remember, that when our Saviour made his publick Appearance upon the Stage of *Judæa*, *Tiberius Cæsar* was Emperor of *Rome*, and had been so, for about 15 Years before. And it was therefore several Years before Christ entred upon his Publick Ministry, that *Tiberius* had thrown off the Mark of his first pretended Modesty and Gentleness, acting openly in the most cruel and oppressive Manner, that could be. They that are at all acquainted with the Character of *Tiberius*, and the *State* of the *Romans* under him, cannot but own, that there never was perhaps any time more critical, or that required a Consummate Prudence in eminent Persons, to behave so as to be secure. For *Tiberius* was perhaps the most jealous

Man, that ever liv'd. And as he was a Monſter for Villany, and particularly Cruelty, he was ever reſtleſs and ſuſpitious of his own Safety. But he had Cunning enough to balance Men and Factions, by conſtant Spies among them. Which made all Men, but eſpecially the *Senators* and *Grandees* of *Rome*, cautious, even to Slavery and Terror, as to what they either did or ſaid, not knowing but the leaſt ſuſpitious Whiſper might be conveyed by ſome Body to *Tiberius*, and improv'd to their Ruin. He, in the mean time, buried himſelf up in the little barren Iſland, call'd *Capreæ*, as if he knew nothing of what paſs'd at *Rome*. And yet nothing occurr'd, but he had it convey'd to him by his Spies and Emiſſaries, who often invented Stories for their own ends, or ſo repreſented things, that proved fatal a little after to ſome Body or other. By him *Pontius Pilate* was ſent into *Judæa*. Who, by the Account of him, in (r) *Joſephus*, appears to have been a Man of equal Boldneſs and Cunning. He knew very well, that being at ſuch a Diſtance from his jealous Maſter, he was in eminent Danger as to his Life, in caſe he had been in the leaſt remiſs, as to any thing that related to the Emperor's Honour or Authority: For this would ſoon have been improv'd againſt him, by ſome of his Enemies, or any that had an Eye to his Government. Therefore to ſignalize himſelf in Zeal for his Maſter, he begins his Regency with ſetting up the Emperor's Images in *Jeruſalem*. This was unlawful by the Jewiſh Laws. They riſe in a tumultuous manner: But are ſoon quaſh'd by his Cunning and Reſolution. However, fearing the Conſequences of perſiſting in his Reſolution, the Jews being ſo obſtinate as to reſolve to die rather than permit this Violation of their Law: *Pilate* wiſely conſiders, that his Maſter was fearful of Inſurrections, and therefore having ſhow'd his Zeal for him enough in that Particular, yields at length to the Importunity of the

(r) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. cap. 8.

People,

People, that he might at leaſt gain their good Will, and be ſecure for the future, at leaſt ſo far as to prevent their ſending Complaints to *Rome* againſt him. But that he might ſhew his Authority ſtill, he ſeizes on their ſacred Treaſury call'd *Corban*, under the ſpecious Pretence of laying it out for the Publick Good, ſo as to bring in Water to their City. And, tho they riſe tumultuouſly upon this account too, he ſhows his Cunning in defeating their Deſign, his Power by puniſhing their Offence, and his Reſolution by detaining their Treaſure. Such was the State of the Jews then. They were rul'd by an arm'd Force, that was headed by one, that wanted neither Courage nor Cunning to keep them ſubject; and who had learn'd by Experience to be every way upon his Guard with them. The Rulers of the Jews therefore, as they durſt do nothing without him, that fell directly under his Juriſdiction, thought it the moſt Politick Method to vie with him and his Romans, in a mighty Pretence of Loyalty to the Emperor. When therefore, they laid their Plot to ruin Chriſt, their great Concern was to find ſomething in his Words or Actions, that might ſeem to ſavour of a Deſign againſt the Roman Empire, or at leaſt that might ſavour of Diſreſpect this way. For they concluded, that *Pilate* would not otherwiſe be moved with Accuſations againſt a poor Man, from whom his Maſter had nothing to fear. And he had too mean an Opinion of their ritual Law, or any other part of Religion, to put a Man to Death upon the account of Stories of Chriſt's tranſgreſſing this way. But could they prove any thing in Chriſt, that ſeem'd to ſavour of an Ambitious Deſign, they thought they could force *Pilate* to deſtroy him. And, ſeeing they themſelves fanſied that their Meſſiah would be a great Conqueror, and ſet up an Univerſal Monarchy in the Jewiſh Nation, they could not but think that Jeſus, who was given out to be the Meſſiah, muſt give ſome hints of his Deſign this way. Therefore we are told, *Luke* 20. 20. That *the Chief Prieſts and Scribes watched him, and ſent forth Spies, who ſhould feign themſelves juſt Men, that might*

might take hold of his Words, that so they might deliver him unto the Power and Authority of the Governour. But here, by the way, let me observe, That we ought not to make the Jewish Rulers worse than indeed they were. For it is usually said, that they were convinc'd that Christ was really the *Messiah*, and that they acted thus against Jesus out of pure Malice. But the case was quite otherwise. Their Ignorance of *Jesus*'s being the *Messiah* was not, I confess, an invincible Ignorance. So far was it from this, that they might easily have known, that he was that same Divine Person. But they were so intoxicated with the Dream of their *Messiah*'s being to appear as another *Cæsar* or *Augustus*, that this very Prejudice, and their own earthly and ambitious Tempers, render'd them incapable of being wrought upon by any Argument whatsoever. When therefore they saw our Saviour's Miracles, they were resolved to stave off the Evidence of Truth any way, rather than yield that so poor a Man was the Messiah. So that they thought it enough to use this silly and ridiculous Argument against a plain Truth; that it was not *by assistance from God, but from the Devil that he wrought Miracles*, *Matth.* 12. 24. Which our Saviour admirably refutes, *ver.* 27. See also, *Luke* 11. 15. and *Chap.* 18. 19. But that the Jewish Rulers, tho they sinn'd most grosly in pursuing Jesus to Death, were yet ignorant of his being the Messiah, is certain from *Peter*'s plain Assertion this way, who, tho he aggravate their Sin in *Killing the Prince of Life*, Acts 3. 13, 14. from other Considerations, acquits them in this respect. For he adds, *ver.* 17. *And now Brethren, I know that thro' Ignorance ye did it, as did also your Rulers.* But to return:

This being the State of *Pilate* with respect to the Roman Emperor, on the one hand, and the Jewish Rulers on the other; we may easily apprehend how Christ acted, pursuant to the Rule I mentioned above, by a wise Application of it to his Circumstances, in relation to *Pilate* and the Roman Government. For his Business this way, was to act so, that the most cunning and captious

tious of his Enemies ſhould have nothing to accuſe him of, that ſavour'd, in the leaſt, of ambitious Deſigns. When therefore he had miraculouſly *fed a Multitude of People* (even 500 Men, beſides Women and Children, *Matth.*14.21.) *with no more than five Loaves and two Fiſhes*, (which he did not out of any thing like Oſtentation, but *in Compaſſion to the People, who had followed him into a deſart Place*, Matth. 14. 13, 14, *&c.)* and the People began to conclude, that he was certainly the Meſſiah, *John* 6. 14. We have reaſon to obſerve, with what concern our Saviour conceal'd himſelf, till the noiſe of this was over, *John* 6. 15. *When therefore Jeſus perceived, that they would come and take him by force, to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himſelf alone.* And indeed he had good reaſon to do ſo. For, whereas other Miracles related only immediately to particular Perſons, this ſeem'd to be of a Publick Concern, and was look'd upon, as that which agreed more directly with the groſs Notion, which the Jews had of the Meſſiah as a Temporal Prince. He that could feed an Army miraculouſly, was a King very acceptable to the Jews. For it was eaſy to conclude, that he that could do this, could do every thing elſe. The People therefore project to make him King, whether he would or not. Our Saviour knew their Thoughts, and foreſaw the Event, *viz.* what uſe the Jewiſh Rulers would make of this with *Pilate*, and what *Pilate* muſt do to ſhow his Fidelity to his Maſter, and how he muſt be circumſtanced in relation to both. To obviate therefore all Inconveniences, he withdraws from the People, till this their Heat ſhould be over, and by this Method prevents all the Surmizes and Objections of his Enemies, and acts, at the ſame time, exactly purſuant to the Rule laid down, and in an exact Agreement with the Deſign of his State of Humiliation. And indeed ſo exactly did our Saviour act this way, that the Jewiſh Prieſts and Doctors were confounded in their attempts to deſtroy him. For when they brought him before *Pilate*, he ask'd them, as he had juſt reaſon to do, *John* 18.29——32. *What Accuſation*

cuſation bring you againſt this Man? They anſwer'd and ſaid, *If he were not a Malefactor, we would not have deliver'd him up to thee.* *Pilate* had reaſon to admire their Impudence. For he deſir'd to be inform'd of his Crimes. And they, who knew none in him, can ſay nothing but this General, that he was a Malefactor, and he was to believe them implicitely, ſo as to condemn a Man to Death, tho he knew not for what. Nay, ſays *Pilate*, if ye can produce no Proof againſt him, as to particular Crimes, *Take ye him and judge him according to your Law.* Which was, in effect the ſame that *Gallio* ſaid afterwards, in the Caſe of *Paul.* For it amounts to this; if ye can produce nothing of a civil Nature, for which this Man ſhould be puniſh'd, then I perceive the Affair belongs not to my Tribunal. Therefore ſeeing the Affair ſeems to relate to your own Law only, do ye judge of it. But this would not ſerve their turn: For no Puniſhment, leſs than Capital, will ſerve their turn. Therefore they tell him, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death.* But how ſhall they accuſe the innocent *Jeſus* of any thing Capital? No Man had the Impudence to charge him with any thing immoral. And it muſt be groſs Immorality indeed, if he muſt ſuffer Death for it. What ſhall they then do? Why; nothing can be ſuppoſed to influence *Pilate* to be their Tool, in their being reveng'd of Chriſt, unleſs they accuſe him of Treaſon againſt the Roman Emperor. Well, this they reſolve upon; tho they knew that nothing could be more notoriouſly falſe. They form therefore their Accuſation againſt Chriſt thus, *Luke* 23. 2. And they began to accuſe him, ſaying, *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to* Cæſar, *ſaying that he himſelf is the Chriſt* (i.e. the *Meſſiah*) who is *the King, i. e.* of the Jews. *Pilate* therefore enters into that Diſcourſe, which we have, *John* 18. 33——37. He durſt do no leſs, upon ſuch an Accuſation. But he thought that neither he nor his Maſter had any thing to fear from one, that own'd himſelf to have no Pretence to a Terrene Kingdom. And therefore, being perſwaded

ſwaded that this Accuſation proceeded from nothing but Malice, he acquits Chriſt as innocent, *Luke* 23. 4. This inrages them, and occaſions their running out in tedious Stories againſt him, *ver.* 5. and mention being made of *Galilee*, becauſe Chriſt had his abode there for a long time, and made his firſt Appearance chiefly there, he ſnatches at the Expreſſion, to rid his hands of this Affair, and ſends Chriſt to *Herod*, becauſe that Province did properly belong to his Juriſdiction, *ver.* 6, 7. *Herod* ſlights him, as a deſpicable Perſon, and ſends him back to *Pilate*, to whoſe Juriſdiction he did indeed properly belong, ſeeing he was born in *Bethlehem*, which was in *Jewry*, *ver.* 8, *&c.* *Pilate* perſeveres in his former Sentence, and argues from *Herod*'s being of the ſame Opinion, *ver.* 13, 14, 15, *&c.* Thus Chriſt's Innocency is vindicated, to the Confuſion of the Jews; who are ſo far from proving their Accuſation, that they are able to do nothing but run out in Railing and Noiſe. But poor *Pilate* is at length overcome with Noiſe, and the Fear of a Tumult and publick Diſturbances, and therefore yields to the popular Fury, tho ſtill with a Proteſtation againſt them, and clearing himſelf of the Guilt of Chriſt's Blood, *Luke* 23. 23. *John* 19. 4, 5, 6. *Matth.* 27. 24. And yet, when he hears them accuſe him of Blaſphemy, as if he had own'd himſelf to be the Son of God, he is ſaid to have been under a fear and dread of him, *John* 19. 7, 8, 9. Therefore, being not unacquainted with the Hiſtory of his Miracles, and having ſome Notion of the Coming of a Divine Hero into the World, and being under ſome Influence of what his Wife had dreamt of him, as ſomething extraordinary, he ſtudiouſly labours to releaſe him, *John* 19. 12. But alas, poor Man, the Jews come in with a clenching Argument at length, *ver.* 12. *If thou let this Man go, thou art not* Cæſar's *Friend*; for *whoſoever makes himſelf a King, ſpeaketh againſt* Cæſar. This was what touch'd him nearly, *ver.* 13. And yet one cannot but admire his Reſolution, *ver.* 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22. So that, tho he concurr'd

curr'd at length with their wicked Demand, he leaves all the blame on them, and tacitly owns Chriſt's Innocency, as he openly fixes Guilt upon them. By all which, it is eaſy to ſee, how exactly the Prudential Wiſdom of our Lord did harmonize with that Divine Wiſdom, that contriv'd the Goſpel, and how this bore Evidence to the former.

And now, 2*dly*, What I have ſaid of our Lord's Prudential Conduct of himſelf, in relation to the *Roman* Government, will bring Light into his Management, with reſpect to the *Jewiſh Rulers*; ſeeing they were his proper Enemies, and the great Spies that lay at catch to inſnare him, in order to inform *Pilate* againſt him, and to proſecute him at the *Roman* Tribunal, to which what related to Life and Death did, at that time, only belong.

There were two Things therefore that our Saviour had to poize and ballance, with the greateſt Niceneſs, one againſt the other; *viz.* Not to ſay that he was the *Meſſiah*, in plain Words, or by way of open Aſſertion; and yet to ſay it at the ſame time in ſuch a manner, as that his Meaning ſhould be as well known, as if he had uſed more plain Words. The *Firſt* of theſe Courſes he was not to take, that he might cut off the *Jewiſh* Doctors, from having a juſt Foundation of Accuſing and Proſecuting him, for owning himſelf a King. And the *Second* of them he was oblig'd to follow, becauſe he muſt own himſelf to be that which he really was. Beſides that, ſeeing he was to ſuffer upon this very Score, the *Jews* might this way be render'd inexcuſable; and thus the Deſign of God might take Place, in opening a way for the Propagation of the Goſpel among the *Gentiles*: which could not be, until firſt the *Jews* had deſtroyed their *Meſſiah*, and thus pull'd down the whole of their own Conſtitution with their own Hands. For, if they rejected him, they did, by that very Action, declare themſelves Apoſtates from their own Conſtitution, (which pointed at, and centred in him,) and Rebels to their Sovereign. By which, the

Juſtice

Juſtice of God, in their being caſt off, and having their whole Conſtitution deſtroy'd, is abundantly vindicated.

Here then, we ſee how nice a part our Saviour had to act, with Reſpect to the *Jewiſh* Rulers. They were afraid, that the People ſhould riſe and make him King, and that this would induce the *Romans*, whoſe Power they dreaded, to cut them off; and therefore they lay it down as neceſſary, for their own Security, that he be cut off. That this was the Caſe, we ſee expreſly, *John* 11. 47, 48, &c. For, upon the full and certain Information that was brought them, of the Miracle wrought, in raiſing *Lazarus*, it is ſaid, *Then gathered the Chief Prieſts and Phariſees a Counſel, and ſaid, what do we? For this Man does many Miracles. If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him. And the* Romans *will come and take away both our Place and Nation*, &c. Then it is added, *ver.* 53. *Then from that day forth they took Counſel together for to put him to death.*

What does our Saviour do upon this? Why, it is immediately added, *ver.* 54. *Jeſus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but went thence into a Country, near to the Wilderneſs, into a City called* Ephraim, *and there continued with his Diſciples.*

Our Saviour therefore avoided all he could to be brought to the Teſt; becauſe he was not to baulk the Truth, when put to it. When therefore, *Luke* 17. 20, 21. *He was demanded of the Phariſees, when the Kingdom of God ſhould come; he anſwered them, and ſaid, The Kingdom of God cometh not with Obſervation,* (*i.e.* with outward Pomp and Show.) *Neither ſhall Men ſay,* (as they do with reſpect to ſuch external Things, as ſtrike the Senſe, and ſet the Populace a running and gazing) *Lo here, or lo there,* (Oh how pretty, how fine, how ſtately this or the other thing is!) *for behold the Kingdom of God is among you,* (for ſo the Word ſhould be render'd, and not *within you.*) That is, it is come already, and is in the midſt of you: for the Kingdom of God is that Goſpel I preach, and I the King you expect, tho'

you

you see no outward State or Grandeur either in me, or in it.

And this may serve for a Specimen of our Lord's Management of himself. And therefore let these things following be duly observed. 1. That it was inconsistent with Christ's Design, and with the State of Humiliation, wherein he was whilst on Earth, to act any thing, that savour'd of Worldly Policy, or look'd like an Aim at Worldly Power or Grandeur. This I have prov'd so fully, that I need only mention it here. 2. That yet, he was to own himself to be the Messiah, when put to the Test, not only by Deeds, but in Words. So he does before *Pilate*, John 18 37. *Pilate* therefore said unto him, *Art thou a King then? Jesus answered, thou sayest that I am a King. To this End was I born, and for this End came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the Truth.* Here was a material Confession of the thing, but caution'd as to the Formality of owning it; and that so, as to include a flat Denial of setting up to be such a King, as the *Jews* pretended their Messiah would be, *viz.* a Temporal Emperor, that would dethrone *Tiberius*; for he had said before, *ver.* 36. *that his Kingdom was not of this World.* But that thus Christ materially own'd, that he was a proper King, and the true Messiah, is plain from what the Apostle says, 1 *Tim.* 6. 16. when he calls this the good Confession or Profession, which Christ witnessed before *Pontius Pilate*. And before this, our Lord had rid into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, to fulfill a Prophecy, which said plainly, that the Messiah should do so, when he came, as we see *Isa.* 62. 11. and *Zach.* 9. 9. And this was so much the more remarkable, that the Common People were, as it were, divinely inspired, to cast green Branches in the Way, and even their Garments, Huzzaing him in thus, *Hosanna to the Son of* David: *blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Hosanna in the Highest*, *Matth.* 21. 8, 9. Or, as *Luke* tells the Words, or another part of them, *Chap.* 19. 38 *Blessed be the King, that cometh in the Name of the Lord, Peace in Heaven, and Glory*

Glory in the Higheſt. Which was ſo plain an owning him to be the Meſſiah, and King of *Iſrael*; that ſome of the Phariſees were extremely offended with it, and ſaid from among the Multitude unto him, *Maſter, Rebuke thy Diſciples, i. e.* the whole People, for ſuch they were then, *Luke* 19. 39. But what ſays Chriſt? *I tell you, that if theſe ſhould hold their Peace, the Stones would immediately cry out,* ver. 40. And with what Authority does he enter into the Temple, calling it *his Houſe,* and throwing out the Buyers and Sellers from thence, *ver.* 45, *&c.* But yet all this did not lay a full Foundation of accuſing him ſo before *Pilate,* as would take with him. And therefore let us obſerve, 3. That the *Jewiſh* Rulers wanted ſome plain Aſſertion, which might ſeem to carry this with it, that he was affecting to erect *Judæa* into a Kingdom, independent on the *Roman* Empire; Therefore they come and ask him, *By what Authority he acted as he did?* Luke 20.1,2. Which he avoids anſwering directly, by propoſing a Counter-Queſtion, which included ſuch a *Dilemma,* as quite confounded them, *ver.* 3, 4, *&c.* Which he follows by ſuch a Parable, as confounded them yet more, *ver.*9,10, *&c.* This inrages them, and puts them upon the Deſign of ſending cunning Spies to watch him, who were to ſee, if, under a fair Pretence of Information, they could draw any thing from him, that ſavoured of aſpiring Thoughts after Worldly Power, *ver.* 19, 20. And they propoſe this captious Queſtion, *ver.* 21, 22. *Is it lawful to give Tribute to Cæſar?* But he eaſily *perceived their Craftineſs,* and asks them, *Why tempt ye me?* And then he gives them ſuch a ſort of Anſwer, as breaks all their Meaſures, *v.* 24, *&c.* So that, tho' he own'd himſelf to be the Meſſiah, and King of *Iſrael,* yet he gave no Handle to his Enemies to accuſe him of attempting or deſigning any Innovation in the State. And therefore let us obſerve, 4. What that Method was, that our Saviour made uſe of to adjuſt theſe two Things I have mention'd above, *viz.* to own himſelf to be the Meſſiah and King of *Iſrael,* and yet not to own it ſo, as that the *Jews* could found any Accuſation juſt-

ly upon it, that would oblige a *Roman* Magistrate to punish Christ as a Traitor to the State, as then constituted. Here then let us observe, That there were four things, that concurred at this Time. 1. That the *Jews* expected that their Messiah was to be a Temporal Prince; and therefore concluded, that if any Man own'd himself to be the Messiah, he must design to erect an Earthly Monarchy. They therefore reckon'd that Christ must have such a Design, and must give some Discovery of his doing so. 2. Christ at the same time, who knew their mistaken Notion of the Messiah and his Kingdom, was to own himself such, and yet declare himself to have no Designs of this Kind. For, as he had no Political Views, so he was to give nothing of Umbrage this way; because his Sufferings must not be stated upon any such Account. 3. *Pilate*, who laugh'd at a Heavenly Kingdom, and had no great Opinion of the Honesty of the Scribes and Pharisees, was such a Man as not to regard what they said, unless they could prove that Christ affected Worldly Power. And this must be proved too, so as he was able to understand them, and not by far-fetch'd Consequences and Stretches, from Phrases and Circumlocutions, that he understood nothing of. 4. Our Lord therefore, from a perfect and clear View of all these Things, chose this Method. There were several Phrases used by the Prophets, and peculiar to the *Jewish* Writings, by which the Messiah and his Kingdom were spoken of. These were as familiarly known by the *Jews*, as the most common Words were: And yet they were such Figurative and Peculiar Expressions, that no other Nation could well understand. Or if they did, they were not such, as could be used by a Heathen Magistrate, especially in Matters of Life and Death. These Phrases therefore our Saviour chose to keep to; by which he did own himself to be the Messiah to the *Jews*, as much as if he had said in so many Words, that he was the rightful King of the *Jews*; and yet, at the same time, he did defeat the Design of the *Jews*, as much as if he had said nothing at all, that imported that he was the Messiah;

siah; because such Phrases were not understood by *Pilate* in their Sense; nor could he receive their Exposition of them, as equivalent to plain Words, because this were to make them, at once, Judge and Party. And here then, as we cannot but admire Christ's Prudence, in keeping to these Phrases; so we have just Reason to admire the Forecast of Divine Wisdom, in painting forth the Messiah and his Kingdom by such a Set of Words, as should be the Handle for him to act by, in securing himself, during the set Time of his Acting on Earth, and in out-witting all his Enemies, at the same time that he laid a Foundation of his suffering honourably, and just in such a manner, as he was to suffer in; *viz.* So as to be vindicated by the *Roman* Government, and merely sacrificed to the Violence of the *Jews*, to their own Shame, and, at length, just Ruin.

And here, let us take a View of those Prophetical Phrases, that were peculiar to the *Jewish* Nation, and by them universally understood to denote the Messiah, and his Kingdom; especially seeing Christ's adhering to these was that Method, which he did so successfully make use of, and by which he perfectly reach'd his End, by an exact and equal Adjustment of those two Things I mentioned before; that, at first View, seem'd to be irreconcileable. But here the Reader must not expect that I should take Notice of all those Expressions of the Old Testament that relate to Christ, but only of those that were the vulgarly receiv'd ones, when Christ was in the World. Now the proper Name by which the *Jews* ever spoke of him was that of the *Messiah* or *Christ*; whose Coming was so universally believed and expected, that even the poor Woman of *Samaria* could say, *John* 4. 25. *I know that Messiah cometh, (i. e.* adds the Evangelist, *Christ,) when he is come he will tell us all things.* To which our Lord answers, *ver.* 26. *I that speak unto thee, am he.* When therefore the Woman told this to her Neighbours, they crowded out to see him; and it is said, *Many believed in him, and told the Woman,* ver. 42. *Now we be-*

lieve, not because of thy Saying, for we have heard him our selves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the World. And no Wonder that this Name should be universally given him, that was anciently called the *Promised Seed*, and the *Shilo*; for, not to mention other Places, he is expressly called *Messiah the Prince*, Dan. 9. 25. But he is also called emphatically, *the King of Israel*, or *Ruler in Israel*, Mic. 5. 2. Matth. 2. 5, 6. Luke 19. 38. For so it was fully specified, *Isa.* 9. 6, 7. That *the Government should be upon his Shoulder*, and that he should be called *the Prince of Peace*; *of the Increase of whose Government and Peace there should be no End*; *upon the Throne of* David, *and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with Judgment, and with Justice, from henceforth, even for ever.* And besides, that the Prince that the *Jews* expected was called *Messiah*, and *the Prince*, *King*, or *Ruler*, in a peculiar and emphatical Sense, there were two Ways of Speaking used in relation to him, *viz. the Son of God*, and *Son of David*; which the *Jews* understood, when they spoke in an appropriate Sense, to be Names or Periphrases, properly expressive of the Messiah, and peculiar to him. *Son of God* denotes the Messiah, *Psal.* 2. 7. *Prov.* 30. 4. and he that appeared with the three Youths was called so, *Dan.* 3. 25. And that it was a Phrase common with the *Jews*, to call the Messiah so, when our Lord came into the World, appears, *Matth.* 4. 3. *Chap.* 14. 33. *Chap.* 16. 16. *Chap.* 27. 54. Nay, even the Devils themselves speak in the same Dialect, *Matth.* 8. 29. And in like manner, *Son of David* was a familiar Phrase among the *Jews*, by which they call'd him that was to be the Messiah, as we see, *Matth.* 9. 27. *Chap.* 15. 22. *Chap.* 20. 30, 31. *Chap.* 12. 23. *Chap.* 21. 9. *Chap.* 22. 42, 45. Which was a Phrase, that was founded on what was said of the Messiah, *Isa.* 9. 7. *Jer.* 23. 5. *Chap.* 33. 15, 17. *Amos* 9. 11. There was also another Phraseology, that our Saviour made use of, as denoting him to be the Messiah, in that appropriate Sense he us'd it, *viz. Son of Man*, *Matth.* 8. 20. *Chap.* 9. 6. *Chap.* 10. 23. *Chap.* 11. 19. *Chap.* 12. 8, 32, 40.

Chap.

Chap. 13. 37. *Chap.* 16. 13. *Chap.* 17. 9, 22. *Chap.* 20. 18. *Chap.* 24. 27, 37, 39. *Chap.* 25. 31. *Chap.* 26. 2, 24, 45. In the using of which our Saviour alludes to *Dan.* 7. 13. Which is used to denote the Messiah likewise. But this was so humble a Phrase that the *Jews* did not care to make use of it, in relation to their Messiah; and therefore our Lord gave no Occasion of Offence to them by it, as he did, when he allowed himself to be called by the other Characters. And yet, as I said before, none of these Expressions could be a just Ground of accusing Christ before *Pilate*, as a Traitor to *Cæsar*. *Messiah*, was mere Gibberish to him. *David*'s Family was so low, that *Tiberius* had nothing to fear, tho Christ was really his Son. The *Son of God* sounded indeed awfully; but yet it was too mystical to a Gentile, to take away a Man's Life upon this Account, nor was there any *Roman* Law to justify his so doing. The only Phrase then that could fright *Pilate*, was Christ's being called *King* or *Prince*. This he could not let pass. And therefore when Christ talks of his Kingdom, he catches at the Word, with some Concern, *John* 19. 37. *Art thou a King?* But though Jesus own the thing, yet he does it so artfully; especially seeing he deny'd (what the *Jews* labour'd to fasten upon him) *that his Kingdom was of this World*; that *Pilate* saw no just Reason to take away his Life.

And here then, let us consider what the *Jewish* Phrase was at that time, which they constantly used, when they spoke of the *Kingdom* that the *Messiah* was to erect. Now this was constantly this, and no other, *viz. the Kingdom of God*, or *Kingdom of Heaven*. For tho' they dreamt of a Temporal Monarchy, yet the Providence of God did so order it, that they should use a Way of Speaking, that should carry along with it a quite other Idea; and so should be a material Refutation of their own Assertion, and a Confirmative of what Christ taught, that his Kingdom was to be Heavenly and Divine. However, that this was then the received Phraseology, appears plainly from these two following Pas-

ſages, not to mention other things obſervable to this purpoſe in the Evangelical Hiſtory. The *Firſt* is that which we have, *Luke* 14. Where, while he ſat at Meat in the Phariſees Houſe, where they watched him, *ver.* 1. it is ſaid, *ver.* 15. that one of thoſe that ſat at Meat with him, ſaid unto him, *Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat Bread in the Kingdom of God.* The *Other* is what I cited before, *viz. Luke* 17. 20. Where the Phariſees demanded, *when the Kingdom of God ſhould come?* And it is eaſy to ſee whence the *Jews* took this Expreſſion, *viz.* from *Dan.* 7. 13, 14, 18, 27. Where the Kingdom of the Son of Man, and the Kingdom of the Saints of the moſt High, is made mention of, as the Laſt Kingdom, and ſuch a one as was to be univerſal, as to Extent; and perpetual, as to Duration. See alſo, *Dan.* 2. 44. and *Chap.* 9. 25. Now the *Jews* did compendiouſly expreſs their Notion of this Kingdom, in reſpect to all theſe Qualifications under the Deſignation of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, or *Kingdom of God*. Hence the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe upon theſe Words, *Iſa.* 40. 9. *Say to the Cities of* Judah, *Behold your God*, gives this Gloſs, *Say to the Cities of* Judah, *The Kingdom of God is revealed.* And on *Iſa.* 53. 11. the *Targum* ſays, *They ſhall ſee the Kingdom of their Meſſiah.* And that the later *Jewiſh* Writings do frequently uſe the ſame Phraſe, is taken Notice of by Dr. *Lightfoot*, Vol. 1. Page 569, 570. and Vol. 2. Page 115. When therefore *John Baptiſt*, and Chriſt, and his Apoſtles ſpoke in this Dialect, as they do frequently, (for which ſee *Mat.* 3. 2. *Chap.* 4. 17. *Chap.* 6. 33. *Chap.* 12. 28. *Chap.* 21. 43. *Chap.* 13. 47, 48. *Col.* 1. 13. *Rom.* 14. 17.) we may eaſily conclude that they ſpoke in a Strain that the *Jews* were accuſtomed to, and perfectly underſtood. Only here was their Strait, that they knew not how to improve this into an Accuſation againſt our Lord, that could be of any Validity with *Pilate*; who had nothing to do with an Heavenly Kingdom, if Chriſt did not ſet up for an Earthly one. So that our Lord, by keeping to this Way of Speaking, did perfectly defeat the Deſign that they laid againſt his Life. Therefore, to proceed,

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3*dly*. Let us consider, the prudential Management of our Lord, in relation to the Populace or Bulk of the Jewish Nation. Which will be easily discern'd, if we consider this one thing, and the Reasons thereof, *viz. That our Lord conversed more with them and among them, than amongst the Learned Rabbi's, or any sort of Men of Note and Quality.* Now the Reasons, why he chose to act thus, are easily assignable, from what has been already said. For, (1.) Our Lord did this way remarkably counter-act the Method of Politicians, who if they have any ambitious Designs, they do not care to make themselves too cheap by conversing constantly with the meaner People, however fair and insinuating their Carriage may be this way on occasions; but take care to work upon, and by the Heads of the People, and those that have the greatest Sway with them. And, at this time, the Pharisees were the prevailing Party, that carried the Body of the Jewish Nation, which way they pleas'd. An eminent Instance of this we see, in the strange Change they wrought on the People, when Christ was seized. For whereas a little while before, such a Multitude had huzza'd him into *Jerusalem*, as the Messiah, in the most solemn Manner, *Luke* 19. 37, 38, *&c.* insomuch that the *Scribes and Priests durst not meddle with him, for fear of the People, ver.* 47, 48. *Chap.* 20. 19. and *Chap.* 22. 2. *Matth.* 21. 46. We find, that in a very little time after, they were so far wrought upon and wheedled over by their Doctors, as to join universally in crying out, *Crucify, Crucify him*, and in preferring *Barrabas* before him. And therefore had our Lord acted according to common Methods, he must have courted both the People and their Doctors. Whereas he did neither. For he constantly declaim'd against the Scribes and Pharisees, as the worst of Men, *Luke* 20. 46, 47. and *Matth.* 23. throughout the whole Chapter. And, as for the People, whereas a Multitude of them had come in to him, and own'd themselves his Disciples, upon the Miracle of feeding them with two Loaves and a few Fishes, *John* 6. 2 — 9 — 14 he *first* withdraws

himself from them, as knowing their Design of proclaiming him the *King Messiah*. For indeed, as I hinted before, this was the propereſt Miracle to work upon them that could be. What, thought they, has this Man fed 500 Men, with almoſt nothing. He is the beſt General in the World. For had there been 100000 Thouſand, the continuance of the Miracle would have been equally eaſy to him. Therefore, thought they, this is certainly our great Prophet, *ver.* 14. *i. e.* the King of *Iſrael*, *ver.* 15. But when our Lord's withdrawing did not abate the People's Heat this Way, but that they follow'd him over the Sea of *Galilee*, *ver.* 22, 24. Our Saviour chuſes *another Method*, to break them off from their Deſign. He is ſo far from courting them, that he ſpeaks roughly to them, telling them, that they follow'd not ſo much out of any real Conviction of his being the Meſſiah, by the Miracles he wrought, as *becauſe they had eat of the Loaves, and were filled*, ver. 26. which was as much as to ſay, that they form'd a Notion of him, that was groſs and falſe, as if he were to raiſe them to Glory, Honour and Riches. And therefore he adds, *Labour not for the Meat which periſheth*, &c. *ver.* 27. And thus he draws them inſenſibly in, to afford him a proper occaſion to diſprove their worldly and ſenſual Notion of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, which he does in ſo pungent and grating a manner, through the greateſt part of that Chapter, that a great part of thoſe new Diſciples left him, and *walked no more with him*, *ver.* 66. For their Dream of an Earthly Monarchy being evaniſh'd, they had no more any Value for Chriſt. By all which it is eaſy to ſee, that Chriſt's converſing ſo much with the Populace, was not out of any Affectation of Popularity, but rather, as he manag'd himſelf, the very Reverſe thereof. But then, (2.) Our Lord had this End likewiſe in his doing ſo; that he was concern'd to give his poor Countrymen a fair Opportunity of being happy. Religion was in a manner loſt among them. Their Doctors were generally a wicked and degenerous Set of Men. Our Lord took pity upon them,

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as upon poor Sheep that wanted a Shepherd. And whereas their Doctors affected an outward Auſterity, and would not come near the meaner Sort, looking upon them as if they had been accurſed, in compariſon of themſelves; our Lord came in a familiar manner, converſing even with Publicans, and thoſe whom the Jews call'd *Sinners*, *Mark* 2. 16. *Luke* 5. 29, 30. that is, ſuch Perſons as did not obſerve the Ceremonial Law, and were perhaps not very obſervant of the Moral: Which he did, in order to do them good. So that when the Scribes and Phariſees form an Accuſation againſt him from thence, he unanſwerably refutes this Cavil. What, ſays he, is *it a Crime for a Phyſitian to viſit his Patients?* *Matth.* 9. 12. Where ought he to be, if not with them? And, as thus our Lord gave all his Countrymen, even the meaneſt of them, a fair Opportunity to know and embrace the Goſpel, and did openly defend this Procedure: So, he did all that they themſelves could have deſired, in order, the more effectually, to ingage them to fall in with him. For, beſides the unſtained Purity of his Life, his admirable Wiſdom, the Authority that attended his Diſcourſes, the Majeſty of his Aſpect (tho vail'd with Modeſty, Humility, Affability and Sweetneſs) the Concern he ſhew'd for the common Good (particularly in relation to the Spiritual Good of Souls) and the many Miracles he wrought, and all of them beneficial to ſome body or other: I ſay, beſides all theſe things, we are to conſider, 1. That they were not ignorant of Chriſt's Deſcent from *David*: for that Genealogy was exactly known. And therefore it is noted, *Luke* 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. That when *Auguſtus* taxed the World, *Joſeph* and *Mary*, tho they dwelt in *Galilee*, were obliged to go to *Bethlehem*, the City of *David* (*they being of the Houſe and Lineage of* David) to be taxed there; for as *Luke* ſays, all went to be taxed, every one to his own City. So that Chriſt's being deſcended from *David*, was univerſally known. Which could not but endear him to the Jews; who did ſo much glory, and boaſt of that Great Prince, and of his noble Family;

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eſpecially conſidering the many and eminent Predictions that related to the revival of it, by the *Meſſiah*, who was to ſpring forth out of the Root of *Jeſſe*. 2. And, as Chriſt was deſcended from the *Jewiſh* Race, and particularly from *David*, ſo he gave ſufficient Evidence of a peculiar Regard to that Nation above all others. When therefore he ſent forth his twelve Apoſtles to preach the Goſpel, he gave them this Charge, *Mat.* 10. 5, 6. *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any City of the* Samaritanes *enter ye not; but go rather to the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of Iſrael.* It is true, it would ſeem that our Lord did twice paſs beyond the Limits of *Judea* and *Galilee* in his Travels; once into the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sydon*, and once into the Country of the *Samaritanes*: The *Firſt* is mentioned, *Matth.* 15. 21. but is ſo worded, that no Man can be certain, that our Lord went actually beyond the Limits of *Judæa*. Nay, the contrary ſeems to be inſinuated, *v.* 22. where the Woman is ſaid to have come out of theſe Coaſts. But, if he paſt a Step beyond them, it was not to preach, which he did not till he arriv'd in *Galilee*, *ver.* 29. And ſo ſtrictly did our Lord obſerve the Rule, that he laid down to his Apoſtles; that, it is from hence only that we can vindicate his Carriage to the poor Woman, which otherwiſe would appear to be too ſevere. But ſeeing, as he ſays, *ver.* 24. *I am not ſent but to the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of Iſrael*; it was but a neceſſary Concluſion, *v.* 26. that *it was not meet to take the Childrens Bread and to caſt it to Dogs*. For the *Jewiſh Peculium*, or *Pecuare*, their Incloſure and Property, was not yet forfeited by them. If therefore Chriſt diſpenſed any Covenant-Favour to thoſe that were not of that Church, but Aliens from that Common-wealth, it could not be done according to the ordinary Rule, but as an Exception from it, that could not be drawn into a Preſident, as being a peculiar Caſe. The *Second* Time that our Lord ſeems to have gone beyond the Limits of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, was when he went thro' the Country of *Samaria*, and to the City *Sychar*, John 4. 5, *&c.* where he diſcovered him-

himſelf to the Woman, and afterwards to the other Inhabitants. But, if we duly conſider Circumſtances, this was very conſiſtent with the ordinary Rule, that our Saviour laid down to himſelf and his Apoſtles; which we cannot ſuppoſe but our Lord had Liberty to diſpenſe with upon extraordinary Occaſions; and ſure this was one. For the Hiſtory is this. Chriſt had been at the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*, John 2. 13. There he purg'd the Temple, *ver.* 14, &c. This occaſions a Diſpute between him and the *Jewiſh* Rulers, *ver.* 18, &c. And there he works many Miracles, to the Conviction of many, *ver.* 23. But Jeſus keeps himſelf upon the Reſerve, as knowing the knaviſh Deſigns of the Rabbi's, *ver.* 24, 25. This Reſervedneſs in him, and the known Enmity of the Doctors againſt him, obliges *Nicodemus*, one of them, who believed in Jeſus, to come to him, and diſcourſe with him in the Night, *John* 3. 1, &c. From *Jeruſalem* Jeſus and his Diſciples go into the Country of *Judæa*, where his Diſciples baptized many, *ver.* 22. This occaſions a Diſpute between *John*'s Diſciples and Chriſt's, *ver.* 25. The former tell *John*, that *all Men were like to leave him, and flock* after Jeſus, *ver.* 26. *John*, upon this, tells them again, *that it muſt be ſo*, and ought to be ſo, for that *Jeſus* was the true *Meſſiah*, *ver.* 27, &c. This Teſtimony of *John*, and Chriſt's Diſcipling ſo many more than he, inraged the Phariſees, *John* 4. 1. which Chriſt knowing, and foreſeeing the Conſequences of, he leaves *Judæa*, to go back into *Galilee*, ver. 3. Now the direct Way from *Judæa* to *Galilee* was thro *Samaria*, as every Map of ordinary Exactneſs will tell the Reader. And therefore it is ſaid, *ver.* 4. *and he muſt needs go thro' Samaria, i. e.* the Country, not the City, of that Name. So that it was not a Matter of Choice, but Neceſſity that he went thither. And ſo far was he from Preaching there, that being weary with his Journey, he choſe to ſit down on the Side of old *Jacob*'s Well, which was without the City *Sychar*, ver. 5, 6. while he ſent his Diſciples into the City to buy Meat. To this Well, whilſt Jeſus ſat there, Providence directs

a *Samaritan* Woman to draw Water. And upon this Occasion happens that memorable Discourse between him and her. So that our Lord did not, of set purpose, go to preach to that People; but, in concurrence with a Providential Call, past out of his Common Method and Rule of Procedure, to do good to some poor, ignorant and misled Persons. By which he demonstrated the Verity of what he had said to the *Jews* and *Galileeans*, that had the mighty Works been done amongst *Gentiles*, that were done among them, they would not have been so refractory to own him for the Messiah. And here by the way let me observe this, that no such Prudential Rule can be laid down by any Man for his Conduct, but that it may be Duty sometimes, upon a loud Call of Providence, to pass from it, and act another part. For of two things equally Lawful, one may be ordinarily Eligible. And yet something may occur that may make the other the more Eligible of the two, *prout hinc & nunc*, or *pro re nata*, that is, as Circumstances may concur to alter things. For it is the Property and Prerogative of God alone, to make one Thing, in it self indifferent, necessarily Duty or necessarily sinful; as *E. G. Circumcision*, *Sacrificing*, &c. which were necessary to the *Jews*, and sinful now to us. But, where there is no Positive Command or Prohibition, but only Prudence and Reason to direct Men, we must remember which of the things Lawful are most Eligible. Thus ordinarily Christ chose to preserve his Life, by withdrawing from his Enemies. But, at last, the Change of Circumstances made him chuse rather to offer himself a Prisoner to those that sought to lay hold on him. And thus it was in the present Case I am speaking of. He kept to his ordinary Rule of confining his Preaching to the *Jews*, by avoiding all Occasions of speaking unto the *Samaritanes*. But when Providence, notwithstanding this, draws him insensibly to speak with this Woman, and when this Discourse occasions her to blaze his Fame abroad; he could not avoid to improve it, both out of

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Deference to his Father's Will, and from the regard he had to the Welfare and Salvation of Souls. 3. And, as Christ acted, as if he had been as National as his Country-men, (though from a quite different Principle and View) so he was concerned that none of his Country-men, should want a fair Call of the Gospel, in order to their being saved, in case they were not wanting to themselves. And therefore, after he had sent his twelve Apostles to preach every where to the *Jews*, Mat. 10. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* he resolv'd to give them a new Call and Invitation, and a more particular one than before, that none might pretend Ignorance, and that he might avoid, as much as was possible, the Censure of Partiality. Therefore seeing the Work of Preaching statedly thro' all *Judæa*, and *Galilee*, was too hard a Task for the 12 Apostles; and seeing also he himself could not ordinarily spare them from him; he appointed other 70 Disciples also, as *Luke* tells us, *Chap.* 10. 1, &c. *whom he sent forth by Pairs, two and two before his Face into every City and Place, whether he himself would come*; giving them the very same Commission and Charge that he had given the 12 Apostles before. And here it deserves special Observation, that Christ spread the Gospel so universally, thro' all Places of *Canaan*, where the *Jews* dwelt, that there was no less than a threefold Proclamation of the Gospel to every City and Place where the *Jews* dwelt. The *First* was by the twelve Apostles, who seem to have gone thro' the whole Country, upon that Errand, *Matth.* 10. 5, *&c.* And, it would seem, that Jesus himself followed them, by what we read, *Matth.* 11. 1. So that here are no less than two Offers of the Gospel. For the Apostles seem to have been his Harbingers only, and the Method taken to have been this; That Christ and his Apostles went together until they arriv'd at some City or principal Town; and that being there, he sent out his Apostles *two by two*, Mark 6. 7. that so every part of the City might be preached unto; or if the Town was small, we may suppose that while two, or four, or six, were telling the News of the Messiah's being

ing come, in that Place, the reſt were employing themſelves the ſame way in the Neigbourhood, or Country adjacent; and that when things were thus prepared, our Lord himſelf made his Appearance among them, and continued the Diſcourſe; confirming their Words by his own Preſence, and their Miracles, which were all wrought in his Name, by new ones done by himſelf, as proper Occaſions were offered to him. But, becauſe both theſe Proclamations ſeem to be interwoven one with the other, I ſhall not reckon them as two, but one only. The *Second* therefore was by the Seventy Diſciples, whom he ſent forth *two by two into every City and Place*, Luke 10. 1. So that here, for Expedition, and that no one Place might be paſt by, or ſo much as any one Perſon of the *Jewiſh* Nation, that dwelt in that Country; he ſeems to have canton'd out the whole Country into 35 Parts, or ſmall Diviſions; into each of which he ſent two of his Diſciples, to preach and publiſh the glad Tidings of Salvation. But was this to ſave himſelf from the Trouble and Pains of Attendance? No, it was far from it. For, *he himſelf and his twelve Apoſtles followed them into every City and Place*, as *Luke* expreſly inſinuates, *Luke* 10. 1, *&c.* And therefore the *Third* and Laſt Publication of the Goſpel was by Himſelf, ſurrounded with the Twelve; the ſeventy Diſciples being only ſent to prepare the way for his own Coming. Therefore it is ſaid, that he ſent them before his Face, and into every City and Place, *whether he himſelf would come.* And that this was incluſive of all *Judæa*, ſeems to be ſufficiently plain, becauſe the Expreſſion is general, and no other Exception made, but that there ſhould be no open Publication of the Goſpel, to any of the *Gentiles* or *Samaritans*, Matth. 10. 5. And the Command given to the Seventy, being the ſame in all other Reſpects, with that given to the Twelve, we need not queſtion but that it was the ſame in this Reſpect alſo. And here let us obſerve, how concerned Chriſt was, that the whole *Jewiſh* Nation ſhould be acquainted with the News of the Goſpel; and what indefatigable

fatigable Pains our Lord was at, in going twice in Person thro' the whole Land, and in giving all the *Jews* sufficient Warning that the Messiah was come, no less than three times, if not four. An Observation so much the more memorable, that I believe the Reader never heard of it before: at least so it appears to me, if I may suppose such a thing from the Silence of all Expositors and Divines, as to this matter, so far as my Reading and Knowledge of Authors goes. I am aware, that some may object, and say; that it would seem, that Christ did not personally go after either the Apostles or seventy Disciples; because we read that both of them returned to him, *Mark* 6. 30. *Luke* 10. 17. And that therefore we ought to interpret the words, *Luke* 10. 1. to denote this only, that Christ sent the 70 into every place, whether he otherwise had a mind to have gone himself. But sure I am that these Words in the 1*st* Verse of the 10*th* Chapter of *Luke* denote more than this; even no less than a fixed Design or Resolution to follow them. For the Greek cannot be interpreted otherwise. And if Christ sent out the Seventy, with this very Design, I cannot believe that our Lord fail'd of performing what he had so solemnly and deliberately resolv'd upon. And if he followed the Seventy Disciples, I cannot but think, that he acted after the same manner, in his sending forth the Twelve Apostles, tho this be not expressly taken notice of. What is said therefore of the returning of the Twelve first, and of the Seventy afterwards, relates to the final Performance of their Work, after they had gone round the whole Country. For seeing they went forth two by two, tho our Lord be supposed to have followed them, and to have made himself known in all Places, that had not rejected his Disciples previously; we are to reckon, that our Lord had so far laid down a Regulation of their Journeys and his own, as to appoint some certain place, whether all were to meet, after they had gone their several Circuits, and he himself the general Round of the whole Land. And, seeing I have mention'd

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Christ's Commission both to the 12, and to the 70, I would desire the Reader to take notice of one thing, *viz.* our Lord's Command, that in case of being despised and rejected, by any City, Village, Family, or Person, they should use this Rite or Action, as a Testimony against them; *To shake off the Dust from their Feet*, or *from their Shoes*, *Matth.* 10. 14. *Luke* 10. 10. For, it is certainly worth our while, to consider the meaning of this Custom, and what our Lord's Design in it was. Now we are to know then, that the Jews had a Notion, that the very Dust of the Land of *Israel* had a peculiar Sort of Sanctity in it, above other Countreys; and that the Gentiles were so polluted, that the very Ground and Dust of their Land, was defiled. *Tosaphta ad Kelim*, say thus, *In three Things* Syria *was like unto any Heathen Land*; one was, That *the Dust of it made a Person unclean, as the Dust of any other Heathen Land*, &c. And in *Bab. Sanedr. Fol.* 12. 1. there is this Passage. A Traditional Author says, *They bring no Herbs into the Land of* Israel, *out of a Heathen Land. What difference is there between them? R. Jeremiah* says, *The Care of their Dust is among them.* The Gloss upon this is, *They take Care, lest together with the Herbs something of the Dust of the Heathen Land be brought, which defiles in the Tent, and defiles the Purity of the Land of* Israel. By these and many such Expressions, to be found in the Jewish Writings, it is plain, that they were careful to bring no Dust from a Heathenish Land, into the Land of *Israel*, no not so much as the little Dust that hung upon Herbs, in case they were permitted to bring any such. When therefore the Jews came from their Travels amongst Heathens, they stop'd upon the Borders of their own Country, they carefully rub'd off any Dust or Dirt that was upon their Cloaths, and particularly they were careful to shake the Dust from off their Feet, that they might not be defiled this way, and that they might testify their Abhorrence of Paganish Customs and Ways. When therefore our Saviour gave his Disciples order *to shake off the Dust from their Feet, for a Testimony against those Places that rejected*

jected them and their Message; both they, and all the Jews that saw them do so, were fully appriz'd of the meaning of this Rite. For it was, in effect, a Declaration, that such a City was look'd upon as prophane and no better than Heathenish, because of their opposing themselves to the Messiah, and that they were accordingly pronounced to be such, by his Disciples, in his Name. But to proceed; (3.) Our Saviour had this further Reason in view, in conversing so much with the Bulk of the Common People; that, in case they continu'd obstinate against him, to the last, notwithstanding all the Pains he took upon them, the Love he expresst towards them, and the Evidences he gave of his being the Messiah: It might then 'be clearly seen, how inexcusable they were, and how justly He might punish them at last, as inveterate and incorrigible Enemies and Rebels. And, seeing he foresaw how they would behave, he wisely acted so; that we may now plainly see, how just he was, in his sending the Romans to punish them; especially seeing it is notorious to all, that know that History, that it was their own Wickedness and Obstinacy that pull'd down that Vengeance upon their Heads. And thus he acted, as the Psalmist says, *Psal.* 51. 5. in such a manner, as to *be justified in what he spoke, and clear* (viz. from all Censure in point of Justice and Equity) *when he judged.* As a Comment upon which Expression, it may not be amiss to consider that Account of this Matter, which Christ himself gave to the Jews, in that plain and pungent Parable of the Vineyard and Husbandmen, as it is related, *Matth.* 21. 33, &c. *Mark* 12. 1, 2, *&c. Luke* 20. 9, 10, *&c.* The Sum of which is this. A certain Person made an Inclosure of a Piece of Ground, and made a curious Vineyard of it. And after he had, with great Cost, Care and Pains, made it fit for his Purpose, by Planting it with Vines, by hedging it round about, by making a Winepress in it, by fortifying it with a Tower; he let it to certain Husbandmen, who were oblig'd to send him such a Proportion

of the Fruit, as a Rent due to him, for the use of the rest. And having done so, he went into a far Country. From whence he sent Servants to the Husbandmen, to receive this Rent. But instead of this, they beat and abused his Servants, killing several of them. And this they did not once only, but again and again. The Lord, after all these Insolencies and Affronts, is induc'd to send his own Son to them. For Reason seem'd to say, that surely they would reverence his Son. But their corrupt Reasoning was the quite contrary of this: Come let us kill him, for this is the only Son, and then the Inheritance will be ours. Now this was as plainly the case of the Jews, at this time, as could possibly be. For our Saviour alludes to what had been said of *Israel* of old, *Psal.* 80. 8 —— 14. *Jer.* 2. 20, 21. and *Isa.* 5. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* Which last place our Saviour seems to have expressly pointed at, and commented upon. And therefore, our Saviour had no need to make Application; because the Prophet *Isaiah* had done it so plainly before, when he says, *v.* 7. *The Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the House of* Israel, *and the Men of* Judah —— *and he looked for Judgment, but behold Oppression,* &c. Our Lord therefore put the Question home to the Jews, *Matth.* 21. 40. *When the Lord therefore of the Vineyard cometh, What will he do unto these Husbandmen?* This Question, tho no doubt it grated them, yet they could not otherwise answer than thus, *ver.* 41. *He will miserably destroy those wicked Men, and will let out his Vineyard unto other Husbandmen, which shall render him the Fruits in their Seasons.* Lo! here the Force of Truth. For, that this was their Answer, the Words of *Matthew* assure us; by this Preamble, *They say unto him,* he will miserably destroy, *&c.* And yet, that they knew his Design in the Parable, *Luke* tells us expressly, *Chap.* 20. 19. when he says, that *the Priests and Scribes sought to lay hold on him the same Hour, but that they feared the People; for they perceived, that he had spoken this Parable against them.* And indeed how could they avoid understanding it, when the Figures were so plain, and no other than what they were

were accuſtom'd to, and ſuch as the Prophet *Iſaiah*, as I ſaid, had expounded before. And here it is memorable, that Chriſt does by this Queſtion draw from them ſuch an Anſwer, as vindicated his whole Procedure, and condemn'd themſelves; even ſo far, as to pronounce this Sentence upon themſelves, that God was obliged to deſtroy them, for their Wickedneſs, in a moſt miſerable manner, and to give his Vineyard unto the Gentiles. So that all that was done, in the juſt Judgment of God, in the final Deſtruction of their Temple, City and Nation, was no more than what they did here acknowledge, God ought in Juſtice to do. And thus they did make Application to themſelves of what was ſaid, *Iſa.* 5. 3, *&c. And now, O Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *and Men of* Judah, *judge I pray you, between me and my Vineyard. What could I have done more for my Vineyard, that I have not done to it?* &c. Which laſt Words deſerve a particular Conſideration, as they bear a relation to what I am now upon. For had Chriſt converſed only with the Jewiſh Rulers, the common People might juſtly have pleaded Ignorance of Chriſt, and it would then have been thought very rigorous, to puniſh the whole Nation for rejecting their Meſſiah, who had never fully or ſufficiently manifeſted himſelf to the Body of that Nation. But ſeeing our Lord acted ſo, in this reſpect, that he could honeſtly and truely put up this fair Challenge to them; What one thing have I left undone to my Vineyard, that I ought to have done for it? It is eaſy from hence to ſee, how juſtly they were puniſh'd for their wicked and malitious Treatment of the Son of God. But, (4.) There was one View or Conſideration further, that influenc'd Chriſt to converſe chiefly with, or among the Common People; *viz.* That he had ſome preſent Purpoſes, with relation to himſelf, that he could not, in an ordinary Courſe of things, reach ſo well, by any other Method as by this. Now the Purpoſes that Chriſt was to promote, with reſpect to himſelf, whilſt he was upon Earth, by making himſelf ſo well known to the Populace, by his Diſcour-

ſes and Miracles, were theſe three, if not only, yet chiefly; 1. He was to lay ſuch a Foundation of Thought and Reaſoning in their Minds, as ſhould at laſt terminate in this Concluſion; That he was certainly the Meſſiah. And this was to ariſe of it ſelf, whilſt he himſelf labour'd to conceal himſelf from them, as to any open Declaration. Nay it was to proceed ſo far, as I have already obſerv'd, that they ſhould be ſo earneſt and zealous this way, as openly to follow him into *Jeruſalem*, in a publick and ſolemn Proceſſion, proclaiming him, with loud Hoſannah's, to be the King of *Iſrael*. For, ſeeing the Jewiſh Rulers did not perform this part, it was neceſſary that the Common People ſhould be drawn in, by a Train of Prudential Management, which yet ſhould be the very Reverſe of Political Deſign, to condemn the Infidelity of the Rabbi's, and put them upon new Conſultations. I ſay, that tho this was the Conſequent of a nice prudential Management, it was yet the Reverſe of political Deſign. For we are to conſider in the 2*d* Place, That Chriſt deſign'd this way, to give occaſion to the Prieſts and Scribes to purſue their Deſigns upon his Life, with the greater haſte and precipitation. For, as our Lord was careful to keep out of their way, until he had finiſh'd the appointed time of his Miniſtry, as doth plainly appear by what has been ſaid; ſo, he was concern'd to act ſo, towards the end of that time, that he might ſuffer exactly at the determined Period. *He had a* Bloody *Baptiſm to undergo*; but was he concerned to avoid it? No certainly. Take his own word for it, *Luke* 12. 50. *I have a Baptiſm to be baptized with: And how am I ſtraitned* (or pained) *till it be accompliſhed.* Therefore he allows of the Hoſannah's of the People, *Luke* 19. 40. and no wonder, for he had laid a Train, that occaſion'd the doing ſo, *ver.* 29. 30. *&c.* And for this end he authoritatively purg'd the Temple, *Luke* 19. 45, *&c.* and irritated the Prieſts and Scribes by his Diſcourſes, *Luke* 20. 8, 9, *&c.* and *ver.* 45, 46, 47. But this is ſtill more evident from his voluntary Surrender of himſelf to thoſe that were

were ſent to take him. So that it is no more certain, that he acted from a Prudential Concern to avoid Death before, than that he acted with a Concern to accompliſh his Work at laſt by Suffering. And yet, 3. It is as plain, that he ſerv'd himſelf of the Populace, in order to protect him from being ſeiz'd upon by the *Jewiſh* Government, as long as he had any thing to do or ſay before-hand; as we ſee, *Matth.* 21. 26. *Luke* 19. 47, 48. *Chap.* 20. 19. and *Chap.* 22. 2. So that, if all things be duly conſidered, never was there any Prudential Management ſo nicely exact and critical, in the adjuſting and reaching ſuch various, and ſeemingly jarring and oppoſite Intereſts and Purpoſes; which yet our Lord brought equally to bear, and perfectly to harmonize, by one and the ſame Series of Actions.

And now, *4thly*. It is fit, that I ſhould ſay ſomething concerning Chriſt's prudential Management of himſelf, with Reſpect to his Diſciples, and conſtant Followers, eſpecially ſuch of them, as he had choſen to be moſt conſtantly with him, and allowed to converſe moſt familiarly with him.

I am not here to inquire into the Character or Office of the twelve Apoſtles and ſeventy Diſciples, or why he limited theſe two Benches or Orders to ſuch preciſe Numbers; of which Matters I may perhaps diſcourſe afterwards. Nor am I to enquire, why Chriſt made them ſo little acquainted with his Mind, whilſt he was with them; for that I have already taken Notice of. But I am only to conſider how our Lord carried towards them, eſpecially the twelve, in relation to that Service and Work they were afterwards to be imployed in, *viz.* to carry on the Goſpel, as thoſe that had been the Witneſſes of what Chriſt did and ſaid, and were therefore the moſt proper Perſons to inform others.

Now I would deſire the Reader here, to bear in Mind that great Prudential Maxim, by which I did before ſuppoſe that Chriſt acted; for, it is the Application of that, with reſpect to different Perſons, and under diffe-

rent Circumſtances, that I am now inquiring after, in this part of my Diſcourſe.

This being premiſed, I proceed now to conſider how our Saviour acted in Relation to his Diſciples; which I ſhall do as briefly as poſſibly I can. Now the only thing that I propoſe to run upon here, and which I think will very well deſerve our Thoughts, is to conſider what ſort of Men our Lord made Choice of, to be his Followers and Favourites. That they were all of them poor and illiterate Men, I have again and again taken Notice of, and aſſign'd the Reaſon why it was ſo. I am therefore upon a quite other Conſideration here, and ſuch a one as I never remember to have met with in any Author whatſoever; and yet one would wonder, that ſuch an Inquiry ſhould have been hitherto forgotten. It is this, What the Perſonal Characters of the Men were, that Chriſt made Choice of as Apoſtles; for to them I ſhall confine my ſelf, ſeeing we have nothing particular mention'd as to the ſeventy Diſciples, to lay a Foundation of our Inquiry this way, in any of the four Goſpels. I confeſs ſomething is ſaid of ſome of them in the *Acts*, eſpecially *Stephen*, upon the Suppoſition that he and ſome others mentioned there were of the Number of the Seventy, as I confeſs I reckon it more than probable they were. But ſeeing the Seventy were chiefly called, and ſet apart upon a particular Account, and towards the End of our Lord's Miniſtration, and that we have not ſo much as a Catalogue of their Names, in all the Goſpels, excepting that one of them, *viz. Cleopas*, is mention'd occaſionally, *Luke* 24. 18. I have nothing to ſay concerning them: Only, in the general, I ſay this, that they were all *Galileans*, Acts 2. 7. as a Prelude that the Gentiles were to be called. Now the *Galileans* were a mixt People, but of the *Jewiſh* Religion; and therefore a proper Link between Jews and Gentiles, to hand the Goſpel from the one to the other. And I ſay further, that were we acquainted with their Names and perſonal Characters, I doubt not but it would be Matter of ſweet Meditation, to obſerve how Chriſt pair'd them, when he

he ſent them out by two and two to preach the Goſpel. For I queſtion not but that our Lord's Wiſdom was ſeen even in this; as *E. G.* in Coupling an elder and more experienced Man, with one younger, but more brisk and active; One of greater Judgment with another of a more ready Wit; One of more Authority and Strictneſs, with another of greater Affability and ingaging Sweetneſs; One of greater Knowledge and Readineſs in the Scriptures, with one more acquainted with the preſent Cuſtoms and Occurrences of the Time wherein Chriſt liv'd; One of greater Courage and Zeal, with one of more Prudence and Caution; and ſo on. But ſeeing we have nothing particular in relation to the *Seventy*, let us ſee what is ſaid concerning the *Twelve*. I confeſs we have not much to ſay, even concerning them. For of ſome of them we have nothing more than their bare Names. And, tho' we might have our Recourſe to the Stories of them, that are to be found in the Remains of the Chriſtian Hiſtory; yet ſome of theſe Accounts are ſo apparently fabulous, and all of them ſo obſcure and uncertain, that I dare build nothing of this ſort upon them. So that I am oblig'd to confine my ſelf to the Scripture, for any thing that can be ſaid of them in relation to their Character. And here, let us in the firſt Place ſet down the Catalogue of their Names, as we have them ſet down four times over, with ſome ſmall Difference as to Order; which I ſhall thus repreſent to the Reader.

MATTH. 10. 1, *&c.*

1. The Firſt, *Simon*, who is called *Peter*.
2. *Andrew*, his Brother.
3. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*.
4. *John*, his Brother.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Thomas*.
8. *Matthew*, the Publican.
9. *James*, the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Lebbeus*, whoſe Sirname was *Thaddeus*.
11. *Simon*, the *Canaanite*.
12. *Judas Iſcariot*, who betray'd him.

MARK 3. 16, *&c.*

1. *Simon*, Sirnamed *Peter*.
2. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*.
3. *John*, his Brother.

Boanerges.

4. *Andrew*.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Matthew*, call'd *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*, Chap. 2. 14.
8. *Thomas*.
9. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Thaddeus*.
11. *Simon*, the *Canaanite*.
12. *Judas Iſcariot*.

LUKE 6. 14, *&c.*

1. *Simon*, called *Peter*, and
2. *Andrew*, his Brother.
3. *James*, and
4. *John*.
5. *Philip*, and
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Matthew*, and
8. *Thomas*.
9. *James*, the Son of *Alpheus*, and
10. *Simon*, call'd *Zelotes*.
11. *Judas*, the Brother of *James*.
12. *Judas Iſcariot*.

ACTS 1. 13, *&c.*

1. *Peter*.
2. *James*.
3. *John*.
4. *Andrew*.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Thomas*.
7. *Bartholomew*.
8. *Matthew*.
9. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Simon Zelotes*.
11. *Judas* the Brother of *James*.
12. *Matthias*, who ſucceeded to *Judas Iſcariot*.

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The the Difference, as to the order of the Names of the Apoſtles, as recorded in theſe ſeveral Liſts, may ſeem at firſt to be too minute a thing, as ſcarce to deſerve to be taken notice of; yet I am much miſtaken, if the Reader do not agree with me, to have other Thoughts of this, upon a cloſe Conſideration of what I have to hint this way. And, 1. Let us obſerve, that all the Liſts agree to name *Peter* firſt, and that *Matthew* mentions this with a peculiar Emphaſis, πρῶτος Σίμων, *Firſt Simon.* How much the Papiſts build upon this, is ſo well known, and their Notions this way ſo ſolidly refuted, that it were loſt labour to repeat it here. But yet it is proper to inquire into the Reaſon, why he is ever ſet down as the firſt in Order, tho not as to Office. And ſome think, with Dr. *Whitby* upon *Matth.* 10. 2. (and he quotes ſome of the Ancients, as being of the ſame opinion) that the only or main Reaſon of this was, becauſe *Peter* was the firſt called to the Apoſtleſhip. But this ſeems plainly to be a Miſtake. For tho *Peter* be named before *Andrew*, *Mark* 1. 16. *Matth.* 4. 18. Yet they were both called at the ſame time. Nay *Andrew* was the Perſon that brought his Brother to Chriſt, and was the Inſtrument of diſcipling him, *John* 1. 40, *&c.* The true Reaſon therefore of *Peter*'s being always nam'd firſt, was becauſe *Peter* was mark'd out by Chriſt, as the Man that was to be firſt ſent out and imployed to begin the Goſpel-Church, and conſequently to be himſelf the firſt Stone of the New-Teſtament-Building. In proſpect of this, Chriſt calls him, by the new Name of *Cephas* or *Peter*, as ſoon as he ſaw him, *which is by Interpretation a Stone*, ſays *John*, *Chap.* 1. 42. And with a Reference to the ſame Deſign, upon his hearty Confeſſion of Chriſt, he has that remarkable Prediction, as well as Teſtimony given him, which we have, *Matth.* 16. 18, 19. And accordingly it came to paſs. For *Peter* did not only work the firſt Miracle after Chriſt's Aſcention, *Acts* 3. 6. as well as preach the firſt Sermon, and that with ſuch Succeſs, as to convert 3000 to the Church, *Acts* 2. 14, *&c.* Where-

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as before the whole Number of Christians, Men and Women, amounted only to about 120. *Acts* 1. 15. (of which the Apostles, with the Seventy Disciples, made up the far greatest Part:) But this same Apostle (which is the main thing to be attended to here) had the first Commission to begin the Gentile Church, by preaching to *Cornelius* and his Family, *Acts* 10. 1, 2, *&c.* No wonder then, if all the Evangelical Writers be found to agree, in placing his Name in the Front of the List of the Apostles. But, 2. Let us observe, that as *Peter* is always rank'd first, so *Judas Iscariot* is always plac'd the last. But then the Reason for this is so obvious, considering what he was and prov'd, that there is no need to mention it. Only, seeing I have nam'd him, I would take notice of two things concerning him. The *first* is, that he seems to have had the Sirname of *Iscariot*, because he kept the Purse for the rest. For it is very rationally conjectur'd by Dr. *Hammond*, and others, that this was a Name deriv'd from a Word in the *Syriack* Language, that signifies a Purse, and so it denoted the Purse-Bearer. The *Second* is, why our Lord made choice of such a Man? To which I answer, for these Reasons following. *First*, because the Scripture must be fulfilled, that our Lord was to be betrayed by one of his own Principal Disciples or supposed Friends, *Acts* 1. 16. *Secondly*, Because our Lord would, this way, lay an Obligation upon Christians, to make a necessary Distinction between a Man's Qualifications, as a Minister, and his Commission to it, as an Office; and force us therefore to believe this to be a certain Truth, and no less than a Christian Canon, *That a Minister's Mission may be valid, and consequently the Acts of his Ministry, tho he himself be unsanctified:* For *Judas* was chosen Apostle as well as the rest, and sent out to preach and work Miracles, as well as they. *Thirdly*, Because Christ would let us know, that no Church-Society on Earth, can be supposed ever to be so pure, but that some *Judas* may creep in. Nay, *Fourthly*, (which deserves peculiar Consideration) Because our Lord would have

have us to understand, from his own Practice, by what Rule we ought to proceed, both in admitting Men into a Christian Society, (as well as into a distinct Order of Church-Officers) and in casting them out from thence. Our Saviour knew *Judas* to be an ill Man from the first, and he tells us so much himself, *John* 6. 70,71. see *ver.* 64. and *Chap.* 13. 11. But his peculiar and extraordinary Knowledge of Men, was not to be (nor indeed could be) the Foundation or Standard of a stated and ordinary Rule and Method of Procedure in the Church. And therefore he was to make choice of such, as seem'd, to an ordinary but rational Cognizance, to have the most proper Qualifications for the Work of the Ministry. And these, I think, are reducible to two, *viz. Piety* and *Parts:* For so the Apostle judged, when he commanded *Timothy*, 2 *Ep.* 2. 2. to commit the Ministerial Work to Men that were not only *faithful*, but *able* also to teach others. The most pious Man, without Parts, is, at least, as unfit to be a Minister, as to be the Master of a Mechanick Imployment: And there is Sense in the old Proverb, that every honest or good Man cannot make a pair of Shoes. Nor can the Man of the finest Parts act the part of a true Gospel-Minister, without Piety. But then, Piety being an internal thing, we can only judge of it by outward Acts. And a Man of Parts can so imitate the good Man, that no mere Man can suspect him to be any thing else, but that which he professes himself to be; especially if we consider, how much we are oblig'd to joyn Charity to our Censure of Men, by the Rule of Christ. Now, it is plain to me, from the few Hints that we have of *Judas*, that he was a Man of Parts, Address and Cunning. His being trusted with the Purse shews as much: Tho this became his Snare, and prov'd his Ruin; for he is charg'd with being a Thief, with respect to what he was entrusted with, *John* 12. 6. And his Conduct, in betraying Jesus, and particularly the Sign he gave the Priests Servants, *viz.* that of kissing his Master, shews equal Cunning and Confidence. But, that he acted the part of

of a very Religious Man, when Christ chose him, and afterwards, we may rationally conclude from one thing recorded of him, *viz.* his seeming Concern and Zeal for the Duty of Charity to the Poor, *John* 12. 5. For the Censure past upon him, by the Evangelist, *ver.* 6. flowed from his after-discovery to be a Traitor. For that neither *John*, nor indeed any of the Apostles did suspect him, at that time, appears from what follows, *Chap.* 13. 22. For when Christ had told them, that one of them should betray him, *John* adds, *Then the Disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.* And he further tells us, *ver.* 23, *&c.* that he being next to Jesus, and leaning on his Bosom, was becken'd unto, by *Peter*, to ask Jesus, of whom he spake. And that, tho Jesus told him, and discover'd his meaning by a Sign, that one would have thought was plain enough, yet, such was the general Opinion of *Judas* his Sanctity, that they interpreted both it and Christ's Words, pursuant to it, quite another way than Christ design'd, as we see, *ver.* 29. And indeed this Opinion of *Judas* his Holiness and Integrity, seems to have been so great, that one would wonder that the Apostles should have been so universally possess'd this way. For *Matthew* tells us, *Chap.* 26. 22, *&c.* that when Christ told them, that one should betray him, they did not only *cry out, every one of them, Lord, Is it I?* But that when Christ had given them the Sign, they could not believe their own Eyes. Nay, when *Judas* had ask'd the Question again particularly, *Master is it I?* and Christ had answered plainly thus, *Thou hast said, i. e.* thou art the Man; and that *Judas* upon this had gone out, finding himself discover'd, and that Christ had call'd after him, with this cutting Saying (as *John* tells) *What thou dost, do quickly*; yet, even after all this the Apostles could not believe that *Judas* was the Man. By all which, it is plain that *Judas* was not only a Man of Parts, but universally look'd upon as a Man of great Piety and Integrity; until he discover'd himself, by the actual betraying of Christ.

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Our Lord therefore pitch'd upon him, as a Man that was every way fit for the Office of Apostle, according to that Rule of Procedure, that ought to obtain for ever among Ministers, in adopting a Man into the Ministry. And, if Parts and apparent Piety, or the fair Appearance of it, are the Foundation this way; much more ought this to be the Rule of admitting any as private Members of a Christian Society; *viz. That a Competency of Knowledge and Unblameableness of Life*, intitles every one, that is willing, to be a Member of a Church, in order to his being admitted to all Ordinances. And, if a Man be once admitted, in either of these Respects, *viz.* as a Christian into the Church, or a Minister into the Ministry; it is plain, that nothing can throw him out again, but a plain Defect in either of these Qualifications. As to the private Christian, when once admitted to be a compleat Member of a Christian Society, he can never be turned out again, unless he be either really distracted, in which respect he is unfit for human Society it self, or be discover'd to be of a wicked Life: and in both these Cases, we must not go upon mere Surmizes, nor yet upon a Pretence of knowing things extraordinarily; but we must proceed, *ex allegatis & probatis, i.e.* from matter of Fact, plainly proved by undoubted Witness and Evidence. And in this case our Saviour himself has given forth the Method of Ecclesiastical Procedure, *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17. So that I need say nothing further. And the same Rule will hold equally, *mutatis mutandis*, as to a Synodical Conduct, with respect to the Suspension or Deposition of a Minister. Let me suppose therefore, that either a *Metropolitan* with his *Suffragans* (according to one Model of Ecclesiastical Polity) or a *Synod* with its *Moderator* (according to another Model) were indued with as infallible a discerning of Spirits, as even Christ himself was, (for tho this Supposition be really impossible, yet because it has been pretended to, at least in some eminent degree, and as to the kind, by the Romish Church, it is not unfit to make it here:) Yet this infallible Knowledge

ledge of theirs, could be no Foundation for them to proceed upon, either to ſuſpend or depoſe a Miniſter from his Work, or a Chriſtian from Church-Communion; unleſs they could produce ſuch Evidence againſt them this way, by the Mouth of two or more Witneſſes, as could bear the Weight both of a legal Proceſs and Sentence againſt them. For even our Bleſſed Saviour never took upon him to caſt *Judas* out from his Apoſtleſhip, or ſo much as Chriſtian Fellowſhip, for want of ſuch Evidence; but ſuffer'd him to run on in his own way, until he forfeited both theſe, by his Wickedneſs and Treachery. And that I ſpake nothing in all this, but native and plain Truth, appears, not only by conſequential Reaſoning from Chriſt's Management this way, but alſo from the Determination of the eleven Apoſtles, together with the ſeventy Diſciples, and the thirty nine private Chriſtians, that compos'd the Chriſtian Church, *Acts* 1. 15. For this is their Determination, in concurrence with *Peter*'s Sentiment, that *Judas having been numbred with the other Apoſtles, and having obtain'd part of the ſame Miniſtry*, ver. 17. *from which he had fallen by Tranſgreſſion*, ver. 25. (*i. e.* by betraying Chriſt) it was requiſite, that another ſhould be adopted into his place, *&c.* where by the way let us obſerve, that *Judas* ſeems to be the Antitype of *Achitophel*, into whoſe Room or Office *Huſhai* came, by comparing, *Pſal.*109.8. with *Pſal.*41.9. and both with *Acts* 1.20. and *John* 13.18. So that this may confirm what I ſaid, as to the Character of *Judas*, as a great Man as to ſeeming Piety as well as Parts. But it is time now to proceed to ſomething elſe. Let us therefore obſerve, 3. That in the Liſt in *Matthew* and *Luke*, *Andrew* is nam'd as the *Second* in Order; whereas in *Mark* and the *Acts*, he is mentioned, in the *Fourth* Place only, the two Sons of *Zebedee* being reckon'd as the Second and Third. The Reaſons of the firſt Account I take to be theſe. *Firſt*, That *Matthew* and *Luke* in their Goſpels, follow'd the Order of the time, wherein the Apoſtles were made acquainted with Jeſus. And it is certain, by what we can

can judge, that *Andrew* and *Peter* were called first, and the Sons of *Zebedee* next: For which see *Mark* 1. 16—19, *&c.* *Matth.* 4. 18——21, *&c.* *Secondly*, Because *Matthew* and *Luke* follow'd the Order, wherein the Apostles were rank'd, by Pairs, when Christ sent them forth to preach the Gospel, even as the Seventy Disciples were afterwards. But now, upon the other hand, I take the Reason of *Andrew*'s being inserted after *James* and *John*, both in the List of *Mark*, and that of *Luke* in the *Acts*, to have been, to denote the Eminence of these two, above *Andrew*, not in point of Office, but because Christ had put peculiar Marks of Honour upon them. For these two together, with *Peter*, were made choice of, to be the select Witnesses both of his Transfiguration, *Matth.* 17. 1, *&c.* and Agony, *Matth.*26.37. all others being excluded. In regard therefore to this peculiar respect shewn to them by Christ above *Andrew*, I do suppose *Mark* in his Gospel, and *Luke* in the *Acts*, insert their Names conjunctly with *Peter*'s, and before that of *Andrew*; tho it would seem that *Andrew* was not only the first Christian, as he had been before one of *John*'s Disciples, *John* 1. 35, 37, 40, 41, 42. But also *Peter*'s Elder Brother, *ver.* 44. In the *4th* Place, let us observe, that in all the four Catalogues *Philip* is rank'd the *fifth* in order. And the Reason seems to be this, because *Philip* was call'd, before all the following Persons, to be Christ's Disciple. For which see *John* 1. 43. And *5thly*. It is, I suppose, for the same Reason, that *Bartholomew* is mentioned jointly with him, as the *sixth* Apostle in the three first Lists: tho why *Thomas* is put before him in the *Acts* I know not. If any ask, why I suppose that *Bartholomew* was called to be Christ's Disciple next after *Philip*; I answer, because I take *Bartholomew* to be the same with *Nathanael*, *John* 1. 45. For as there *Nathanael* is spoken of as an Acquaintance of *Philip*, and brought in by him to Christ, by whom he receives one of the greatest Characters, that ever was given of any Man, *ver.* 47. together with a very great Promise of a peculiar Privilege,

lege, *ver.* 50, 51. So he is rank'd among the Apoſtles, *John* 21.2. But, if he was ſuch, he muſt be the ſame with *Bartholomew:* For he cannot be the ſame with any other. Now, it is no ſtrange thing for one and the ſame Perſon to be ſpoken of under various Names. For even among the Apoſtles themſelves we find Inſtances of this. Thus *Simon* is ſometimes called *Cephas* or *Peter*; *Thomas* is called alſo *Didimus*; *Matthew* is called alſo *Levi*; *Thaddæus* is called alſo *Lebbeus*, and elſewhere *Judas* the Brother of *James* the Son of *Alpheus*; and *Simon the Canaanite* is elſewhere called *Simon Zelotes*. So that *He*, who is called by *John* by his proper Name *Nathanael*, ſeems to have uſually gone under the Deſignation of *Bar-Tholomew*, or the Son of *Tholomew*, amongſt the Diſciples, and that accordingly he is recorded by the other three Evangeliſts. And we know, that it was very cuſtomary with the Jews, to call Men by the Name of their Father, as it is to this Day in ſome other Nations, as particularly in *Wales* and in *Holland*, among the more common Sort of People. Thus it ſeems *Nathanael* was vulgarly called *Bar-Tholomew*, or *Bar-Ptholomee*, *i.e.* the Son of *Ptolomee* or *Ptolomeus*; even as *Peter* is ſometimes called *Bar-Jonas*, or the Son of *Jonas* or *John*. But the Evangeliſt *John*, who wrote the laſt of all the New-Teſtament-Writers, finding that none of them had mention'd this Apoſtle by his proper Name, might juſtly take occaſion to inſert this in his Goſpel. Now it is to be remembred, by the way, that all theſe ſix Apoſtles were *Galileans*. *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip* are expreſly ſaid to be of that Country, and to be of the ſame City, *viz.* of *Bethſaida*, *John* 1.43, 44. And *James* and *John* ſeem to have dwelt either in or near the ſame City, by what we read, *Mark* 1. 16, 19. And as for *Nathanael*, he is ſaid to be of *Cana* of *Galilee*, *John* 21. 2. And here, that I have mention'd *Galilee*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that tho the Providence of God did ſo order it, that Chriſt was born in *Bethlehem* in *Judæa*, yet, in other reſpects, he was rather a *Galilæan*, ſeeing *Joſeph* and *Mary* liv'd in *Nazareth*,

zareth, whether the Angel *Gabriel* was ſent to *Mary*, and where ſhe conceived Jeſus miraculouſly, *Luke* 1. 26, 27, *&c.* Whence he was commonly called *Jeſus of Nazareth*, John 1. 45. and *Jeſus of Nazareth of Galilee*, *Matth.* 21. 11. And as Chriſt was conceived and educated there, during the time of his private Life; ſo we find that he converſed and preached moſt in that Country, eſpecially at *Capernaum*, where he dwelt for ſome time, *Matth.* 4. 13. And as Chriſt himſelf, was in theſe reſpects a *Galilean*, which occaſion'd *Pilate* to ſend him to *Herod*, who was Deputy of that Country, *Luke* 23. 5, 6. So moſt of the Apoſtles, if not all of them were of the ſame Country. I have already given the Reaſon, why our Lord preach'd moſt in *Galilee*, *viz.* becauſe it was at a greater diſtance from the Seat of the Prieſts, and not ſo directly under their Authority, as that part of the Country, which, by a peculiar Appropriation of the Word, was called (*s*) *Judæa* or *Jewry* at that time. For the *Talmud*, the Jewiſh *Rabbi's* ſay, (*t*) *That there were no Prieſts among the Galileans.* But we may add this Reaſon alſo, that the *Galileans* ſeem to have been a more honeſt and plain-hearted People, than thoſe of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, were at that time, who were only call'd Jews, in a ſtrict Senſe. For beſides other differences between the Jews and Galileans, the Jewiſh Rabbi's themſelves have told us of ſeveral, which ſeem to be more to the Commendation of the Galileans than the Jews, (*u*) *E. G.* That the Galileans valued their Reputation more than Mony; whereas the Jews great Care was for Mony; without regard to their Reputation. (*w*) That in *Judæa* they did ſervile Works on the Eve of the Paſſover; but that in *Galilee*, they abſtain'd from any thing of that kind. (*x*) That in

(*s*) Joſephus Antiquit. Jud. Lib. 11. cap. 5. *tells us, That the Origin of this Name was then firſt given to this People, and part of the Country, when* Nehemiah *and his Companions came from* Babylon *to* Jeruſalem. (*t*) *See* Nedarim, Cap. 2. Hal. 3. (*u*) Hieroſ. Chetubh. Fol. 29. 2. (*w*) Peſachin, Cap. 4. Hal. 5. (*x*) Nedarim, Cap. 2.

Galilee they pretended to no Diſpenſation from a ſolemn Vow, becauſe the Name of God was invoked; whereas in *Judæa*, the Prieſts pretended to a Power to diſpenſe with Mens Vows. (*y*) That in *Judæa* they allowed the Bridegroom and Bride private Company together for one hour before they were wedded; but that this was forbidden in *Galilee*, *&c.* Who the *Galileans* were originally, I find not that any Writer has ever determin'd. That *Galilee* was under the Government of *Herod Antipas*, in the Days of our Saviour, we know from the New Teſtament and *Joſephus*. But yet, tho the moſt of that Country obeyed *Herod*, part of it, eſpecially to the North, was under the Juriſdiction of *Philip*, called the Tetrarch. *Galilee* contained that Share of the Land of *Canaan*, that was anciently the Poſſeſſion of the Tribes of *Iſachar*, *Zebulon*, *Naphthali* and *Aſher*, together with part of the Land of the *Danites*. It was divided in our Saviour's Days into the *Higher* and *Lower Galilee*, (*z*) as *Joſephus* tells us. But the Rabbins ſince have told us of a third Part, which they call the *Vale*. *Nazareth* was in the Upper Galilee, and *Capernaum* in the Lower. Now this Lower *Galilee* is called *Galilee of the Gentiles*, *Matth.* 4. 15. Why it is called ſo, perhaps we may learn from *Strabo*, (*a*) who ſays, that *Capernaum* (the moſt flouriſhing City thereof at that time) was, in part, inhabited by Strangers, particularly *Ægyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. And if *Capernaum* was thus peopled, we may ſuppoſe that *Chorazin*, *Bethſaida*, and other neighbouring Towns, were not without ſome Numbers of thoſe Gentiles. And if ſo, we need not wonder, if it got the Name of *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, in Contra-diſtinction to the Upper *Galilee*, that had few comparatively, and perhaps none at all. Now I am apt to think, that the *Galileans* were origi-

(*y*) Toſaphta ad Chetub. Cap. 1. *See Dr.* Lightfoot, Vol. 2. cap. 86. *of his* Chorographical Century, *&c.* (*z*) Lib. 3. de Bello, Cap. 2. (*a*) Lib. 16. Pag. 523.

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nally *Israelites*, descended from the ten Tribes, who took the Opportunity to go up to *Jerusalem*, at or about the time of the return of their Brethren of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the Babylonish Captivity; and that those of the two Tribes (who began then to be called Jews) having possess'd that part of *Canaan*, which had been their former Habitation; the other Israelites were order'd to take Possession of their Allotments of the Land, as far as they could. But, seeing a considerable part of the Land, where the Twelve Tribes had inhabited, had now been possess'd by those, whom *Shalmanezar* the King of *Assyria* had settled there, as we read, 2 *Kings* 17. 24, *&c.* From whom those that were afterwards called *Samaritans* were descended:) The *Israelites* of the ten Tribes (and perhaps they were not very many that returned to their own Land) were oblig'd to occupy so much only of the Country, as they could obtain leave of them to do, assisted by their Brethren the Jews, especially by reason of the Favour that *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* had at that time with several successive Kings of *Persia*. I confess this is all Conjecture only; nor can any Man pretend to more, considering the *Hiatus* that is here in the Sacred History of the Jews; which even *Josephus* could bring no Light into. However I perswade my self, that it is the fairest and most rational Conjecture that is yet given. And perhaps this was the Reason why Christ calls *Nathanael an Israelite*, and not a Jew; as being born in *Cana* of *Galilee*, and a Descendent of some of the ten Tribes: tho the Addition of [*indeed*] and [*in whom there is no Guile*] was certainly with a Design to represent his peculiar Worth, in regard of Integrity and Seriousness. Now our Blessed Lord did not only keep so much in *Galilee*, and put such Marks of respect upon the *Galileans*, upon the account of the Reason so often mentioned, *viz.* to be at a distance from his chief Enemies; but likewise, because he knew them to be more honest and plain-hearted, and less ceremonious, and not of so narrow a Soul, as those of *Judæa*. And

seeing, as I have already said, our Saviour was confin'd to the Land of *Canaan*, as to his own personal Presence and Preaching; it was with great Prudence, that he chose to remain chiefly in *Galilee*, where Gentiles were allowed to co-habit and converse with those of the Jewish Religion, more freely than they were in *Judæa*. For which reason, I do suppose our Lord chose to reside chiefly at *Capernaum*, where a considerable Part of the Inhabitants were Gentiles, both as to Nation and Religion. For, by this, he attained, in some measure to make himself known to Foreign Nations, without going beyond the Limits of the Land of *Canaan*: By which means, tho he strictly adher'd to the Divine Rule, of being confin'd to that Country, he reach'd his end, of having the Fame of his Actions made known to Heathens, another way. But it is high time to return from this Digression, tho I hope neither an impertinent nor unuseful one. Let us therefore, *6thly*. Observe, That *Thomas* (otherwise called *Didimus*, *John* 11. 16. *Chap.* 20. 24. *Chap.* 21. 2. which is a Greek Word of an equivalent Signification to that of *Thomas* in the Hebrew, both of them signifying a *Twin*) is in all the three first Catalogues rank'd with *Matthew*, (tho, as I said above, I know not why he is cast out of his proper Place in that List which we have in the *Acts*.) All the difference that we find in the Order observed in the three Gospels, is this; That in *Mark* and *Luke*, *Matthew* is mentioned first, whereas *Matthew* himself puts *Thomas* first; which only shews the Modesty of the Author. For, seeing both *Mark* and *Luke* agree, I think it highly probable, that *Matthew* was both the oldest Disciple and the oldest Apostle, if not also the oldest Man. 7. The next, in all the Catalogues, is *James* the Son of *Alpheus*. But, 8. The two next to him, are differently represented, both in Name and Order. *Matthew* mentions *Lebbeus*, otherwise called *Thaddeus*, as the *Tenth* among the Apostles. And *Mark* mentions the same Person, in the same Order, but not by the Name of *Lebbeus*, but that of *Thaddeus* only: and both of them do mention *Simon* the

the *Canaanite* after him. But *Luke* in both his Lists places *Simon* first, whom he calls not the *Canaanite*, but *Zelotes*. And then he places him, whom they call *Lebbeus*, or *Thaddeus*, in the *Eleventh* Place, whom he calls by neither of these Names, but by that of *Judas* the Brother of *James*, *i. e.* of the last *James*, who was the Son of *Alpheus*. To begin with *Lebbeus*; my Opinion is this; That *Judas* was his proper Name. But there being another *Judas*, Christ and his Apostles used to call him *Lebbeus* or *Thaddeus*, for distinction's sake; and accordingly *Matthew* and *Mark* speak of him. But after *Judas* the Traitor was gone to his Place, it would seem, that he began to be called by his more proper Name again; and therefore *Luke* speaks of him so. Now *Thaddeus*, in the *Syriack* is supposed to be a Deflection of the Hebrew Word *Judas*, as (*b*) some Learned Men seem to make very probable. And it is no less reasonably supposed, that *Lebbeus* is of the same Importance, as being derived from לבי, a *Lion*, to which *Judas* is compared in *Jacob*'s Prophecy; tho some do suppose, with equal Probability, that he was so called from *Lebba*, a City of *Galilee*, mention'd by (*c*) *Pliny*. And, if this be the meaning, then the whole of all these Names put together, amounts to this, that his proper Name was *Judas*, which in *Syriack* was rendred *Thaddeus*, and that his Native City, or that of his Residence, was *Lebba*, whence he came to be called *Lebbeus*. However seeing he was the Brother of *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, we may justly suppose that *Matthew* and *Mark* thought it proper to mention him immediately after his Brother. Whereas *Luke* seems to have mention'd him, in the Eleventh Place only, because perhaps he was called to be an Apostle after *Simon Zelotes*. Let us therefore come now to *Simon*, concerning whom I shall only inquire, with respect to the different Denominations he goes under: For by *Matthew* and *Mark*

(*b*) *See the Criticks upon* Matth. 10. 3. (*c*) Lib. 5. 19.

he is called *Simon the Canaanite*, but by *Luke*, in both his Lists, *Simon Zelotes*. Some think that Καναίτης, or Καναανίτης, as some Copies, but corruptly, read it, or, as others, Κανανᾶιος, and Κανναῖος; that, I say, this word is equivalent to *Zelotes*. For certain it is, that our Saviour, who confined his Preaching to the Jews and Israelites, would not have made choice of a Gentile to be an Apostle, far less one descended from the cursed Race of the Canaanites. This *Simon* therefore had not this Name from the Country or Nation, that bore that Name: For the first was too general and Indefinite, as being common to the whole Country, that was given by God to the twelve Tribes; and the other was, as I have said, inconsistent with Christ's Scheme and Management. Dr. *Hammond* therefore and others do, with great Appearance of Truth, suppose that his Name was given him, in the Dialect of the Jews, to denote that he had been once of the Sect of the *Zelotes*; and that it is derived from קנה. קנא or קנאה, which signifies *Zeal*: and therefore the *Syriack* Version renders this Word so, as that it is plain he understood the Original Word to begin with ק, and not with כ, with which the Word *Canaanite* begins, when it denotes a Man of that Country, or that Generation of People. So that, in this Sense, *Matthew* and *Mark* are supposed to have preserved the Sound of this *Sirname* of this *Simon*, taken from the Sect he had been of, before he became Christ's Disciple, tho they express'd it in Greek Characters: Whereas *Luke* thought fit to give the Sense of this Name, rather than the Sound of it; *Zelotes* or *the Zealot*, being the meaning of that Original Denomination of him, which we render *the Canaanite*. But others do suppose, that as this *Simon* had been formerly one of the Sect of the *Zealots*, upon which account he is called *Zelotes* by *Luke*; so he was a Native or Inhabitant of *Cana* of *Galilee*, and that therefore *Canaanite*, in the two other Evangelists, is as much as to say, *the Citizen of Cana*. I shall leave the Reader to chuse either Notion, as he pleases:

pleaſes: Tho I my ſelf incline rather to the firſt Opinion; becauſe I find none of the other Apoſtles, to be denominated thus from their Cities. And ſeeing *Nathanael* (whom I think I have proved to be the ſame with *Bartholomew*) is expreſly ſaid to be of *Cana*, *John* 21. 2. I cannot ſee, why *Simon* ſhould be called the *Canaanite*, more than he, if this were indeed the Reaſon of this Appellation? However, that he was called *Zelotes*, *Luke* tells us twice over. And no other Reaſon can be aſſigned for this, except to mark him out, from the Sect he had formerly been of, even as *Matthew* is called the *Publican*, from his former Imployment. Now the Original of the Sect of the Zealots ſeems to have been this. The Family of the Macchabees and their Aſſociates, having done many things, in defence of their Country and Religion, againſt their cruel Maſters the *Syrians*, and others, which they could not juſtify by the Letter of the Moſaical Law, but only from Neceſſity and Self-preſervation, as matters ſtood; an occaſion was taken afterwards by others, to do very unjuſt and horrid things, under a Pretence of Zeal for the Law. And that they might have the fairer Plea for their Deſigns and Actions, they pretended not only to copy after the *Macchabees*; but draw Preſidents from a far higher Antiquity and Authority; alledging, That *Phineas*, *Jael*, *Elijah*, and ſuch others, were Paterns to be followed by them; tho they conſider'd not, that theſe were extraordinary Inſtances, that could not be brought to be the Foundation of a ſtated and ordinary Rule; unleſs they could have produced the ſame Evidence of a Divine Impulſe and ſupernatural Commiſſion, that was to be found in thoſe ancient and eminent Perſons. However this was their way of Reaſoning. And what Outrages and Barbarities they committed afterwards, (*d*) *Joſephus* doth ſufficiently inform us. Of this Sect *Simon*, it ſeems, was, until

(*d*) De Bello Jud. Lib. 4. cap. 11, *and* 12.

Chriſt converted him, and made him a better ſort of Zealot. And ſo much ſhall ſerve now, as to the Names and Order of the Apoſtles.

And indeed I am aware, that ſome may wonder, what I mean by all this Pains upon things, that ſeem to be ſo minute, and perhaps barren too. But I hope the Reader will judge otherwiſe, before I have done. And ſurely it is not altogether impertinent, to conſider the Catalogue of thoſe, with ſome Niceneſs, by whom the Chriſtian Church was firſt founded; if it were only in Deference to the Holy Spirit, who thought it not a vain thing to give us a fourfold Account of theſe Great and Illuſtrious Names, and that with ſuch Variety, in the reſpects mentioned, as to put us, this way, upon the narrower Search and cloſer Inquiry, concerning them. But before I proceed, to what I have principally in my Eye, upon this Subject, I muſt premiſe two material Obſervations here. The *1ſt.* is this; That we are obliged to diſtinguiſh between a *Twofold Calling* of the *Twelve*, into whoſe Names and Order we have been inquiring. And I mention this the rather, becauſe I find not that this is uſually much minded; tho the Scripture is expreſs and plain this way. For the Generality of Writers ſpeak of this Matter, as if they did ſuppoſe, that when *Peter* and *Andrew*, *James* and *John*, *&c.* were firſt called to follow Chriſt, they were by that Call conſtituted Apoſtles: Whereas, it is plain, that they were then only called to be Chriſtians, and therefore had no other Name for a conſiderable time, but that general one, (which was common to all that followed Chriſt) of being ſome of his *Diſciples*. For they had not the peculiar Name of Apoſtles, until they were ſent out by a ſpecial Commiſſion to preach the Goſpel: immediately before which, Chriſt did himſelf ſolemnly *chuſe* them from among his other Diſciples, and *ordain* them his Apoſtles, that is, Ambaſſadors or Plenipotentiaries, to carry on the Deſign of the Goſpel-Kingdom, in his Name, as being, after that, clothed with his Authority, and veſted with his Commiſſion.

miſſion. And I queſtion not, but that Chriſt did this, by the Impoſition of Hands; tho this be not mentioned particularly. For this was the ancient Jewiſh Rite, conſtantly uſed in ſuch Caſes, and that which the Apoſtles uſed ever after, in *ordaining* others, as is plain from the Hiſtory of their Acts. And it is certain that Chriſt did this publickly, in the ſight of all, and therefore muſt have done it by ſome Rite or Sign viſible to the Eye, as well as by Words perceptible to the Ear. The Account of this, as we have it in *Mark*, chap. 3. ver. 7, 13, 14, *&c.* runs thus. Our Saviour having cured a Man's withered Hand on the Sabbath-day, which the Phariſees lay hold on as matter of Accuſation againſt him, in order to deſtroy him, *ver.* 1 — 6. The Hiſtorian tells us, that he withdrew himſelf towards the Sea, with his Diſciples, (who appear by the Sequel to have been many more than the Twelve.) But beſides them, *a great Multitude followed him*, ſays *Mark*, *from* Galilee, Judea, Jeruſalem, Idumea, *from beyond* Jordan, *and from the Country about* Tyre *and* Sidon: And therefore he ſays twice over, that they were a *great Multitude; inſomuch that he was obliged to get a ſmall Ship to wait on him, becauſe the Multitude throng'd and preſs'd him ſo much*, ver. 7, 8, 9. And, for the ſame Reaſon, he went up into a Mountain, calling thoſe only up to him, that he had a mind to have near him; the reſt of the People remaining below. And there, being ſurrounded with thoſe Diſciples, that he allow'd to come, and in the face and view of that great Multitude that followed him, he made choice of Twelve, whom he ſolemnly ſet apart, and ordained to be Apoſtles: and from thenceforth they were known and own'd to be ſuch. The Words of *Mark* are theſe, *ver.* 13, *&c. And he goeth up into a Mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would; and they came unto him. And he ordained Twelve, that they ſhould be with him, and that he might ſend them forth to preach; and to have Power to heal Sickneſſes, and to caſt out Devils. And* Simon *he ſir-named* Peter, *&c. and they went into a Houſe. And the Multitude cometh together again, (i. e.* about

bout that Houſe, where he and the Twelve were gone to refreſh themſelves, and that with mighty Crowding to get in) *ſo that they could not ſo much as* (obtain Liberty or Time to) *eat Bread.* St. *Luke* tells us the ſame thing, as plainly, tho after another manner; thus, *chap.* 6. 12, 13, 14, *&c. And it came to paſs in thoſe days, that he went out into a Mountain to pray, and continued all Night in Prayer to God. And, when it was Day, he called unto him his Diſciples: and of them he choſe Twelve; whom alſo he named Apoſtles.* —— *And he came down with them, and ſtood in the Plain, and the Company of his Diſciples, and a great Multitude of People out of all* Judæa, *&c. And he lifted up his Eyes on his Diſciples, and ſaid, Bleſſed be the Poor,* &c. That which I deſire may be principally conſidered here, is the 13*th* Verſe. For there we ſee, that our Saviour had a great many Followers, who went under the name of Diſciples or Scholars; That the Twelve had no peculiar Name or Diſtinction from the reſt; That it was out of that Number that he *choſe* Twelve; That when he had *choſen* the Twelve, he ſet them apart from the reſt, by a ſolemn *Ordination*, as *Luke* inſinuates, and as *Mark* expreſly tells us; and that, when he had ordained them, he gave them the new and appropriate Name of Apoſtles. A 2*d* Obſervation which I premiſe is this; That of all the four Catalogues of the Names of the Apoſtles, the Firſt and Third are principally to be followed by me at this time; as having the moſt direct Tendency, in order to our underſtanding the Character of the Apoſtles. The Reaſon of my ſaying ſo is this; That I take *Matthew* and *Luke*'s Catalogues, which we have in their Goſpels, to contain the Order wherein Chriſt himſelf caſt the Apoſtles, when he ſent them forth to preach the Goſpel, and to work Miracles. Which I found upon this, that they have uſed the Copulative [*And*] as it were on purpoſe to ſhew how they were *pair'd*, if I may ſo ſpeak, when they were ſent out to preach. For they do not caſt them all together, as it were in a heap, without any Copulative, by ſaying, *Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip,* &c.

Nor

Nor do they put the Copulative between every Apoſtle, as *Mark* does; who writes after this manner: *And* Simon, *and* James, *and* John, *and* Andrew, *and* Philip, *&c.* But they join them together thus: Simon *and* Andrew, James *and* John, Philip *and* Bartholomew, *&c.* Now, if this was the Order of their being join'd and ſent out, we may be aſſured that Chriſt had ſome very good reaſon of coupling them after this manner. So that if we know the Character of one of theſe, we have a Foundation of a rational Conjecture as to the Character of his Companion that was join'd with him. And thus we ſhall be the better able to penetrate into the Rationale of our Saviour's Choice of theſe Men, to be his Apoſtles or Ambaſſadors to the World. But before I proceed, I muſt take notice of one Difficulty that lies in our way; and that is of the Difference that is between the Evangeliſts, as to the Order of the 10*th* and 11*th* Apoſtle. For *Matthew* joins *Lebbeus* or *Thaddeus*, otherwiſe called *Judas*, with his Brother *James*, and *Simon Zelotes* with *Judas Iſcariot*: Whereas *Luke* inverts this Order. Now how ſhall we get over this rub? I confeſs the matter is not great, in it ſelf: for whoſoever of theſe was join'd with the Traitor, had no Diſhonour by it, but rather the greater Honour of the two, as being plac'd with an ill Man, as it were on purpoſe to keep him right. However, certain it is, that one or other muſt be miſtaken here (or rather his Scribe) or otherwiſe alter the Order in mentioning the Names and Order of theſe two Men, for ſome particular end. My Conjecture is this, that *Luke* caſt the two Apoſtles of the name of *Judas* together, on purpoſe to make the more remarkable Diſtinction between the honeſt *Judas* and the wicked one. But ſeeing *Luke* wrote later than *Matthew*, and was not preſent when Chriſt ordain'd and ſent out his Apoſtles, (for he wrote only from the Relation of others, as he tells us himſelf, *Chap.* 1. 1, 2.) I chuſe to follow *Matthew* in this Matter, who was not only then preſent, but was one of thoſe that was ordained Apoſtle, and ſent out at that time; and the rather,

ther, becauſe *Mark* agrees in this with him, who wrote his Goſpel from the Mouth of *Peter*, or at leaſt with his Approbation, if we may believe (*e*) Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. Thus therefore, after all this Pains in collating the four Catalogues of the Apoſtles Names, I do rationally ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles were join'd together after this manner, when Chriſt ſent them forth, two and two, to preach; *viz.*

1. *Peter*, and *Andrew* his Brother.
2. *James*, and *John* his Brother.
3. *Philip* and *Bartholomew*, otherwiſe called *Nathanael*.
4. *Matthew* and *Thomas*.
5. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, and *Judas*, who was otherwiſe called *Thaddeus* and *Lebbeus*.
6. *Simon Zelotes*, and *Judas Iſcariot*.

And now let us proceed to inquire into the Characters of theſe Men. 1. I begin with *Peter*. And his Character is very eaſy to be found. He was, in a word, an honeſt, but forward and bold Man, of a fiery and fervent Temper; and therefore very fit to begin a good Work, that was attended with Difficulties, and did therefore require Activity and Courage. He was a poſitive Man in all his Notions, and ready to tell his Mind frankly, without Diſguiſe. Hence it was, that he own'd Chriſt openly to be the Meſſiah. But being poſſeſt of the Notion of his being a Temporal Monarch, challeng'd his Maſter, for talking of ſuffering Death. From the ſame Principle he talk'd of erecting three Tabernacles, when Chriſt was transfigured. Hence he told Chriſt, that tho all Men did forſake him, yet he never would. And hence he drew his Sword to oppoſe thoſe that came to lay hold on Jeſus. And, tho he was under a Conſternation, when Chriſt was arraigned, and his Courage fail'd him, ſo as to deny him; yet he

(*e*) Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 37.

recover'd

recover'd again. When Christ appear'd to him at the Sea-side, he could not stay till the Ship should arrive, but jumpt out into the Sea, to get at his Master. And how undauntedly he acted afterwards for Christ, the History of the Acts of the Apostles tells us. He was therefore a very proper Person to be made choice of, to break the way for the Gospel's being propagated among the Gentiles. And we shall find, that Men of his Temper and Disposition, have been made choice of in all Ages, by Christ, for the same sort of Service he was. I take *Athanasius* to have been just such a zealous and resolute Man, as he was; whom Christ made use of to stem the Torrent of the Arrian Heresy. And perhaps never any Man was liker *Peter*, in his Temper and Way than *Luther*, who was chosen to break the Ice, in the beginning of the Reformation. And before him *Wicliff* in *England*, and *Huss* in *Bohemia*, seem not to have been unlike him. Now, with *Peter* was join'd *Andrew*, who by what I can guess from the little hint we have of him, was of a very different natural Temper, tho his Brother. For I take him to have been a devout, calm, thoughtful and inquisitive Man. When *John* therefore came and forewarn'd Men, that the Messiah was about to be revealed, he early join'd himself to him, and became his Disciple, in order to his better Information this way. For when *John* very honestly pointed out Jesus to him and another of his Disciples, desiring them to take notice of him, for that *He was the Lamb of God*, John 1. 29, 35, 36. This stir'd up honest *Andrew* and his Companion to follow Jesus, in order to observe him, and to be acquainted with him, *ver.* 37. And Jesus, to satisfy their honest Curiosity, incourageth them to go along with him to his Lodging, where they abode that day, *ver.* 38, 39. *Andrew* being this way fully satisfied, that Jesus was the Messiah, was not only concerned to become his Disciple, but brings his Brother along with him, that he might become one too, *ver.* 40, 41, 42. This Account of him satisfies me that the Character I have given of him is just.

And

And, if ſo, then I think I may juſtly ſuppoſe, that we may underſtand, why our Saviour ſent him forth, as *Peter*'s Companion, *viz.* not only becauſe he was his Brother, and I think his Elder Brother; but alſo becauſe he was a ſage, grave and mild Perſon: and therefore, was a fit Companion to *Peter*, whoſe Zeal and Heat was apt to hurry him on too faſt, and precipitantly, both in his Words and Actions. *Andrew*'s Mildneſs and Prudence was fit to attemper *Peter*'s Forwardneſs; as *Peter*'s Zeal upon the other hand was likely to give Life, Warmth and Courage to *Andrew*, in caſe of over-great Caution, which might be apt to degenerate into Fear. So, that as God join'd a calm and thoughtful *Melancton* to a paſſionate *Luther*; ſo Chriſt did act in this Caſe: for I take *Melancton* to have been another *Andrew*, as to Character and natural Temper, as *Luther* to have been a ſecond *Peter*. Let us, 2*dly*. Conſider the next Pair. Theſe were alſo two Brothers, *viz.* *James* and *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*; concerning whom we have a great many things, which may ſerve to lay a Foundation for our conceiving of them, as to their Temper and Diſpoſition. From a miſtaken Notion of Chriſt's Kingdom, they deſired to be his firſt Miniſters of State, *Mark*. 10. 37, 40. and from a miſtaken Zeal, they were deſirous, that Chriſt ſhould allow them to act the part of *Elias*, on thoſe that did not receive the Goſpel, *Luke* 9. 54. and *John* particularly ſhew'd his Zeal, in forbidding one to caſt out Devils (tho he did it in Chriſt's Name) becauſe he followed not them, *Mark* 9. 39, 40, 41. *Luke* 9. 49, 50. Theſe things ſhew, that both theſe Brothers were naturally ambitious and deſigning Men, but with a great Mixture of Fervor and Heat, accompanied with no ſmall Meaſure of Courage and Reſolution. But, being good and holy Men, and having gradually learn'd to know the Goſpel better and better, this Complexion and Diſpoſition of theirs render'd them the more fit to encounter the obſtinate Jews, in the defence of the Goſpel. They ſeem to have been very young Men, eſpecially *John*, when they were firſt

first made Apostles. And therefore, as young Men usually are, they were a little too precipitant and forward at first. But being, by Age and Experience mellow'd down afterwards, they prov'd most eminent Instruments, in propagating the Gospel. *James* was indeed pretty early cut off, *Acts* 12. 1, 2. But we may suppose that his eminent Zeal and Piety had done great Service in his Life, and was eminently useful to the Church, when he was put to Death. And how useful *John* was, during his long Life, as well as by his useful Writings, I need not say. He was Christ's beloved Disciple, above all the rest; and he, together with *Peter* and *James*, were the chosen Triumvirate, who were only intrusted to see Christ, both when transfigured, and when in his Agony. These three then were certainly the first and principal three of Christ's Worthies: in comparison of whom we may justly say, as it was said of old of *David*'s Hero's, that tho they were mighty and excellent Persons, and did very great things, *Yet they attained not unto the first Three*, 2 Sam. 23. 19, 23. For, as *Peter*, *James* and *John*, were peculiarly honour'd and intrusted by Christ, above all the other Apostles; so they were afterwards, in some Sense, the Leaders of the rest, as having the principal hand in laying the Foundation of the Christian Church. With a Prospect this, as *Simon* was prophetically called *Cephas* or *Peter*, in the Sense I took notice of before; so he and his two Companions were called *Boanerges*, by Christ, *Mark* 3. 17. For I see not, why that Name should be given to *James* and *John*, exclusively of *Peter*, as it usually is, when the Connexion is such, as to give no real occasion for such a limitted Exposition. What the Derivation of *Boanerges* is, I leave to the Criticks, to (e) whom I refer the Reader. It is sufficient to our purpose, that the Interpretation is given, and we know that Christ meant by it, *Sons of Thunder*. The Hebrew Phrase,

(e) See Bib. Crit. *and* Lightfoot, *on* Mark 3. 17.

which

which is refer'd to here, is בני רעש, which does not only signify Sons of Thunder, but Sons of Earthquake, and therefore βροντη in the Greek Text must not be taken in the most confined Sense, but as it denotes any sort of violent Concussion, that is accompanied with a loud and awful Noise, such as that was at Mount *Sinai*, when the Mountain quak'd, by reason of the terrible Noise that was then. I do therefore suppose, that our Lord, in giving this Designation to these three Apostles, did allude to the Prophesy, *Hag.* 2. 6, 7. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, yet once more or within* a little while (so we may justly render the words) *I will shake the Heavens and the Earth* —— *and I will shake all Nations, and the desire of all Nations shall come*, &c. That this is a Prophesy concerning the coming of Christ and his Kingdom, all are agreed. And the Apostle plainly interprets and applies the words this way, *Heb.* 12. 25, 26, 27, 28. His Sense runs thus. If the Transgressors of *Moses* Law did not go unpunish'd, pray let Christians take heed that they transgress not Christ's Law: For that Law was comparatively but an Earthly Thing, whereas this is altogether from Heaven. It is true it was Christ that originally gave the old Law, and it was his Voice that shoke the Earth. But now he hath promised (*Hag.* 2. 6, 7.) that he will yet once more shake, not the Earth only, but the Heavens. *And this Word, yet once more*, signifies such a shaking of both Earth and Heaven, as shall include a removal of both, that *those things that cannot be shaken may remain; and a new Heaven and Earth brought into the room of the former, of a more excellent and enduring Nature than they were.* Now, by these last figurative Words, the Apostle means no more than this, at least as to the first and more immediate Sense, that when Christ should give out the Gospel, he would by that Voice shake both the Ecclesiastical and Civil State of both Jews and Gentiles, out of their Place. So that a New Heaven and Earth should be brought into the World, in the room of the old, which should gradually vanish away. That is, That both the Religion and

and Civil Polity of the Jews ſhould be Thunder-ſtruck and overturned as by an Earthquake from the Foundations: and that the Pagan Religion and Roman Government ſhould meet with the ſame Fate afterwards: And that, inſtead of theſe *the Deſire of all Nations, i. e.* Chriſt and his Goſpel-Truths (ſo deſirable to all rational Creatures, when acquainted with them) ſhould come in the ſtead of Jewiſh Ceremonies and Pagan Dotage, Idolatry, Prophaneneſs and Tyranny. And what more proper Figures can be uſed to preſent this great, but gradual Change, than thoſe of an old Heaven and Earth ſhaken to Pieces, and the Creation of a new Heaven and Earth to occupy the room of the old. Now this being the meaning, we may eaſily ſee, why our Saviour gave the Title of Sons of Thunder and Earthquake, to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*; who were the firſt Heralds, that preach'd the Goſpel to Jews and Gentiles, and thunder'd out Judgments againſt the obſtinate Rejecters of Chriſt; for ſo *Peter* and *John* did eminently, *Acts* 3. 12 —— 19 —— 22, 23, *&c. Chap.* 3. 8 — 19, *&c.* How eminently did *Peter* act the part of a *Boanerges*, in the Caſe of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, *Acts* 5. 3, *&c.* And no doubt, it was the peculiar Zeal of *James*, that occaſioned *Herod* to mark him out as one of the moſt forward of them all, when he cauſed him to be beheaded, *Acts* 12. 2. But that which I deſire may be principally obſerved, is this, That the Holy Ghoſt, when it came upon the Apoſtles, came with a Noiſe, that carried along with it ſomething both like Thunder and Earthquake. When it came firſt of all, *Luke* ſays, *Acts* 2. 2, 3. *That on a ſudden there came a Sound from Heaven, as of a ruſhing mighty Wind* (or, as the Greek may be rendered more properly, as of a ſtrong Wind ſent, brought, or coming from thence) *and it filled all the Houſe where they were ſitting. And there appeared to them cloven Tongues, like as of Fire, and it ſat* (Gr. ἐκάθεσεν, *viz.* γλῶσσα, and a Tongue ſat) *upon each of them.* There are ſeveral Critical Obſervations that might be made on this account. But theſe would make me digreſs

too far; and therefore I shall pass them at this time, leaving the curious Reader to consult the Criticks, and particularly *Lightfoot* and *Whitby*, upon this place. It is therefore sufficient, for my present purpose, to observe, that the coming down of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles and the rest of the Hundred and Twenty mentioned, *Chap.* 1. 15. (for I make no question, but that this Emblem of the Holy Ghost came upon all of them, tho not in equal degrees, seeing every one that believed and was baptized did partake of it afterwards) that, I say, this Descent of the Spirit came down, as Thunder does, with a mighty Noise, as of a strong Wind, and with Lightning accompanying it, tho in an unusual Shape, as no doubt the Wind was too of an unusual Sound, in order thus to distinguish them from common Thunder and Wind. And thus we read again, *Acts* 4. 31. *That when they had prayed, the Place was shaken*, (as a House is, when a Thunder-storm passeth over it, or when an Earthquake is under it) *where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*, &c. Thus we read (which may illustrate and confirm what I say) that when the Voice spake to Christ from Heaven, which is mentioned, *John* 12. 28. it is told us, *ver.* 29. *That the People, that stood by, said that it thundred. But others*, that were a little more observant, and took notice of some difference between this Noise and the usual Noise that Thunder makes, said, *That an Angel spake to him.* And thus likewise came the Voice to *Saul*, accompanied with Light, when he was upon his Journey to *Damascus*, *Acts* 11. 3, *&c.* insomuch, That not only he was struck down to the Ground, but all the Men struck so too, and even speechless with the awfulness of the Voice, or Noise rather, for they heard no articulate Noise, as he did. To return then, we may hence attain to understand, why these three first Apostles are called *the Sons of Thunder*, *viz.* because they were to be the three first and principal Instruments and Agents of the Gospel-Dispensation, which began with, was founded upon, and at first carried

ried on by the Holy Ghoſt, and his Gifts, Operations and Effects, which were given and diſpenſed, after the manner of Thunder and Lightning, accompanied with an Earthquake; tho there were ſome peculiar Marks and Criterions in this Matter, that plainly diſtinguiſh'd it from Common Thunder, Lightning and Earthquake. And I think, that *John* may very probably be ſuppoſed to allude to this, when he ſtiles himſelf, in his ſecond and third Epiſtle, ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *The Elder, Senior* or *Preſbyter*, by way of Peculiarity, without the Addition of Apoſtle, or any other Note of Diſtinction, as to Character or Office. For this is quite another Stile and way of Writing, than that which *Peter* uſes, *Chap.* 5. 1. when ſaluting the Presbyters or Miniſters, he calls himſelf, by way of Condeſcention, συμπρεσβύτερος their Fellow-Presbyter. I do therefore ſuppoſe, that not only *James*, but *Peter* alſo being dead, when he wrote theſe Epiſtles, and perhaps all other the Apoſtles, he calls himſelf *the Presbyter*, excluſive to all others, as being the only Perſon living, that was dignified with a peculiar Name and Character of Chriſt's own giving. However, from what has been ſaid, we may ſee, why Chriſt gave this Title to the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and why he ſent them forth together. And here let us not forget, that as *Peter* was peculiarly honour'd to be the firſt Man that preach'd to the Gentile Church, and was therefore the firſt Stone of that Building: So *James* was the firſt Martyr of the Apoſtles (as *Stephen* was the firſt of all Chriſtians) that cemented the ſame Building with his Blood. And, as *John* went hand in hand with both of them, to propagate the Goſpel, tho he was only *Peter*'s Second in point of Activity, and was not call'd to die a violent Death, as he and *James* were: ſo he had this peculiar Honour above both of them, not only to live after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but to put the laſt and concluding hand to the Canon of the New Teſtament, and conſequently to the whole Bible. In which laſt reſpects, he was *the Presbyter*, by way of Eminence and Peculiarity, and a *Boanerges*. And ſurely the Book

of the Revelation, that contains in it the Fate both of the Church and World, ſpeaks him to be ſuch, as well as his being ὁ Θεόλογος, *The Divine* or *Theologue*, in a Senſe peculiar to himſelf at that time, as he is called in the Title of the Apocalypſe. So that upon the whole, if God did by the Chriſtian Religion, as by Thunder, Lightning and an Earthquake, ſhake both the Heaven of the Jewiſh Law, and the Earth of its Polity, and the Settlement of that People in *Judæa*, out of their Places? If Paganiſm, as to its Religion, Cuſtoms, Philoſophy and Laws, were at length ſo ſhaken this way, as to be ſhatter'd to pieces? If the Roman Empire it ſelf was firſt weaken'd, and at length totally deſtroyed by it? And, if the Chriſtian Diſpenſation was brought into the room of all theſe, as a new Conſtitution from all that had been before, and thus as a kind of new World or new Heaven and Earth? I ſay, if theſe things be duly conſidered, we need not much wonder, if the three Leading Apoſtles (who were the firſt and principal Builders of the Chriſtian Fabrick, or who, at leaſt, had the firſt and chief hand, in laying the Foundation of this Erection, (next under Chriſt and under the Conduct of the Paraclet) be called *Boanerges*, or the Sons of Thunder: nor need we, any longer, look upon this Deſignation as ſtrange; nor yet inquire any farther after the meaning and deſign of Chriſt, in giving them this Title. And now, after all this, it will not be hard to gueſs, why our Lord made choice of *James* and *John*; why he ſent them forth together; and why he join'd them with *Peter*, when he choſe theſe Three to be the only Witneſſes both of his Transfiguration and Agony. I proceed therefore, 3. To inquire into the Character of *Philip* and *Bartholomew*, who are the third Pair, (if I may ſay ſo) of the Apoſtles. And ſeeing, I think, I have ſaid enough to prove that he that is uſually called *Bartholomew*, was the ſame that is by *John* called *Nathanael*, I ſhall begin with him. For, taking this for granted, there is none of the Apoſtles, whoſe Character is ſo plainly and fully given; and that by our Lord himſelf, *John* 1. 47. *Behold*

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an Iſraelite indeed, in whom there is no Guile. Perhaps *Nathanael* might be little taken notice of, even for Religion, in the Place where he liv'd; whilſt the rotten-hearted Phariſees, and ſuch a Man as *Judas Iſcariot*, were look'd upon as mighty Saints. And therefore our Lord prefaceth his Character of him, with a *Behold.* And then he adds the Character, *An Iſraelite indeed.* The bulk of the Jews thought that their very Name intitl'd them to Heaven: And, if they were rigidly tenacious of their Ceremonies, they thought they were very good Men, and liv'd up to their Profeſſion; tho they diſpens'd with their Conſciences in Moral Duties, ſuch as Juſtice and Mercy. But *Nathanael* plac'd his Religion chiefly in the latter. And therefore Chriſt explains what he means by calling him *a true Iſraelite*, by adding, *in whom there is no Guile.* So that Sincerity is the Teſt of true Religion: Nay, the very Eſſence and Soul of it. If any ſay, Was it conſiſtent with this Character, that *Nathanael* was ſo drawn away with Prejudices againſt Chriſt, and ſo raſh this way, as to quarrel with *Philip*, when he aſſerted that Jeſus was the Meſſiah, as we ſee, *ver.* 46. *Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* I anſwer, ſhall this be an Objection againſt him with us, when it was none with Chriſt, tho he knew what paſt between *Philip* and him, as we ſee, *ver.* 48. No, let us rather conclude the quite contrary of this. For indeed this very thing is the moſt eminent Proof that can be of his Sincerity. For he was a plain upright Man, that ſpake as he thought, without Artifice or Diſguiſe. And, if he fail'd, it was not for want of Sincerity, but Information. Nor was it ſtrange, that he ſhould labour under this Prejudice: for the whole Nation of the Jews ſeem to have been poſſeſs'd with the ſame Notion, even the very Sanhedrim, as appears from their Reprimand given to *Nicodemus*, and their Determination upon it, *John* 7. 52. *Art thou alſo of* Galilee? *Search and look; for out of* Galilee *ariſeth no Prophet.* But how far ſoever *Nathanael* was carried away with this popular Error, yet he was not ſo prepoſſeſt

with it, as not readily to yield to Reason, tho it thwarted it. When therefore *Philip* had beg'd the Favour of him, only so far to suspend his Determination in this matter, as to go along with him, and be Judge for himself, desiring him to *come and see:* Good *Nathanael* readily agreed to this, as highly reasonable. And when he came, and found by Christ's Answer to his Question, what no mere Man could know, he immediately believes, and gives Christ that honourable Testimony, which we have, *ver.* 49. *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* So that *Nathanael* or *Bartholomew*, was, in a word, a plain, sincere and honest hearted Man, that knew no Trick, and hated Dissimulation, whither in Word or Action. And, as such honest Men run so far from Knavery and Falsehood, as usually to talk too free for their own Safety; so we may reasonably suppose, that *Nathanael* was one of those, that the World is apt to call an honest well-meaning Man, but not equally stock'd with Prudence. For both his Answer to *Philip*, and his Question and Answer to Christ, seem to carry some such Air along with it. He knew no Complaisance to *Philip*, in asking him, how he came to think so or so: but bluntly and roundly contradicts him. But his Honesty laying him open to Conviction, on he goes to Jesus. But, tho he got so great an Encomium from him, he is not moved from his wonted pace. He does not thank Christ, for he knew nothing like Compliment. Nor does he excuse himself from deserving such an Elogium, as others would have been apt to have done, from a pretended Modesty. But he bluntly asks him, *How knowest thou me?* And upon Christ's Answer, being convinced, he roundly and plainly tells all his Mind, not fearing either Censure or Persecution, as a cautious Man would have done; for the Character he gives of Christ is so high, that the Jews might have laid hold of, under pretence of its being Blasphemy, and so prosecuted him, on this Head for his Life; as we know they did Christ himself afterwards, tho he had never used

uſed any Expreſſion ſo plain and high concerning himſelf, as this was. And therefore we may well ſuppoſe, that when Chriſt required his Apoſtles, not only to be harmleſs as Doves, but wiſe as Serpents, he had a particular Eye upon this good Man; whom I look upon to have had much more Integrity and down-right Honeſty, than Caution, or any thing that look'd like Cunning: tho, at the ſame time, he might be a Man of very conſiderable natural Parts, and ſo every way qualified for the Office of an Apoſtle. Now, as for *Philip*, we find but very few and ſmall Hints concerning him; which makes it the more difficult to give any Character of him. All the Account we have of him, amounts only to theſe things; *viz.* Firſt, That he was of *Bethſaida*, the City of *Andrew* and *Peter*, John 1. 44. and therefore no doubt acquainted with them; and, if ſo, he could not be a Stranger to *John the Baptiſt*, and his Doctrine, ſeeing *Andrew* was one of his Diſciples. Next we find, that Chriſt called him to be his Diſciple, the very next day after *Peter* came to Chriſt, *ver.* 43. So that he ſeems to have been the Third, as to Order, if we conſider the time of their being called. Being called, we find ſomething that ſeems to ſpeak him to have been a judicious, inquiſitive Man, well vers'd in the Scriptures, and that had examined what the *Baptiſt*, and *Andrew*, and *Peter*, had ſaid of Chriſt, by the Sacred Writings, as the *Bereans* did afterwards the Apoſtles Doctrine. For I cannot think he ſpoke at random, but from Conviction upon Evidence, when he tells *Nathanael*, ver. 45. *We have found him of whom* Moſes *in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of* Nazareth, *the Son of* Joſeph. Beſides, that he ſhows Judgment and Diſcretion, in the choice of theſe Words, conſidering the Man he ſpoke to: for *Nathanael* was a Man not to be dictated unto, but eaſy to be brought over to Truth, upon ſuch Evidence as that which he inſiſted upon. And, as this ſuppoſes, that he was intimately acquainted with *Nathanael*; ſo it ſatisfies us, that *Philip* was a Holy Man himſelf; for, as the old Saying is, *Noſcitur*

ex socio, he is known from the choice he made of a Companion. But besides all this, his Prudence as well as Modesty is seen, in his short but pithy Answer to *Nathanael*'s Objection, when he says, *Come and see*, ver. 46. For, tho he himself might have been capable to prove Jesus to be the Messiah, so as to convince *Nathanael* by the Arguments that had satisfied himself: yet, as this would have taken up a great deal of Time, he justly supposed, that it would be not only the shortest but most effectual Method, to bring him along with him to his Blessed Master. Another Hint concerning this Man we have, *John* 16. 20, 21, 22. *viz.* the Method he took to answer the Desire of those Greeks that came to him, desiring *that he would shew them Jesus*. Whither they came to him, rather than any other Apostle, as meeting him first, or from a deliberate Choice, I can pretend to say nothing, because the Text is silent this way. But his Method of managing this Point being particularly recorded, deserves Consideration; that he consulted *Andrew*, in the first place, before he would gratify them so far: And *Andrew* giving his Opinion that he ought to do so, he joins him, as his Companion in this matter. He seems to have hesitated, whither a mere Curiosity to see Jesus, ought to be gratified; and therefore he makes choice of *Andrew*, as the oldest Disciple of Christ, and consequently the most experienced of them, and who was, as I have said, a cautious, prudent and inquisitive Person; in order to have his Judgment and Concurrence in what he did. So that this minute Circumstance is not recorded in vain. For it confirms me in what I have said of *Philip*, that he was himself a cautious, modest and wary Man, even in the smallest of Actions, or those that, at first view, we may think so. There is but one Hint more given of this Man, in all the New Testament (for that *Philip* mentioned, *Acts* 12. and elsewhere, was not *Philip* the Apostle, but *Philip* the Deacon and Evangelist:) and that is in *John* 14. 8. when he says, *Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us*. The Occasion was this:

Christ

Christ was now about to take leave of his Followers, and to suffer. He enters therefore upon a long and pathetical Discourse, concerning his leaving them, which he began upon the occasion of *Judas Iscariot*'s going out in order to betray him, *Ch.* 13. *v.* 30. And is continued from the 31*st* Verse of that Chapter (with a few Interruptions occasioned by some Questions put up to him from some of the Apostles) to the end of *Ch.* 16. and is concluded by that remarkable Prayer, *Ch.* 17. Immediately after which, he and his Apostles go into that Garden, in which he was seised, as we see, *Ch.* 18. 1, 2, *&c.* Now he begins this long and noble Discourse with telling his Apostles, that he was to leave them; *Ch.* 13. 31, *&c.* This surpriseth them all. And *Peter*, the most forward of them all, asks him, whither he went, *ver.* 36. which occasion'd a Dialogue, that confounded their Thoughts yet more. *Thomas*, who was, as we shall see afterwards, of a positive and diffident Temper, gives his Master, in a sort, the Lie, *Ch.* 14. 5. Whom our Lord refutes strongly, but in soft Words, as giving Allowance for the Man's Temper, *ver.* 6, 7. In the close of this Answer, our Lord had asserted, *that they knew the Father*, and had seen him, because they had known and seen his Christ. *Philip* breaks Silence here, with this Request, *that Christ would shew them the Father*, and then they would be fully satisfied, *ver.* 8. The Words bear Evidence of a judicious Curiosity, as to the matter inquired after. And the manner of them (being neither by way of Assertion, nor Self-confidence, as *Peter*'s, ch. 13. 37. Nor by way of Challenge, as that of *Thomas*, ch. 14. 5. but by way of Petition) shews the Modesty and Judgment of *Philip*. And he that considers how deeply the Disciples were tinctur'd with the common Notion of the Jews, in expecting a Messiah, that should be a glorious Conqueror, may discern a great deal of Faith, tho in a Struggle with Diffidence, to have been at that time in *Philip*'s Breast. For it speaks forth as much as this comes to. Lord, this is no easy thing for us to believe or digest, that thou art about

bout to leave us, and to ſuffer Death by the Jews. However Lord, if thou wilt allow us to ſee the Father, as we have ſeen thee, we will reſt ſatisfied with this ſtrange Diſpenſation, without either deſponding or turning back. We are not to ſuppoſe that *Philip* did ever dream of ſeeing the Eſſence of God here: but only of ſeeing the Father manifeſt himſelf in ſome viſible way, by way of Atteſtation of the Truth of what Chriſt had ſaid. But even this was a Proof of *Philip*'s Weakneſs and Ignorance, in this Affair: it being altogether improper, that ever the Father ſhould appear under any viſible manner, as I have *(f)* elſewhere demonſtrated. And therefore Chriſt checks *Philip*, with ſome Sharpneſs, ſeeing a Man of his calm and thoughtful Temper might have better underſtood his former Aſſertion, had he conſider'd it a little more cloſely, than either a *Peter* or a *Thomas*, conſidering the natural Raſhneſs of the firſt, and the Scrupuloſity of the ſecond. However, upon the whole, this Paſſage confirms me, as to what I obſerved from the former; that we do not miſtake *Philip*'s Character, when we ſuppoſe him to have been a critically judicious, and cautiouſly prudent Perſon, as well as a modeſt and holy Man. And therefore we ſee how juſtly *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are pair'd together. For beſides, that they were old and intimate Friends, and good Men; *Philip*'s Judgment and Prudence might be of great Uſe, to direct and caution an honeſt, free and open-hearted *Nathanael*, when they had to do with cunning and knaviſh Men, that lay upon the catch with them; as *Nathanael*'s Frankneſs and down-right Ingenuity was like to be of equal uſe to *Philip*, that his Caution might not degenerate into ſervile Fear, to the baulking of a free Declaration of the Truth, and the Meſſage they were ſent about. And beſides, as *Philip* was likely to reaſon better and more cloſely than *Nathanael*; this *Bartholomew* was of that

(f) Chriſtol. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 282.

honeſt

honeſt Warmth and Zeal, as would put him upon a pathetical and fervent way of Preaching, more adapted to a popular Auditory. So that our Lord's Wiſdom may be conſpicuouſly ſeen, in ſending forth theſe two Men together. We come now to conſider, 4. The next two Apoſtles, *viz. Matthew* and *Thomas*. And ſeeing I have ſaid ſomething but juſt now, concerning this laſt, I ſhall begin with him here. I took notice of what *Thomas* ſaid to Chriſt, *John* 14. 5. and ventur'd to characterize him from thence, with relation to his natural Temper, as one that was ſcrupulous and diffident, as to his giving credit to things, and very poſitive and fixed, in any Notion he had firſt taken up. But I built not this Character of him, upon that Expreſſion alone. For we have ſomething further related of him, that demonſtrates this more fully; *viz.* that Paſſage in *John* 20. 24, 25. where, tho all the other Apoſtles aſſured him of Chriſt's Reſurrection, upon their own Knowledge, as having ſeen him themſelves; yet *Thomas* would not believe them. Nay, ſo poſitive was he this way, as to ſay, *Except I ſhall ſee in his Hands the Prints of the Nails, and put my own Hand into them; nay, and thruſt my Hand into his Side too, I will not believe.* However, tho *Thomas* was ſcrupulous, poſitive and diffident, and hard to be convinced, he was of that affectionate Temper, as to be mightily concern'd and affected with any thing of Weight and Moment, that he was once ſatisfied about. And therefore, when Chriſt had condeſcended to him, in all he demanded, he was ſtruck down into a melting and concerned Frame, and cryed out, *ver.* 28. *My Lord and my God:* An abrupt Expreſſion, but full of Significancy and Force, and ſuch as ſhews how full his Soul was, both by way of Concern for his own paſt Infidelity and Obſtinacy; by way of Admiration as to Chriſt's Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion; and by way of Joy and Delight to ſee his Maſter again: all which he expreſſeth ſo, as to ſhew his Faith in Chriſt, both as Meſſiah and God; and ſo as to declare his Reſolution, as to a cloſe Adherence to him, as ſuch, for

for the future. So that *Thomas* was (as we say of some, that *quicquid volunt valde volunt*) of that Temper, as to be positive and fervent in all he said or did, whither right or not. And we find many warm Men of this Temper, that they passionately love, or passionately hate, are resolvedly diffident, and as fervently credulous at other times. And truly it is no small Confirmation to us, that *Thomas* was exactly such a one as we have describ'd, to consider what is taken notice of him, *John* 11. 16. For when Christ had told his Apostles, that *Lazarus* was dead, Thomas *said unto his Fellow-Disciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him.* An Expression that demonstrates a warm and passionate Affection and Love, and such a one as was rash and inconsiderate. But all such Men are so. If they hear of the Death of a Friend, that they passionately lov'd, they know not how to bear it, and mind not, whilst the Passion lasts, what they say, in giving a Vent to their Sorrows. Now, with *Thomas* was joined *Matthew*, otherwise called *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*, Mark 2. 14. tho not that *Alpheus* that was the Father of *James* and *Judas*. Concerning him little is said, besides that his Name is inserted in all the four Catalogues of the Apostles. For besides this, we have no hint of him in all the Sacred History, by which we can guess at his Character, except, that we are told of his being call'd to be a Christian, when he was sitting at the Place of the Receipt of Custom; of which we read, *Matth.* 9. 9, *&c. Mark* 2. 14, *&c. Luke* 5. 27, *&c.* And all that we can gather hence is, that Christ pitch'd upon him as a proper Person to be his Disciple, and afterwards to be his Apostle; that being call'd, he readily obeyed, and, as *Luke* says, *left all, rose up and followed Christ*; so that he did not so much as dispute whither his safe and gainful Imployment, or Christ's Service, ought to have the Preference; that he invited Christ and his Disciples to Dinner in his House, and, as *Luke* says, made them a great Feast there; that, together with them, he had a great many Publicanes, and others of his Friends and Acquain-

Acquaintance to dine with him, which propably he did, in order to draw them in to follow his Example in becoming Christians; and that this gave occasion both to a Discourse between Christ and the Pharisees, and between him, and the Disciples of *John*. Now all I would observe from hence is, *first*, that *Matthew* appears to be the very Reverse of *Judas Iscariot*. For whereas the Traitor was covetous, and therefore left Christ for the World; *Matthew* was generous and liberal, and left the World for Christ. Which is so much the more remakable, that *Judas*, as I have observed already, had perhaps the faireſt Appearance of serious and strict Religion, before he discover'd himself, of any of the Apostles; whereas *Matthew* was a Publican, and rank'd with the unclean, whom the Jews call'd Sinners. So that *Judas* was a Devil acting under the disguise of a Saint: Whereas *Matthew* was a Saint, tho under the reproachful Name of a Sinner. And here I would particularly take notice of *Matthew*'s Modesty and Humility. For whereas *Luke* says with an Emphasis, that he did, upon Christ's Call, immediately *leave all, and rise up and follow him: Matthew* himself says only, *and he arose and followed him.* And whereas *Luke* says, that *he made Christ a great Feast in his House:* He himself mentions this in the General only, and as it were by the bye, thus; *and it came to pass, as Jesus sat at Meat in his House, behold, many Publicanes and Sinners*, &c. And his Modesty is further remarkable, in that which I hinted above, *viz.* his placing *Thomas* before himself, in the Rank of the Apostolical Bench, whereas both *Mark* and *Luke* reckon him before *Thomas*. And then, *Secondly*, I would likewise observe this, as highly probable; That *Matthew* was no less the Reverse of *Thomas*, in point of natural Temper, than he was of *Judas*, in point of Religion and Integrity. For by what I have said of him, I hope I may justly conclude him to have been a Man of a calm, sedate, and thoughtful Temper; slow to speak, (and therefore we read not of one Question that ever he put up to Christ) but swift to hear

hear and inquire; and careful to review and commemorate what he himself thought worthy to be known. And hence it is, that he has left behind him that exact and admirable History of Christ, which the Christian Church has agreed to place before all the other Gospels, and justly. For, as neither *Mark* nor *Luke* were Apostles, and therefore not Eye and Ear-Witnesses of what they write, at least not of so many of Christ's Sayings and Actions as *Matthew* was: So *John* neither wrote so early as *Matthew*, nor any thing like an exact History; but only added some memorable things, especially some large Discourses, which *Matthew* had omitted, as well as *Mark* and *Luke*. And indeed the former of these seems only to be a Compendizer of *Matthew*'s History: and as for *Luke*, who owns that he wrote from the Information of others, we may be sure that he founded his Account principally upon that of *Matthew*. As therefore *Matthew* seems, in this respect, to have been honour'd above all the Twelve: So we may be sure, that the Holy Spirit did not chuse him to be first Amanuensis of the New Testament, without special Reason. He must therefore be supposed to have had all the proper Qualifications of a perfect Historian, *viz.* intimate Acquaintance with him whose History he writes; a nice Observation of the Facts he records, and the Circumstances; an unaffected Concern to inform others punctually as to Truth; a Dexterity of doing this nakedly, without any partial Comments of his own; and a Freedom from Passion and Humour, in the giving things a wrong turn, by setting them in a false Light, or by painting them forth in artificial Colours. Now to act thus, requires a Man of a critical Inquiry, a solid Judgment, and a tenacious Memory; as well as one of great Faithfulness and Application. And I believe the more judiciously and seriously we peruse *Matthew*'s short Annals of Christ, the more we will be convinced that he has approved himself to be such an Historian. And, if so, who fitter to be joyn'd with *Thomas*, considering the Character that he bears in the Gospel-Account. But

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if *Thomas* needed such a Companion, to rectify his Temper, and to direct him in his Conduct; *Thomas* might be equally necessary to a calm, modest, and thoughtful *Matthew*, in point of popular and pathetical Discourses; for there are none that work so naturally on the Affections of Men, especially the vulgar Sort, as those that are of a volatile and affectionate Temper themselves. So that Christ's Wisdom is equally discernable in joining these two Men together, as in joining the former. Let us now come, 5. To the next Pair, *viz.* the two Sons of *Alpheus*. And here previously, let us observe how careful Christ is to preserve and incourage Friendship among Relatives. Therefore (tho for special Reasons he selects *Peter*, *James* and *John*, to be his Witnesses, as to the Transfiguration and Agony, yet) in sending them forth, he sends the three Pairs of Brothers together, without disjoining them. Hence *Andrew* is join'd with his Brother *Peter*, in this Commission; *John* with *James*; and again *Judas* with the other *James*. This being premised, let us proceed to consider the Character of this last pair of Brothers. And here, as the two younger Brothers, in the former Pairs, seem to have the Pre-eminence, the elder of this latter Pair is certainly the most illustrious, by what we can judge, tho the younger Brother was also a very eminent Person. However I have all reason to begin with the first here; seeing we have a fuller account of him, than of the other. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, is commonly called *James* the *Less*, in Church-History, to distinguish him from *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, who is usually stiled *James* the *Great*, upon the account of his greater Age, and consequently Authority at first. This lesser or younger *James* is justly supposed to be he, that is characterized from his Relation to Christ, and called the Lord's Brother, *Gal.* 1. 19. And (*g*) Dr. *Cave* and (*h*) Dr. *Whit-*

(*g*) *Life of* James *the Less.* (*h*) *Preface to the Epistle of* James.

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by are certainly in the right, when they make this *James* him, that ſome call the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and who was uſually called *James* the *Juſt*, to be one and the ſame Man. He therefore, whoſe Death is ſpoken of and lamented by (*i*) *Joſephus*, and who by him is called ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ, the Brother of *Jeſus*, was no other than this Apoſtle. How he was the Brother of Jeſus, is not eaſy to determine. Some think, that after the immaculate Conception, *Joſeph* had ſeveral Children by *Mary*: and the contrary Opinion is certainly no Article of Faith. However, ſeeing the conſtant Tradition of the Church runs againſt this, I think we ought to pay that deference to it, as to ſeek for another Senſe of the Words. In *Matthew* we read of four that are call'd his Brethren, beſides Siſters that he had. For ſome are brought in ſaying, *Chap.* 13. 55, 56. *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called* Mary? *And are not his Brethren called* James, Joſes, Simon *and* Judas? *And, as for his Siſters, are they not all with us?* All the Ancients before *Jerom* are of opinion, that theſe were the Children of *Joſeph* by a former Wife, who died before his Eſpouſal to the Virgin *Mary*; and that upon this account they are called the Brethren of Jeſus. But *Jerom* attempts to prove, that theſe Perſons were not the Children, either of the Virgin *Mary*, or of *Joſeph* by a former Wife, but that they were the Children of *another Mary*, that was Siſter to the Virgin, and the Wife of *Cleophas*, otherwiſe called *Alphæus*. His Opinion is founded on the words in *John* 19. 25. *And there ſtood by the Croſs of Jeſus, his Mother, and his Mother's Siſter* Mary, *the Wife of* Cleophas, *and* Mary Magdalen; as alſo upon what *Matthew* and *Mark* ſay to this purpoſe, *Matth.* 27. 55, 56. *And many Women were there, among whom was* Mary Magdalen, *and* Mary *the Mother of* James *and* Joſes, *and the Mother of* Zebedee's *Children*, Mark 15. 40. *There were alſo Women look-*

(*i*) Antiq. l. 20. c. 8.

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ing on afar off, among whom was Mary Magdalen, *and* Mary *the Mother of* James *the Less, and of* Joses, *and Salome.* From hence he concludes, that *James, Joses, &c.* were called his Brethren, as being his First Cousins, and consequently such near Relatives as, in the Language of the Jews, were called by the general Name of Brethren; in the same sense wherein *Lot* is called *Abraham's Brother, Gen.* 13. 8. tho his *Brother's Son* only, or his *Nephew, Gen.* 12. 5. and as the word Brother is used, *Gen.* 29. 12. *Lev.* 10. 4. *Theophylact* is of a different Opinion from *Jerom*, and thinks, that *Cleophas* being dead, and *Joseph* being his Brother, took his Wife to him, according to the Law, in order to raise up Seed to his Brother, and did accordingly of her beget *James, Joses,* and the other Children mentioned. But I cannot embrace this Opinion of all others; considering that *Joseph* was espoused to the Virgin *Mary*, and too good a Man to marry another, even tho other Jews might allow themselves in the point of Polygamy. But seeing it is a precarious Supposition that *Cleophas* was *Joseph*'s Elder Brother, I need not dispute, how far the Law of raising up Seed to a deceased Brother, was obligatory or not upon *Joseph*, considering his Circumstances. Dr. *Whitby* in his Preface to the Epistle of *James*, seems to be of *Jerom*'s Opinion. But in his Comment on *Matth.* 13. 55. he declares, that he likes the more antient Opinion best, which supposeth, that these Children were *Joseph*'s by a former Wife; recommending for this end what *Antonius de Dominis* had said on this head, to establish the old Opinion, and to refute that of *Jerom.* The Reasons he goes upon, the Reader himself may have Recourse to: For I am not willing to spend time in disputing this point here. Only I must say this, that how specious soever these Reasons seem to be, I incline rather to the Opinion of *Jerom.* For to me the Distinction between the Virgin *Mary* and her Sister *Mary*, in *John* 19. 25. seems to be so plain; that I see not how it is possible to confound them together, so as to interpret both to be one and the same Person:

when the Evangeliſt ſays in expreſs Terms, that the *Mother of Jeſus was there*, and *his Mother's Siſter Mary*, the Wife of *Cleophas* (or *Alpheus*) and *Mary Magdalen*. Whereas *Matthew*, omitting the *Virgin*, tells us, that beſides *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the Mother of *James* the Leſs, there was another illuſtrious Woman there, *viz.* the Mother of *Zebedee*'s Children: whoſe Name I ſuppoſe was *Salome*, mentioned by *Mark*. However, leaving the Reader to chuſe which Opinion he likes beſt, certain it is that *James* and his Brethren were nearly related to Chriſt. I proceed therefore to conſider the Character of *James*; which indeed is very illuſtrious. For, in the *firſt place*, we find, that immediately after that *James* the Elder was beheaded, when *Peter* was miraculouſly delivered out of Priſon, his firſt Concern ſeems to have been, that *James* ſhould be informed of his Deliverance, and the manner of it, *Acts* 12. 17. *Go*, ſays *Peter*, *and ſhew theſe things unto* James, *and to the Brethren*. Which makes me think, that, upon the Death of the firſt *James*, this Nameſake of his was adjudged by the Apoſtles as the fitteſt Man of all the Apoſtolical Bench, to fill his Place, (*k*) and that accordingly he was from thence rank'd next to *Peter*, as the ſecond Apoſtle, who before was only reckoned as the Ninth of that Order. His Relation to Chriſt might make the Apoſtles agree to have it ſo: and his own eminent and ſhining Worth might alſo intitle him to it. And probably the Spirit of God might determine that it ſhould be ſo. And from hence it might come to paſs, that as *Peter* was eminently look'd upon, as the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, as indeed all the Apoſtles were, *James* might be intituled to a more peculiar Care of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, as *Peter* of the whole Church of the Hebrews; from whence, in after-times, *James*

(*k*) Euſebius Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 1. *tells us this very thing, that I now ſuppoſe*; *which he relates from* Clemens *his* Hypotypoſ. Lib. 6. *and before him*, Hegeſypus, Lib. 5. *related materially the very ſame thing.*

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might come to be spoken of, as if he had been the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. However *Paul* ranks *James* with *Peter* and *John*, as the three most eminent Apostles of the Jews, and tells us, that these three were look'd upon as the στύλοι, or the Chief Pillars of the Church; and that these three (of whom he gives the first Honour to *James*, by naming him first) had made an Agreement with him, that he and *Barnabas* should go unto the Heathen, and they unto the Circumcision, *Gal.* 2. 9. And the same *Paul* makes honourable mention of this same *James*, *Gal.* 1. 19. calling him *an Apostle*, and *the Lord's Brother*. But the Eminence of this Apostle, in relation to the others, appears in nothing more remarkably, than in that Great Assembly of the Church, wherein the great Controversy concerning the necessity of Circumcision, and the Ceremonial Law, came to be finally determined. For after *Peter* had convinced the Bulk of the Assembly to be of his Mind; which *Barnabas* and *Paul* back'd by a relation of Matters of Fact, confirmatory of what *Peter* had said; *James* rises up, and, in a grave and judicious Speech, determines the whole Controversy, and puts them into a Method to put an end to it abroad for ever, as we see, *Acts* 15. 13, *&c.* And such was both the strength of his Reasoning, and the weight of his Authority, that the whole Assembly fell in with his Sentence, *nemine Contradicente*. Mention is also made of the same *James*, *Acts* 21. 17, 18. with a peculiar Mark of Honour, and with an Insinuation, that *James* was at that time the Man of the first Note of all those that were then at *Jerusalem*; seeing *Paul* paid a Visit to him as such. And we cannot doubt therefore, but that it was the same *James*, that gave *Paul* that admirably prudent Advice, in relation to the critical Circumstances that he stood in, at that time, with respect to the Christian Jews, that were yet inraged against him, upon the account of his so open a Rejection of the Ceremonial Law; and which Advice *Paul* readily

comply'd with, as we ſee in the Sequel of the ſame 21*ſt* Chapter of the *Acts*. And it is generally agreed, that it was this ſame *James*, to whom *Jeſus* is ſaid to have appeared, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. And, ſeeing *Paul* ranks this Appearing of Chriſt to *James*, after all the other that he had mentioned, as if it had been poſterior to all, excepting Chriſt's appearing to himſelf; I am of the Opinion, that it was by this, that Chriſt ſignified his Mind, with reſpect to the Advancement of this *James*, to fill the place of his Nameſake, as ſoon as he ſhould be taken off. However, I think it ſtrange that *Jerome* firſt, and Dr. *Hammond* after, ſhould lay ſuch ſtreſs upon I know not what Tradition, when they ſuppoſe, that this Appearing of Chriſt to *James*, was his very firſt Appearing of all, and that they ſhould ſtrain their Wits to confirm this, by putting a forc'd and unnatural Senſe upon the Particle ἔπειτα, as if it did not denote *Time* here, but muſt be underſtood as a Mark of Dignity: Which cannot be reconciled either with the Evangelical Hiſtory, or indeed with Senſe. For can it be ſuppoſed that Chriſt's ſingle Appearing to *James* alone, was a Matter of greater Conſequence, than his appearing to all the Apoſtles together, yea, and to 500 Perſons at once; eſpecially when this is the only Place that gives the Church any hint of Chriſt's having appeared to *James* alone. However, thus far this Tradition makes for my Notion; that it was this (whatever beſides was in it) that laid the Foundation of the Exaltation of *James*, to the Rank that the other *James* had held before. Now all theſe things being conſidered, we cannot but ſee what an eminent Apoſtle this *James* was. But a cloſe Obſervation of the Spirit that breaths in his *Admirable Epiſtle*, (notwithſtanding of its being ſuſpected as ſpurious by ſome Men formerly) will, I am confident, raiſe his Character ſtill higher in the Mind of every ſerious and judicious Reader. And ſeeing it is believed, and I think upon very juſt Grounds, that *John* concluded the Canon of the

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New Teſtament, in the Days of *Nerva*, or *Trajan* rather, and conſequently caſt the Books into that Order that they were generally kept in afterwards; we ſee how high the Character both of this *James* and his Epiſtle was with him, ſeeing he gives it the firſt place after thoſe of *Paul*, and ranks it before *Peter*'s Epiſtles as well as his own. For he ſeems, in this, to have followed the ſame Order wherein *Paul* makes mention of them, *Gal.* 2. 9. Now with this *James* was join'd his own Brother *Judas*, called otherwiſe *Lebbeus* or *Thaddeus*: for as to the two intermediate Brothers, *Joſes* and *Simon*, either they died young, or were only of the number of the common Diſciples, tho perhaps they might make two of the Seventy. Of this *Judas* we have nothing ſaid particularly, either in the Goſpel or Acts, excepting that *John* takes notice of one very pertinent, judicious and momentous Queſtion of his to Chriſt, concerning the Criterion or Nature of that way wherein Chriſt was to manifeſt himſelf to his own Diſciples, as a Privilege peculiar to them, and not to the World, *ch.* 14. 22. which gives occaſion to Chriſt's continuing his uſeful Diſcourſe, and of his ſpeaking more clearly on this Head, by way of Anſwer, *ver.* 23. And, it is particularly taken notice of, that it was this *Judas*, and not the other, that put up this Queſtion by the Addition of theſe words, *not Iſcariot*; as if it were on purpoſe not only to diſtinguiſh the honeſt Man from the Knave; but to hint this alſo, that it was a Queſtion too noble and high for ſuch a Man as *Iſcariot* was. But tho this *Judas* was not only a holy Man, but a judicious Perſon too, yet I look upon him to have been rather a zealous and hot, than a prudent Man. I found this chiefly upon his *Epiſtle*; which breaths a peculiar Fervor and Warmth. And therefore the Wiſdom of Chriſt is ſeen eminently in joining theſe Brothers together. For as *James* had certainly the cooleſt Head, his Brother *Judas* (or as our Tranſlators call him *Jude*, I ſuppoſe becauſe the Name of *Judas* is become infamous amongſt the Vulgar, upon the account of the *Traitor*)

ſeems to have had the more fiery and active Spirit. *James* was therefore every way the fitteſt to direct, both as the eldeſt Brother, and as the wiſeſt and calmeſt Man. But *Judas* was altogether fit for an uſeful and zealous Publication of the Goſpel, and a vigorous Defence of it; eſpecially when aſſiſted and caution'd by his Brother, as to the beſt Method of Proceeding. And here, before I leave theſe Brothers, I cannot but deſire the Reader to obſerve, how little our Saviour regarded Relation, in compariſon of real Worth; ſeeing he places theſe two Kinſmen, almoſt the laſt of all the Apoſtles. And tho this *James* may have deſerved to be the firſt of all, yet our Saviour would not patronize this while on Earth (as if it were to avoid the Suſpicion of Partiality to his Kinſmen) tho I do ſuppoſe he rais'd him higher after his Exaltation, upon the Reaſons that I have already aſſign'd. I proceed now, 6. To conſider the *laſt Pair*. But as for the laſt of theſe, *viz. Judas Iſcariot*, I have nothing to add to what I ſaid above, either with reſpect to his Character, or the Reaſons Chriſt went upon in making choice of him to be an Apoſtle. Only we may take notice of this, that he purpoſely caſt him into the Rear of all, as the laſt; from a Foreſight of his being an Apoſtate, that he might be cut off, and his room fill'd up the more eaſily, without any Alteration or Change, as to the Order of the reſt. All therefore that I have to do here, is to conſider the Character of *Simon* that was join'd with him. But this ſeems to be no eaſy matter, becauſe we have not ſo much as any one particular Paſſage relating to him, from whence we can judge of his Temper or Parts. However, the Wiſdom of God is ſuch, that there are two things notwithſtanding, from whence we may very rationally paſs a Judgment upon him. The *firſt* is, that he was formerly one of the Sect of the *Zealots*, from whence he is called *Zelotes*. For that Sect being compoſed of the moſt fiery Spirits of the Jewiſh Nation, who were either the moſt bigotted, rigorous and ſtiff, for every thing that related to the Law

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of *Moſes*, or elſe pretended to be ſo; we may reaſonably conclude, that this *Simon* was one of the firſt ſort of theſe Zealots, *i. e.* one that was honeſtly zealous for the Law, tho to that degree of Heat and Rigor, that beſpoke him to be more honeſtly fervent, than wiſe or prudent. However, when he was convinced of Chriſt's being the *Meſſiah*, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that he learn'd more Wiſdom, and that his natural Heat was rectified, tho not altered. So that, no doubt, he was a fervent, affectionate and zealous Chriſtian and Apoſtle. And therefore, *Secondly*, ſeeing we have Reaſon to think that he was join'd with the Traitor, it was on purpoſe to be a check upon that falſe and deceitful Man: tho, at the ſame time our Saviour might reach an end, with reſpect even to him, in joining a cunning and artful *Judas* with him to mollify his Temper, and to moderate his Heat and Zeal. However, it is not a little to his Honour, that he was ſet, as it were, a *Tutor* over *Judas Iſcariot*, to keep him right, in the main, whither he would or not. And the Wiſdom of Chriſt will appear the more conſpicuouſly here, if this *Simon* was the Father of *Judas*; by which he muſt be ſuppoſed to have the greater Aſcendant over him. And indeed I cannot but look upon this *Simon* and *Judas* to be Father and Son: and if ſo, we may obſerve with what Precaution Chriſt acted, when he admitted *Judas* to be an Apoſtle. The Reaſon of my Conjecture is this, that the Apoſtle *John* never mentions *Judas*, but with this Addition, *the Son of Simon*, or *Simon's Son*, as we ſee, *John* 6. 7. *Chap.* 12. 4. *Ch.* 13. 2. and *ver.* 26. Whereas when he mentions the other *Judas*, he does it ſimply, without any ſuch Note of Diſtinction, as *Brother of James*, or *Thaddeus*, or *Lebbeus*, but only with this Addition, *not Iſcariot*, John 14. 22. And the Reaſon I take to be this; that whilſt *Simon Zelotes* was alive, who no doubt was almoſt Heart-broken upon the account of his Son's Villany, the Evangeliſts thought fit to paſs over in Silence the Relation that *Judas Iſcariot* ſtood in to him. But *John*, who wrote his Goſpel after his Deceaſe, thought

it might not be improper to mention this Relation, as an Insinuation of what we are now in quest of, *viz.* the Reason of his being join'd with *Simon*. If any say, But *John* does not specifie this *Simon* by either the Sir-name of *Canaanite* or *Zelotes*, as the other Evangelists do, so that it does not seem to be the same *Simon*; I grant it: nor do I pretend to assert this. But yet, if any Man will consider, in the Places quoted, how constantly and how emphatically *John* calls him *Simon's Son*, he will think that I do not suppose that this was *Simon* the Apostle, without very great Probability: For tho this *Simon* was by the other Evangelists constantly spoken of with the Sir-name of *Zelotes*, or *the Canaanite*, to distinguish him the more fully from the other *Simon*, who had the Sir-name of *Cephas*, or *Peter*; yet it is probable that this latter, in process of Time, came to be so constantly spoken of, either under the simple Name of *Peter*, which he does only assume in the beginning of his first *Epistle*, or under those of *Simon Peter*, as he calls himself in his second Epistle; that the other *Simon* came at length to be designed by this his proper Name only, without the Addition of any Sir-name. Hence the Angel of God that spake to *Cornelius*, ordered him to send to *Joppa*, and to call for *Simon whose Sir-name was Peter*, that he might be distinguish'd from the other *Simon*. And therefore we find that *John* in his Gospel, never mentions this first *Simon*, but either under the single Name of *Peter*, *John* 18. 26. or those of *Simon Peter*, *chap.* 13. 6. *ch.* 20. 2. *ch.* 21. 15. And indeed he seems to be so constantly called *Peter* only, as we see, *Acts* 1. 15. *ch.* 3. 3. *ch.* 4. 8. *ch.* 8. 14. *ch.* 5. 15. *ch.* 9. 38, 40. *ch.* 10. 13. *ch.* 11. 7. *ch.* 10. 44, 45. *ch.* 12. 3, 18. *Gal.* 1. 18. *ch.* 2. 7, 8, 14. that we need not wonder, if, in process of Time, especially when *John* writ his Gospel, which was after the Decease of all the other Apostles, and after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, all Men spoke of him so; and consequently mention'd the other by his proper Name *Simon*, without any additional Sir-name or Mark of Distinction, as being altogether needless.

leſs. And thus I leave it to the inquiſitive and impartial Reader, to judge, whither it be not highly probable, that *Judas Iſcariot* was the Son of *Simon*, who at firſt was called *Zelotes*: but which additional Sir-name he himſelf might perhaps avoid to be known by afterwards, as carrying along with it an Inſinuation of that former blind Zeal and Fury that he was acted by, and which he was no doubt aſham'd of, when he became Chriſt's Diſciple.

And now I have done with the Characters of the Twelve Apoſtles. Only, as I have mark'd them forth ſo, as to give the Reader a View of Chriſt's Wiſdom and Conduct, in his joining them together, when he firſt ſent them forth to preach the Goſpel; ſo I would deſire him to take notice, with what Wiſdom Men of ſuch different Tempers were choſen and caſt together, into one College or Society, in order to aſſiſt one another the better, in laying the Foundation of the *Kingdom of God*, or the *Goſpel-Erection* among Men. Every wiſe Prince diſcovers his Prudence to the World, in the choice of his principal Miniſters of State. And in nothing does this appear more, than in adjuſting and making uſe of the fitteſt Men for his Service. If he have Buſineſs, that requires a nice and critical Management, he imploys Men of Wiſdom, Penetration and Conduct, at leaſt ſo as to give them the principal hand therein. If he is to do what is difficult and hard to be performed, in point of Action, he chiefly imploys Men of a daring Boldneſs and Addreſs. And, above all things, he is careful of thoſe whom he intruſts with his ſecret Counſels, that they be not only Men faithful to his Intereſt, and Men of Secrecy; but, that in other reſpects, they be of very different Diſpoſitions, that by a Colliſion of different Humours and Sentiments, he may the more ſafely and clearly draw his Concluſions, when he has weigh'd all that is ſaid on all hands. I confeſs this is not altogether Parallel to the caſe in hand. For, as our Lord acted not according to the Rules of human Policy, as I have at large ſufficiently proved, and was infal-

infallibly wise himself, and therefore needed no Counseller, so the Apostles had an infallible Presses to direct them in all Matters of Consequence, *viz.* the Spirit of Christ, by whom our Lord acted, and in whom he was present with them. But yet it was fit, that he should have proper Instruments to act by, and that these should be so adjusted for their own sake, as well as the Interest of others, as to be mutual Checks upon one another, and Incitements and Assistants one to another. And seeing the Twelve Apostles were selected chiefly for this purpose, and were to act by Concert, in Matters of general and universal Concern, it will be no unpleasant Contemplation, to take a view of the Apostolical College, with respect to their several Dispositions. Now previously to this, let me suppose, that a wise and good Prince were to erect a College or Counsel of Twelve Men, and were previously to lay down a Rule to regulate his Choice this way: what could this be, but this? That besides Fidelity and sufficient Capacity, they should be Men of such different Dispositions as these; That some one or more of them, should be bold and resolute, to start and undertake Projects, and free to tell all their Mind; That others should be ambitious and aspiring, that their designing their own Interest might make them vigorous and active to promote that of their Master; That others should be fiery and hot, to set the Wheels a going, when such things were proposed as seem'd to make both for their Lord's Honour and Interest, and their own; That others should be jealous and diffident, and put in Remora's to all these, and have the Faculty to puzzle the Cause for a while, from Fear and Suspition, in order to be a check to the Resolves of all the former; That there should be others also, that should be Men of nice and scrupulous Honesty, that should put in as many Caveats upon the Head of Honour and Integrity, as the former did in point of Safety; And that, after all, there should be some of strong Parts, slow to speak or propose things, but of calm and sedate Reasoning, who should think it necessary to interpose

terpoſe at laſt, and ſhould have the Faculty to refine upon all that was offered by the others, for and againſt the matter propoſed, either as to the Juſtifiableneſs or Expediency thereof, or as to the Method of doing it. I humbly ſuppoſe, that a Council, College or Bench of Senators thus conſtituted, muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak forth the Wiſdom of that Prince that ſhould make choice of ſuch Men, in a way of mutual Check upon one another, and yet of Help and Aſſiſtance one to another, even upon the very account of their being mutual Checks. And I leave the Reader to judge, if the Apoſtolical Bench (which was ſo ſacred and venerable, that every Apoſtle was peculiarly characteriz'd and diſtinguiſh'd from all others, by the ſpecial Preſence of the Holy Spirit with them, that it is noted, *Acts* 5. 12, 13, *&c.* to have been ſuch, that *none of the other Diſciples durſt join himſelf to him, i. e.* ſo as to equalize himſelf with him, in any reſpect whatſoever) was not thus modell'd, according to the Characters given of them; and whither *Peter* alone was not enough to anſwer the *firſt* ſort of Senators mention'd; and whither *James* and *John* did not anſwer the Character of the *ſecond* ſort; *Judas* the Brother of the ſecond *James*, and *Simon Zelotes*, the *third* ſort; *Thomas*, the *fourth* ſort; *Bartholomew*, alias *Nathanael*, the *fifth* ſort; and *Philip* and *Matthew*, but eſpecially *James* the Leſs, the *ſixth* and laſt ſort. And now that I have again mentioned *James* the Leſſer or Younger, I cannot but think, from what I have already ſaid of him, that he came to be of that Authority, as to be rank'd above *Peter* himſelf. My Reaſons are four: *Firſt*, Becauſe he held the chief Place in the Convocation or Aſſembly of all the *Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren*, ſo far as can be judg'd from the Account of it, *Acts* 15. *Secondly*, Becauſe *Paul* mentions him firſt, as it were of courſe, and with an Emphaſis, *Gal.* 2. 9. when he ſpeaks of *James*, *Peter* and *John*, as the firſt Pillars of all the Twelve. *Thirdly*, Becauſe *John*, who finiſh'd the Canon of the Bible, keeps the ſame

ſame Order in ranking their Epiſtles. And, *Fourthly*, Becauſe *Peter* ſeems to have ſtood in awe of him, even to that degree, as to have run into an unwarrantable Diſſimulation: for which ſee *Gal.* 2. 11, 12, *&c.* And indeed, upon the whole matter, I cannot but think, that the Bench of the Apoſtles, as well as that of the Seventy, with the Conſent of the whole Church, had made choice of *James* to act as the firſt of all the Apoſtles, in the Management of the Affairs of the Church in general, as well as of the Mother-Church of all, *viz.* that of *Jeruſalem*, from which *the Law and the Word*, *Iſa.* 2. 3. *Mic.* 4. 2. *i. e.* Chriſt and the Goſpel, or New Law, *were to go forth.* And he ſeems plainly to have been the fitteſt Man of them all this way, and much more proper than *Peter*, upon the account of Parts, Prudence and Diſcretion; tho I am apt to think, that beſides this, his near Relation to Chriſt, might influence them this way, out of reſpect to their Maſter. And it is not improbable alſo, from what I hinted, that Chriſt did order it ſo, either by appearing to them himſelf, or by the Illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, for this end; or both theſe ways. However it was, it is plain to me, that as *Peter* was the firſt Apoſtle that preach'd to the Gentiles, and ſo laid the Foundation of the Goſpel-Church; ſo this *James* the Younger had the firſt hand in the After-ordering and Management of the Church, and in bringing things into a juſt and ſolid Order and Method. And perhaps this might be one end of Providence, in ſuffering *Herod* to take away the Life of *James* the Elder, or, as he is commonly call'd, the Greater; that *James* the Younger, who ſeems to have been much more prudent, tho leſs fiery, might be exalted into his place, or rather into that of *Peter*, as the *firſt* of all the Apoſtles; *Peter* being the next to him, and being taught to be contented with the ſecond Place for the future. And indeed, if *Peter* was more fit than this *James* to break the Ice, as we uſe to ſay, and to pave the way for the Goſpel-Erection, I am equally confident that this *James* was the much more fit Man,

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to lay the Foundation of the Government, Order and Discipline of the Church: for his Head seems to have been peculiarly turn'd for drawing a proper Scheme of this kind, as it is plain he had very solid and ready Parts, in point of Management, to give every thing a proper turn; of which that prudent Expedient, which he propos'd to *Paul*, *Acts* 21. 17, 18, 19, *&c.* is a sufficient Demonstration. But it is high time that I should put an end to what relates to the Character of the Apostles. Nor shall I say any thing more of the Twelve. Only I cannot altogether omit *Matthias*, who was chosen to fill up the Place of *Judas Iscariot*. I confess we can only guess who he was; seeing we have not so much as one particular Passage relating to him, excepting that of his being chosen to be an Apostle, *Acts* 1. 15 — 26. And from that we can only collect, that he was an old Disciple of Christ, for that is plainly enough insinuated, *ver.* 21, 22. I suppose one of the Seventy, and the most excellent of them all, in the Opinion of the Apostles, excepting only *Joseph* called *Barsabas*; (whom it seems they gave the Preference unto, by naming him first, *ver.* 23.) but the most proper of the two, to be an Apostle, as appears, because the Lot fell upon him, *ver.* 26. All therefore that can be said of him, is, that he was an old experienced Christian, and the very Reverse of *Judas Iscariot*, in point of Integrity and Holiness; and probably a quiet, modest Man, such another as *Nathanael*, who was higher in God's Esteem than in Mens; tho such a one also as every good Man did put a due Value upon. More I have not to say of him.

I should now put an end to this long Account concerning the Apostles. And indeed I have done with the Twelve. But seeing it pleased God to call two others afterwards to be Apostles also; I cannot forbear to speak something concerning them, and the Wisdom of our Lord in this Choice. These were *Barnabas* and *Paul*. That *Paul* was an Apostle, no Man can doubt. And I suppose we can as little doubt that *Barnabas* was

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an Apoſtle too: For they are both expreſly call'd ſo, *Acts* 14. 14. And as we have ſuch an Account of *Paul*, as aſſures us, that he acted as an Apoſtle, and was owned as ſuch, by the Twelve, and indeed by the whole Society of Chriſtians, every where: So we find, that *Barnabas* was owned by all as his Equal, as to Office and Reputation; and being both the older Man and Chriſtian, he is ſpoken of almoſt conſtantly in the firſt Place: Which would not have been done, at leaſt by *Luke*, *Paul*'s cloſe Companion and Admirer, had *Paul* been of a ſuperiour Office to *Barnabas*. It is therefore, I think, as certain, that *Barnabas* was a proper Apoſtle, in the moſt proper Senſe, as that *Paul* was one. And I find not that any one of all the ancient Fathers did ever ſeem to doubt of this: for tho ſometimes they call him ſimply by the Name of *Barnabas*, in the ſame manner as when they call other Apoſtles, *Paul*, *John*, *Peter*, *&c.* without adding any thing more; yet at other times they call him expreſly (*l*) the *Apoſtle Barnabas*. And, as *Barnabas* and *Paul* were both of them Apoſtles; ſo I think they were the only Perſons, that were honour'd to be ſo, beſides the Twelve. For we find not any thing, that can lay a Foundation of our looking upon any other, that we read of in the *Acts*, to have been ſuch. The Perſons, that of all others, mention'd in the *Acts*, bid the faireſt for this Honour, are *Judas*, *ſir-named Barſabas*, and *Silas*, whom the Twelve Apoſtles join'd, as it were, with them, in renewing and confirming their Commiſſion to preach among the Gentiles. But yet this is done ſo, as it is plain, they themſelves made a great Diſtinction between *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and them. *Judas* indeed and *Silas* are called *chief Men among the Brethren*, *Acts* 15. 22. but then that tells us that they were not *Apoſtles*. They were principal Men, as being *Prophets*, as they are cal-

(*l*) *See* Clem. Alex. Lib. 2. Strom. p. 373. B. p. 375. B. *and* Jerom *in his* Catal. Script. Eccl.

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led, *ver.* 32. And their Appointment to go along with the Apoſtles *Barnabas* and *Paul*, intituled them to the Character and Office of *Evangeliſts*: For an Evangeliſt did denote as much as this; *A Companion of, or Deacon, Miniſter, Aſſiſtant, or Servant to an Apoſtle.* Our Lord had ſent forth firſt his Apoſtles, and then the Seventy Diſciples or Evangeliſts, by two and two. And therefore the *Twelve Apoſtles* thought it very proper to do ſo too; by ſending forth *Two Apoſtles* in Company, and with them *Two Evangeliſts*, as their Companions and Aſſiſtants. But now let me proceed to the Conſideration of theſe two Apoſtles, for to them I ſhall confine my ſelf at this time.

I begin with *Barnabas*, as being the elder Man. But the Reader muſt expect, that in ſpeaking of him, I ſhould ſpeak of *Paul* alſo: For their Hiſtory is ſo interwoven, that I cannot conſider the one without the other. Now I take it for granted, that *Barnabas* had been an old Diſciple of Chriſt, and probably one of the Seventy: For it was abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhould have known Chriſt, in order to be an Apoſtle, as we ſee, *Acts* 1. 21. And therefore *Paul* ſays of himſelf, that *he was born out of due time*, 1 Cor. 15. 8. and therefore, he adds, ver. 9. *For I am the leaſt of the Apoſtles, and not meet to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe I perſecuted the Church: But by the Grace of God, I am that I am.* So that it had not been poſſible for *Paul* to have been an Apoſtle at all, if he had not ſeen Chriſt from Heaven. And therefore he vindicates his Character from the exception of thoſe, who might detract from him this way, becauſe he had not known Chriſt in the Fleſh; by telling them, that Chriſt had made up this defect, by appearing to him from Heaven, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. *Am I not an Apoſtle? Have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt our Lord?* Now there was no neceſſity that Chriſt ſhould appear to *Barnabas*, in order to his being conſtituted an Apoſtle, who had ſeen Chriſt in the Fleſh. And therefore it was ſufficient this way, if the Holy Spirit did ſignify that this was the Mind of Chriſt, that the Apoſtles and

and Christian Church should own and acknowledge *Barnabas* to be an Apostle. But when was it that *Barnabas* was thus mark'd out for this High Office? Strange, if so remarkable a thing should be omitted in the Gospel History! Nay, when was *Paul* called to be an Apostle? I know, it will be readily reply'd to this last Query, that he was constituted an Apostle, by Christ's appearing and speaking to him from Heaven: And that, as for *Barnabas*, it will be said; that no express mention is made either of the time or way of it. But I must be so bold, as to differ from all Interpreters, in both these Points. As for *Paul*'s Vision of Christ, in his way to *Damascus*, it was indeed necessary to qualify him to be an Apostle, as I have said, as well as to convince him of the Verity of Christianity, and the Divinity of Jesus: But this was not that which did formally constitute him an Apostle. And indeed it is very odd to conclude, that he should be instantly an Apostle by this, when as yet he was not properly a Christian; for it was not till three Days after this, that he was Baptized by *Ananias*, as we see, *Acts* 9. 9——18. And could he be an Apostle, before he had taken on him the Badge of the Christian Religion, by being baptized. After his Baptism indeed he preached, and acted the part of an *Evangelist*, pursuant to the Order of Christ, delivered to him by the Mouth of *Ananias*, *ver.* 15. through the *Imposition of whose hands*, he was filled with the Holy Ghost, *ver.* 17. And therefore he first preached at *Damascus*, as an *Evangelist*, and afterwards at *Jerusalem*, being introduced to the Apostles, by the means of *Barnabas*, *ver.* 27. whereas before they were shy of him, as distrusting his Integrity. Now, as for *Barnabas*, he had long been eminent as an Evangelist. The first account we have of him, is *Acts* 4. 36. And there we find that he was a *Levite* by Tribe, but born in the Island of *Cyprus*, where abundance of Jews liv'd at that time, as we find from (*m*) History; and that his proper

(*m*) *See* Dio Cassius, in Traj. & Euseb. in Chron.

Name

Name was *Joſes*, or as other Copies have it, *Joſeph*; but that his eminent Qualifications and great Uſefulneſs occaſion'd the Apoſtles to call him *Barnabas*, *i. e. the Son of Conſolation*, as our Verſion has rendred the Word. But indeed παράκλησις is a Word that properly denotes Exhortation or Pleading of Cauſes, as well as Conſolation; as we may have occaſion afterwards to ſhew more particularly. So that it does properly, in Scripture, denote the Work, Office and Operation of the ὁ παράκλητος, *i. e.* the Holy Spirit, who is *the Paraclete*. So eminently therefore did the Holy Ghoſt appear in and by this Evangeliſt, that the Apoſtles were divinely directed to call him *Barnabas*, that is, *the Son of the Operation of the Paraclete*, even as *Peter*, *James* and *John* were called *Sons of Thunder*. And, this way was *Barnabas* honour'd above all the Evangeliſts. For his Character with the Apoſtles and the whole Church was this, *Acts* 11.24. *That he was a good Man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, and of Faith.* A noble Character indeed, and ſuch a one, as a greater could not have almoſt been given. Nor do we find any thing that looks like a blemiſh in his whole Conduct; unleſs that ſhould be reckon'd one, that he fell out with *Paul*, about taking *John*, *alias Mark*, along with them, *Acts* 15. 36, 37, *&c.* But, as it is dubious whether *Paul* or *He* were to blame in this Affair, or rather both, as is common in ſuch Caſes; ſo *Barnabas* ſeems to be at leaſt ſo far excuſable, that natural Affection directed him to ſtick upon his taking that Perſon with him: For it ſeems to me, from *Col.* 4. 10. that he was *his Siſter's Son*, and a Perſon of that Worth, that even *Paul* himſelf ſpeaks of him, after that, with Honour. But ſeeing we know not exactly the Circumſtances of that Contention, and ſeeing Divine Providence made uſe of it for the better Propagation of the Goſpel, (theſe two excellent Perſons laying out themſelves afterwards, in different Places, as if it were with an Holy Emulation which of them ſhould be moſt uſeful) we have reaſon to paſs this over in ſilence. It is to be taken notice of here, that both theſe Apoſtles were unmarried Perſons,

1 *Cor.* 9. 6. and so were the fitter to propagate the Gospel, and to travel from Place to Place, as having no Family to take care of. As for their Persons, *Barnabas* seems not only to have been, by much, the older Man, but to have been likewise a Man of a noble Mein, and august and venerable Aspect and Presence: Whereas *Paul*, as he himself insinuates, 2 *Cor.* 10. 10. (and as all the ancient Tradition agrees) was a Man of a little and weak Stature, and of a mean Aspect. But this Character of their personal Appearance I chiefly found upon that Passage, where we are told, that the People of *Lystra* fancied them to be Gods; supposing *Barnabas* to be *Jupiter*, and *Paul* to be *Mercury*, *Acts* 14. 11, 12, 13. For the Heathens represented *Jupiter*, their chief God, both in their Pictures, Statues, and Descriptions, as an old but vigorous Man, of a noble and august Aspect, and large and robust Make. Whereas *Mercury* the Interpreter of the Gods, was not only mark'd out by his *Caducens*, *Wings*, *and Galea*, but as a little, dapper and nimble Man, as to his Size and Frame. And besides they fancied *him* to talk much, and *Jupiter* to take State upon him, and so to be one that spoke little, but said what he had a mind to say with great Gravity and Majesty. So that, from the gross Mistake of the poor *Lystrians*, we may form to our selves no contemptible Idea, in the General, of these two Great Men. I look therefore upon *Barnabas*, to have been one of a great, venerable and majestick Aspect, who spoke little, but with great Composure and Seriousness, and therefore with Authority and Affection, rather than with close and connected Reason and Subtilty of Argument. Whereas I take *Paul*, to have been of a mean and contemptible Aspect, and no Affecter of Words or Eloquence; but to have been, at the same time, a Man of a clear Head, deep Penetration, solid Judgment, and ready Wit; and to have spoken rather connectedly, and by way of strong Reasoning, and in a quick, brisk and masculine Stile, than popularly, and with oily, insinuating and affecting Expressions: Which made some Persons,

Persons, that detracted from his Worth, not only to represent his *Person* to be *weak*, but reflect upon *his Speech as contemptible*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 10. But now it is high time to return and consider, in answer to the Question above, when *Barnabas* and *Paul* were constituted *Apostles*, who were at first but *Evangelists* only: For I think strange, that this has not been more taken notice of, when we have as full an Account of their Ordination this way, as of the Choice of *Matthias*, or indeed of the other Apostles. The Account is that which we have, *Acts* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Now there were in the Church that was at* Antioch, *certain Prophets and Teachers; as* Barnabas *and* Simeon *that was called* Niger, *and* Lucius *of* Cyrene, *and* Manaen, *who had been brought up with* Herod *and* Saul. *And as they Ministred to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me* Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the Work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their Hands on them, they sent them away. So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto* Seleucia, &c. The odd and fanciful Sense of Dr. *Hammond* on this Place, is well refuted by Dr. *Whitby*. But I must beg Pardon in differing from this Learned Man too; who supposeth, that there was no Ordination of *Barnabas* and *Paul* as Apostles here, but only a Temporary Mission to the Gentiles; and that the laying on of hands upon them, was only by way of Benediction on their Enterprize. And it is not a little strange, that the Doctor should take them to have been Apostles already, and yet that they should be accountable, as it were, to that Church; seeing he says, *That that Mission they presently compleated, and then returned to* Antioch, *declaring to the Church there what they had done in prosecution of it*, *Chap.* 14. 26, 27. It is true they did so, because *Antioch* was then the most famous Church in the World, next to that at *Jerusalem*. But it was not because they had any peculiar tie to it any longer: which is supposed in the very next Verse, *and there they abode long time with the Disciples*; which shews, that their Abode there was only from Choice; for that they were at liberty to

have been any where elſe. In order therefore to underſtand this matter thorowly, let us conſider the Series of Hiſtory. When *Stephen* was put to Death, there was a terrible Perſecution againſt the Church at *Jeruſalem*, in which *Saul*, afterwards *Paul*, had an eminent hand, *Acts* 8. 1, 2, 3. This occaſion'd the Brethren to ſcatter and diſperſe into various places, *ver.* 4. And, as *Philip* went to *Samaria*, *ver.* 5, *&c.* as did *Peter* and *John* afterwards, *ver.* 14, *&c.* So others went to *Antioch*, preaching the Goſpel there, but confining it to the Jews only, *Chap.* 11. 19. This occaſion'd the Apoſtles to ſend *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, *ver.* 22. Who, (being formerly acquainted with *Saul*, after his Converſion, as we ſee, *Chap.* 9. 26, 27. and whom the Apoſtles had ſent to *Tarſus*, *ver.* 30.) finding the Work increaſe upon his hands, and knowing none more proper than *Saul* to aſſiſt him, takes a Journey to *Tarſus*, to ſeek him; and, having found him, brings him to *Antioch*, where they continued for a whole Year, *Ch.* 11. 25, 26. But, all this time, there is not the leaſt Inſinuation that either *Barnabas* or *Paul* were Apoſtles. If any of them bid fairer than another for this Honour, it ſhould be *Barnabas*. And yet he (as well as *Saul*) is only rank'd with the *Prophets* and *Teachers*, *Chap.* 13. 1. All theſe five therefore, mentioned there, together with *Agabus*, mention'd *Chap.* 11. 27, 28. and *John*, whoſe Sir-name was *Mark*, *Chap.* 12. 25. and probably many more, were no other than *Prophets*, *Teachers* or *Evangeliſts*, who aſſiſted one another in laying the Foundation of a Chriſtian Church, in that vaſt and populous City, which was, at that time, ſecond to no City in the whole World, but *Rome* only: Tho I look upon the five that are mention'd, to have been joint-Paſtors of that Church; which is the reaſon that they only are mention'd in relation to it, *Chap.* 13. 1. and that *Agabus* and *John*, *alias Mark*, were only there, as occaſional Aſſiſtants for a time. Now upon the Prophecy of *Agabus*, concerning an univerſal Famine, the Diſciples at *Antioch* make a Contribution for the Relief of the Brethren which dwelt in *Judea*, who

who were generally poor; and this Contribution they send to them, by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*, *Chap.* 11. 28, 29, 30. who, in this case, were their *Deacons* only. *Barnabas* and *Saul*, having performed what they were sent about, return from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, bringing along with them *John*, whose Sir-name was *Mark*, another Evangelist, *Chap.* 12. 25. And probably they returned the sooner, because of the Persecution that then raged, wherein *James* was beheaded, and *Peter* imprisoned, as we see in the same 12*th* Chapter. So that hitherto there is no Vestage of *Barnabas* or *Paul*'s being exalted from being *Prophets* and *Teachers*, to the higher Office of *Apostle*. Nor did the Apostles, I verily believe, ever think of adding them, or any Man else, to their Number. The Number *Twelve* seem'd to them to be so sacred, that having made it up, by the Choice of *Matthias*, they never imagin'd that Christ would suffer any others to have a Share in that Honour and Office with themselves: And it is plain that this was the Foundation of their Procedure, when, in order to fill up the vacant place of *Judas Iscariot*, they make choice of two only, praying that God would make choice *of him of the Two*, that he thought most proper, to take part with them in that peculiar Ministry or Apostleship, which they were called unto; as we see *Acts* 1. 23, *&c.* And the Notion that they had of their Work, at first, seems plainly to be this, that they ought ordinarily to keep fix'd at *Jerusalem*, as a supreme Aristocratical Counsel, to determine those matters that concerned the Church in general; that all those that they sent forth to preach the Gospel, might be responsible to them for their Management, and might know whether to appeals and to have recourse, in case of nice, critical, controverted or difficult Cases. And this I conclude was their Determination, at first; and which they founded upon the Order of Christ himself, *Acts* 1. 4. where it is said, *That Christ being assembled together with them* (*viz.* just a little before his Ascention see *Luke* 24. 29.) *He commanded them, that they should not*

depart from Jeruſalem, *but wait for the Promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me.* And to this they ſtuck ſo cloſely, that even when that ſevere Perſecution came upon them, wherein *Stephen* ſuffered, though all the reſt of the Brethren were ſcattered abroad through all the Regions of *Judea* and *Samaria* (yea and to Countries much more remote) yet it is mark'd, *that the Apoſtles kept at Jeruſalem* ſtill, *Acts* 8. 1. It is true, that the Apoſtles did not ſo confine themſelves to *Jeruſalem*, but that ſome of them were allowed to make Excurſions from thence. Thus *Peter* and *John* went, for a little time, down to *Samaria*, Acts 8. 14, *&c.* and thus *Peter*, who I ſuppoſe was one of thoſe that accompanied *Saul* to *Cæſarea* in his way to *Tarſus*, *ch.* 8. 30. took occaſion to take a turn round the adjacent Country, as far as *Lydda*, ver. 32. which occaſion'd his being ſent for to *Joppa*, ver. 36, *&c.* where, after he had miraculouſly cured *Tabitha*, alias *Dorcas*, upon his ſtay there for ſome time, *ver.* 43. the Providence of God order'd things ſo, that he had the bleſſed Opportunity of preaching to *Cornelius* and his Family, (ſee *ch.* 10.) by which he began the Gentile-Church: for which Procedure he was called to an account, and forc'd to make his Defence, *ch.* 11. Now News being brought, at the ſame time, to the Apoſtles, that many of the Inhabitants of the great City of *Antioch* were converted by thoſe that had been ſcatter'd by the late Perſecution, they ſend *Barnabas* thither, *ch.* 11. 19, *&c.* And this brings me back again to my Subject, concerning *Barnabas* and *Saul*; concerning whoſe Apoſtleſhip we hear nothing till *ch.* 13. And then indeed they commence Apoſtles, by an immediate Order from Chriſt, delivered by the Paraclete. For the Account is plain and full, tho ſhort; and amounts to this. *Barnabas* and *Saul* having returned from *Jeruſalem*, ch. 12. 25. (whither they had been ſent with the Contribution of the *Antiochians*, ch. 11. 29, 30.) give a melancholy Account of a new Perſecution there, raiſed by *Herod*, wherein *James* was beheaded, and *Peter* impriſoned. (For it is plain

plain to me, that *Peter*'s Deliverance out of Prison, *ch.* 12. 5, *&c.* and *Herod*'s miserable end, *ver.* 21, *&c.* tho inserted for Connexion sake in that Chapter; yet happened not while *Barnabas* and *Saul* were at *Jerusalem.*) Upon this sorrowful News, the Church of *Antioch* agree upon a solemn Fast-day, to humble themselves, and to beg of God by united Prayers, that the Church might be preserved; insisting probably upon that Petition, which Christ had of old taught all his Disciples, that *it would please the Lord of the Harvest, to raise up and send forth such Labourers into the Harvest, as might make up the Loss of* James *and* Peter (for no doubt they thought that *Peter* also was put to death by this time). In this solemn Humiliation and Fast, I say, (while the Heads of the Assembly take their turns, in Preaching and Prayer, lo the Spirit of Christ speaks to these Prophets internally, as I do suppose, and by them outwardly to others; *Commanding that* Barnabas *and* Saul *should be separated from the rest, for the Work whereunto he had called them.* And now, that we are come to these Words, *ch.* 13. 1, *&c.* which I quoted at length before, it is fit to consider them more closely. And, 1. I observe, that all the five Persons mention'd as the Joint Teachers of the *Antiochian* Church, were of the same Office, and stood in the same Relation to that Society: For they have all of them the same Title and Character, and they were all equally imploy'd in the same Work. So that, if *Barnabas* and *Paul* were Apostles, the other three were so too. And, if they were not such, neither can we think that these two were so, especially *Saul*, who is mention'd last of all. 2. I observe, that the only Reason assignable for this Order, wherein these Men are rank'd, is this; that *Simeon* called *Niger*, and *Lucius* and *Manaen*, seem to have been the Men, that first gather'd a Church at *Antioch*, as being those that are spoken of, *ch.* 11. 19, 20, 30. But that *Barnabas* having been sent thither by the joynt Commission of the Apostles, *ver.* 22. was upon that account, as well as that of his Eminency as to Qualifications, *ver.* 23, 24.

if not upon the account of Age alſo, intitul'd to the firſt place, in the Catalogue of the Church-Officers of *Antioch.* Whereas *Saul,* being not only the youngeſt Man, as well as youngeſt Diſciple, but the laſt Teacher of that Church, *ver.* 25, 26. is mention'd in the laſt place: a Reaſon ſo juſt, that even *Luke* his Admirer, thought himſelf bound to keep cloſe to it, *ch.* 13. 1. I obſerve, 3. That there was here an extraordinary Appearance and Revelation of the Holy Ghoſt; ſeeing an exact ſet of Words is made uſe of, and this diſcovered not to one Perſon, but to all of them, and that in the face, and with the Approbation and Concurrence of the whole Church. 4. That the Words do not only contain a peculiar Emphaſis, as they are ſpoken immediately by the Spirit, and that by way of an extraordinary Command, (and ſuch a one as we find not again in all the New Teſtament) but that they do expreſs both a peculiar Relation to the Spirit, and a peculiar Office and Work under the Spirit; that the reſt were not to ſhare in. ἀφορίσατε δή μοι, *Separate unto me,* or ſet apart for me, *Barnabas and Saul:* Which is as much as to ſay, I have choſen them to my ſelf, to ſtand in a more peculiar Relation to me, than they were before. And therefore it is added, *for the Work whereunto I have called them.* 5. I take notice of the ready complyance of the other Teachers, with the Concurrence of the Church, in ſetting them apart accordingly; which they do *by Faſting and Prayer, and laying on of their hands.* If any ſay, But did thoſe of an inferior Office ordain Men to be Apoſtles? I anſwer, that the Holy Ghoſt was properly the Ordainer. So that (tho a peculiar Honour was put upon them, in this reſpect, as if God deſign'd this way to inſinuate the Power that he deſign'd ſhould be afterwards lodg'd in the People, even in the Choice and Ordination of Miniſters, joyntly with the Aſſiſtance and Approbation of other Miniſters; yet, properly ſpeaking, in the preſent Caſe) their part was only to give a Declaration of this, and to teſtify their Concurrence with the declared Will and Pleaſure

ſure of their Lord. They acted in this as the *Son* of the *Prophet*, who, at the Command of *Eliſha*, anointed *Jehu* King of *Iſrael*, 2 *Kings* 9. 1, *&c.* In which Hiſtory it is remarkable, that God promiſed to *Elijah*, that he ſhould anoint *Jehu*, 1 *Kings* 19. 16. But neither he nor *Eliſha* did it immediately, but a Son of the Prophets. So that *Elijah* did this, through *Eliſha* only, and *Eliſha* through the young Prophet. But from none of all theſe did *Jehu* receive his Authority ultimately, formally or properly, but from God only. And ſo it was in this caſe. And therefore, 6. I obſerve, that after *Barnabas* and *Saul* were thus ſet apart, they are not ſaid to be ſent out by theſe Prophets, or by the Church; but they are ſaid emphatically *to be ſent out by the Holy Ghoſt*, ch. 13. 4. an Expreſſion that deſerves to be peculiarly conſidered; for it ſeems to be deſign'd to guard us from imagining, that they were made Apoſtles by their former Fellow-Teachers, or by the Church in Concurrence with them. 7. I obſerve, that as *Barnabas* had his Name given him by the Apoſtles formerly; ſo *Saul* ſeems to have had a new Name given him at or upon this occaſion. For, a little while after *Luke* takes notice of his being alſo called *Paul*, ver. 9. which he had never done before: and that ſo, as never for the future to call him by his old Name. 8. I take notice again, that *Barnabas* and *Paul* not only act as Apoſtles, ever after this, but are expreſly called ſo, *ch.* 14. 14. which they never were before. 9. It deſerves alſo to be conſidered, that God ſo ordered it, that not one of the Twelve Apoſtles ſhould be made uſe of in ſetting apart theſe two Apoſtles. For which I think we may aſſign theſe three Reaſons. (1.) That it might be ſeen and known, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had not this Character and Office beſtow'd upon them by Men, but immediately from Chriſt, as Head of the Church, by the Deſignation and Appointment of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore *Paul* ſays, *Gal.* 1. 12. that *he received not his Goſpel*, i. e. a Commiſſion to preach it, *from Man:* and far leſs did he receive his Apoſtleſhip from them. (2.) That *Barnabas* and

and *Paul* might not be supposed to be a secondary sort of Apostles, subordinate to the Twelve: but that they might be co-ordinate with them, as every way equal, as to Office and Dignity, and consequently as to Authority and Power. (3.) That they might be a new Set of Apostles, to act by themselves, by a new Commission, independent on the Twelve. So that if they consulted them, it was out of Choice (and not out of Necessity) with a design to put Honour upon them, and that all things might be done decently and in Order; and with a prudential Concern to influence others the more, that might be prejudic'd against them, upon the account of their accommodating themselves more to the Gentiles, and in dispensing more freely with the Jewish Law and Rites, than the other Apostles did. For, in other respects, their Commission and Authority was the same with that of the other Apostles. And if there was any Advantage, it was upon the side of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. 1. Because they had it immediately from Christ, after he was glorified. 2. Because they had theirs given them, with a more immediate Respect to the Gentiles. And, 3. Because their Commission to them was such, as to carry with it a sort of Ingrossing Authority; by which the Twelve became limited (as to stated Work) to the Hebrews only. Which is so much the more to be considered, that the three first and leading Apostles (and consequently all the rest) agreed that it was so, and that for the future, *Barnabas* and *Paul* should be the Apostles of the Gentiles, and they of the Hebrews only, as *Paul* tells us, *Gal.* 2. 9. And we find therefore, that this Commission of *Barnabas* and *Paul* was approved of and ratified by the whole Assembly of the *Apostles*, *Elders*, (*i. e.* Seventy Disciples, and others who had been called more lately to be Evangelists and Teachers) *and Brethren*, (*i. e.* private Christians).

And here, let us seriously consider the Divine Wisdom discoverable in confining the Twelve Apostles to the Circumcision or Hebrews, and in carrying on the Gospel

Gospel among the Gentiles by two Men, that were not of their Number. And, 1. How consonant was this, to what I delivered in the former Chapter. For by this Christ appears to act the Reverse of Human Policy, in such a Method, as does the more eminently discover his own Heavenly Wisdom, and secure us in the Belief of his Glorification above: seeing two Men are made use of to preach to the Gentiles, none of whom were of the Number of the Twelve, that Christ had made Apostles while on Earth. For if *Barnabas* was one of the Seventy Elders, yet he was none of those that the Apostles thought fit to propose, in order to be an Apostle. So that his peculiar Eminency and Exaltation, was owing to Christ immediately after his Ascention to Heaven, and his sending the Paraclete from thence. And *Paul* was so far from being either Apostle or Disciple at first, that he did not so much as know Christ in the Flesh, nay, was an Enemy to, and Persecutor of the Church. And this may be the Reason, why Christ made use of no more than *two Apostles*, as the proper Apostles of the Gentiles, *viz.* to demonstrate his own Authority and Power the more, after his Exaltation. 2. This lets us see, that the Office of the Twelve Apostles was properly limited to the Jews, among whom the Christian Religion was only propagated at first. And tho the Gentile Church owes much to them; yet it is to *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and their Companions, that we owe the Propagation of the Gospel most directly and immediately. 3. That it is ridiculous to talk of Successors to the Apostles; who could have none. So that never was any thing more chimerical, than for the Romish Church to pretend, that their *Popes* were *Peter*'s Successors; who was not only an Apostle, and therefore could have no Successor, but was also so stated in reference to the Believing Jews, as to be indeed no Apostle properly of the Gentiles, and consequently one that had no direct Relation either to the Romish, or any other Gentile Church. Nor do they speak with more Sense, but rather with less, who, among the Protestants,

teſtants, tell us of Biſhops being the Apoſtles Succeſſors.

Having obſerved theſe things, I might now proceed to conſider the Hiſtory of *Paul* more particularly, by whom God did principally carry on the Work of the Goſpel. But this would carry me too far; eſpecially conſidering how long I have been already on ſuch like Points. And therefore I ſhall deſire the Reader to conſider, that the main things in the Book of the *Acts*, (the Knowledge of which is exceeding neceſſary) are theſe five, *viz. The Miſſion and Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt; The ſending of the Goſpel to the Gentiles; The vacating of the Moſaical Law, as to its Neceſſity; The laying the Foundation of Gentile-Churches; and, The carrying the Goſpel into* Rome, *the Seat of the Empire.* And, as a diſtinct Account of theſe is neceſſary, and no further Account of things needful is to be inſerted in the Canon of the New Teſtament: ſo it is with great Wiſdom that our Lord orders this Hiſtory to end with the laſt of theſe.

Having, after this manner given an Account of the Apoſtles, I had a Deſign to have added ſomething likewiſe, this way, in relation to thoſe Apoſtolical Men, together with other uſeful Chriſtians, who were Companions of, and Aſſiſtants to the Apoſtles, in the Work of the Goſpel, tho in inferior Stations. But, conſidering how large this Chapter is become already, and how much more weighty Work I have to run through, in the remaining Chapters, I forbear: eſpecially ſeeing we have no Catalogue, ſo much as of the Names of the 70 Elders or Evangeliſts, which Chriſt did at firſt appoint; nor yet any particular Account of thoſe who were afterwards brought into that College or Claſs of Extraordinary Church-Officers. However I ſhall venture to give the Reader a *twofold conjectural Catalogue* here; The *firſt* containing ſuch of the 70 Elders, as have their Names recorded in Scripture: The *ſecond* containing the Names of thoſe Perſons, who were afterwards adopted into that College, or were at leaſt Church-Officers of an inferior ſort. And to theſe I

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ſhall add a *third* Catalogue of ſome eminent Chriſtians, that were neither Evangeliſts, nor in any Church-Office, properly ſpeaking, tho uſeful to the Church.

I. The Names of ſuch of the 70 Elders or Evangeliſts, which are recorded in Scripture.

(1) *Mark*, whoſe Goſpel is extant. (2) *Luke*, who wrote not only the Goſpel that goes under his Name, but alſo the Acts of the Apoſtles. (3) *Lazarus*, the Brother of *Martha* and *Mary*, who was raiſed from the Dead. (4) *Cleopas*; And, (5) *Simon* (who I ſuppoſe was the ſame with *Simon* the Phariſee, with whom Chriſt dined, *Luke* 7. 36, 39, 40.) to whom Chriſt appeared, as they went to *Emaus*, *Luke* 24. 18, 34. (6) *Joſeph*, call'd *Barſabas*, who was ſir-named *Juſtus*, and who was propoſed with *Matthias*, as fit to have ſucceeded *Judas* in the Apoſtleſhip, *Acts* 1. 23. (7) *Matthias*, before his Advancement to the Apoſtolical Character and Office. (8) *Joſes* or *Joſeph*, ſir-named *Barnabas*, who was afterwards an Apoſtle, *Acts* 4. 36, *&c.* (9) *Ananias* the Covetous, who was, with his Wife *Saphira*, ſtruck dead for this Sin, *Acts* 5. 1, 2, *&c.* (10) *Stephen*, the Proto-Deacon, and Proto-Martyr, *Acts* 6. 5. *Acts* 7. 1, 2, *&c.* (11) *Philip*, *Acts* 6. 5. (12) *Prochorus*, Ibid. (13) *Nicanor*, Ibid. (14) *Timon*, Ibid. (15) *Parmenas*, Ibid. (16) *Nicholas*, Ibid. (17) *Ananias*, that was ſent with a Divine Meſſage to *Saul*, *i. e.* to *Paul*, *Acts* 9. 10. (18) *Simon* the Tanner, *Acts* 9. 43. (19) *Simeon* called *Niger*, *Acts* 13. 1. (20) *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, Ibid. (21) *Manaen*, who was brought up with *Herod* the Tetrarch, Ibid. (22) *Agabus* the Prophet, *Acts* 11. 28. (23) *Judas* ſir-named *Barſabas*, *Acts* 15. 22, 32. (24) *Silas*, Ibid. (25) *Mnaſon* of *Cyprus*, an old Diſciple, *Acts* 21. 16. (26) *Andronicus*; And, (27) *Junia*, whom the Apoſtle calls *Kinſmen*, and *Men of Note among the Apoſtles, and that were in Chriſt before himſelf*, *Rom.* 16. 7. (28) *Simon* of *Cyrene*, *Matth.* 27. 32.

II. The

II. The Names of such Persons as seem afterwards to have been made either *Evangelists*, or *Pastors*, or *Deacons*.

(1) *Timothy*, to whom *Paul* writes two Epistles. (2) *Titus*, to whom he writes one Epistle. (3) *Philemon*, to whom he writes an Epistle. (4) *John*, sir-named *Mark*, *Acts* 12. 25. *Chap.* 15. 37. 2 *Tim.* 3. 11. Sister's Son to *Barnabas*, *Col.* 4. 10. Whom, upon this account, as a young Man, I cast into this Catalogue. And, as such, I distinguish him from *Mark*, who wrote the Gospel at the Mouth of *Peter*, as Antiquity tells us; of whom mention is made, 1 *Pet.* 5. 13. whom that Apostle calls his Son. So that, as the *one Mark*, whose proper Name was *John*, was the Companion of *Barnabas* and *Paul*; the *other* was the constant Attendant of *Peter*. (5) *Aquila* the Husband of *Priscilla*, *Acts* 18. 2. (6) *Apollos*, *Acts* 18. 24, *&c.* (7) *Erastus*, *Acts* 19. 22. 2 *Tim.* 4. 20. see *Rom.* 16. 23. (8) *Sopater* of *Berea*, *Acts* 20. 4. *Aristarchus*, *Ibid.* and *ch.* 19. 29. and *Col.* 4. 10. and *Philem. ver* 24. (10) *Secundus*, *Acts* 20. 4. (11) *Gaius*, *Ibid.* and *ch.* 19. 29. and *Rom.* 26. 23. and 1 *Cor.* 1. 14. 3 *John* 1. (12) *Tychicus*, *Acts* 20. 4. (13) *Trophimus*, *Ibid.* (14) *Crispus*, who was before the chief Ruler of the Synagogue of *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 8. 1 *Cor.* 1. 14. (15) *Jesus* called *Justus*, *Col.* 4. 11. (16) *Onesimus*, *Col.* 4. 9. *Philem. v.* 10, 16. (17) *Epaphras*, *Col.* 4. 12. and *Philem. ver.* 23. (18) *Demas*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. *Col.* 4. 14. *Philem. v.* 24. (19) *Archippus*, *Col.* 4. 17. (20) *Crescens*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. (21) *Tychicus*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 12. and *Tit.* 3. 12. (22) *Artemas*, *Tit.* 3. 12. (23) *Tychicus*, *Ibid.* (24) *Zenas*, the Lawyer, *Ibid. ver.* 13. (25) *Silvanus*, 1 *Pet.* 5. 12. (26) *Demetrius*, 3 *John*, *v.* 12. (27) *Diotrephes*, who affected the Pre-eminence of an Apostle, and even that of a Superiour one to the Apostle *John* himself, 3 *John*, *ver.* 9, 10. (28) *Antipas*, the faithful Martyr, *Rev.* 2. 13. (29) *Epaphroditus*, *Phil.* 2. 25. who, as I shall have occasion

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to prove afterwards, was so far from being Bishop of *Philippi*, that he was only their Messenger, and probably no more than a Deacon of their Church. (30) *Euodias*, *Phil.* 4. 2. (31) *Syntiche*, *Ibid.* (32) *Clement*, *Ibid. v.* 3. (33) *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, *Acts* 17. 34. (34) *Epenetus*, *Rom.* 16. 5. (35) *Urbane*, *Ibid. v.* 9.

III. The Names of such Persons, none of which seem to have been in any Office in the Church, but only private Christians, tho most of them eminent ones, in one respect or another. And here I shall mention, not only Men, but Women, whose Names are recorded; passing by those, that are not mention'd by Name, but indefinitely only.

(1) The *Virgin Mary*. (2) *Zacharias*, and (3) *Elizabeth*, the Father and Mother of *John* the Baptist: for I do not insert that Great Man, in this Catalogue, as being an extraordinary Prophet, as well as the Fore-runner of Christ. (4) Good old *Simeon* the Prophet, *Luke* 2. 25, *&c.* (5) *Anna*, the Propheteſs, *Ibid. ver.* 36, *&c.* (6) *Zacheus* the Publican, *Luke* 19. 5. (7) *Nicodemus*, who came to Christ by Night, *John* 3. 1. *ch.* 7. 50. and *ch.* 19. 39. (8) *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, *John* 19. 38. (9) *Simon* the Sorcerer, who afterwards proved a vile Monster, *Acts* 8. 9, 13. (10) *Martha*, and (11) *Mary*, the Sisters of *Lazarus*, *John* 11. 1. (12) *Mary Magdalen*, *Matth.* 27. 56. (13) *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, *Ibid.* (14) *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, alias *Alpheus*, *John* 19. 25. (15) *Salome* the Mother of *Zebedee's* Children, *Luke* 24. 10. compare with *Mark* 15. 40. (16) *Joanna*, *Ibid.* and *ch.* 8. 3. (17) *Susanna*, *Ibid.* (18) *Damaris*, *Acts* 17. 34. (19) *Tabitha*, called *Dorcas*, *Acts* 9. 36. (20) *Lydia*, *Acts* 16. 14. (21) *Eutichus*, *Acts* 20. 9. (22) *Sergius Paulus*, *Acts* 13. 7, 12. (23) *Cornelius*, the Centurion, *Acts* 10. 1, *&c.* (24) *Jason*, *Acts* 17. 6. and *Rom.* 16. 21. (25) *Alexander*, *Acts* 19. 33. (26) *Nymphas*, *Col.* 4. 15. (27) *Carpus*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 13. (28) *Onesiphorus*, *Ibid. v.* 19. (29) *Priscilla* the Wife of *Aquila*, *Acts* 18. 2. (30) *Eubulus*,

bulus, 2 *Tim.* 4. 21. (31) *Pudens*, *Ibid.* (32) *Linus*, *Ibid.* (33) *Claudia*, *Ibid.* (34) *Mary*, *Rom.* 16. 6. (35) *Amplias*, *Ibid. v.* 8. (36) *Stachys*, *Ibid. v.* 9. (37) *Apelles*, *Ibid. v.* 10. (38) *Ariſtobolus*, *Ibid.* (39) *Herodian*, *Ibid. v.* 11. (40) *Narciſſus*, *Ibid.* (41) *Tryphena*, *Ibid. v.* 12. (42) *Tryphoſa*, *Ibid.* (43) *Perſis*, *Ibid.* (44) *Rufus*, *Ibid. v.* 13. (45) *Aſyncritus*, *Ibid. v.* 14. (46) *Phlegon*, *Ibid.* (47) *Hermas*, *Ibid.* (48) *Patrobas*, *Ibid.* (49) *Hermes*, *Ibid.* (50) *Philologus*, *Ibid. v.* 15. (51) *Julia*, *Ibid.* (52) *Nerens*, *Ibid.* (53) *Olympas*, *Ibid.* (54) *Lucius*, *Ibid. v.* 21. (55) *Soſipater*, *Ibid.* (56) *Tertius*, *Ibid*, *v.* 22. (57) *Quartus*, *Ibib. v.* 23. (58) *Phebe*, *Rom.* 16. 1. (59) *Tyrannus*, *Acts* 19. 9.

Now, Reader, if the Spirit of God thought it not unworthy of the Bible, to inſert theſe Names there; I hope it will not be thought too mean a Work, to caſt them together, after this manner. I confeſs I go upon Conjecture only, in ranking moſt of them; and therefore perhaps ſome of thoſe of the *firſt* or *ſecond* Liſts belong to the *third*, and ſo *vice verſa*. But if I have done ſo, the matter is of no Conſequence; nor had I any exact light to direct me, in ranking them. And yet, were it not to avoid Tediouſneſs, I could give ſome probability for ranking every one of them as I have done; and far greater probability, as to ſeverals of them, than moſt Perſons perhaps will believe; taken from ſome Characteriſtical Hints given, and from ſome other leſs obvious Conſiderations. But it is high time now, that I ſhould go forward, to ſomething of an higher Nature and greater Uſefulneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Third Sort *of* Divine Wisdom, *conspicuous in* Christ, viz. *That* Spiritual *or* Heavenly Wisdom, *by which he manag'd himself, in* relation *to* invisible intellectual Agents, God, Angels and Devils, *in the Discharge of his Trust, with respect to* Mankind *and* Human Affairs, *in order to his obtaining, as* Loganthropos, *that* Supreme and Universal Headship and Empire, *for the obtaining whereof he became* Man, *and* suffered *in the* World.

IN order to understand, how wisely Christ manag'd himself, in the discharge of this his Trust, and with respect to this End, I must beg the Reader to look over again what I said, in the beginning of the 2*d* Chapter; where I did not only *Sum* up the Subject of the 1*st* Chapter, or 1*st* Sort of Wisdom, treated of therein; but did build upon it a *Prudential Maxim*, by which I supposed Christ did manage himself, as a Man, in a relation to all Sorts of Men, he had to do with.

For the *same Maxim*, with *another Accommodation*, will serve to let in our Minds, to conceive, how Christ behav'd in the Grand Affair of Man's Salvation, with respect to invisible, as well as visible Agents. For to the one, as well as the other, *He behaved himself with an exact* Decorum, *in Relation to the* Circumstances *of his State of* Humiliation *and* Trial, *and with respect to the* ends *of his appearing* thus *among Men.*

And with respect to *invisible* as well as *visible Agents*, we must suppose Christ to act here, as the *Second Adam*, intrusted with the Affairs of Mankind. And therefore tho the *Union* of the *Human Nature* with the *Logos*, must ever be supposed to be that which put a Divine Value upon whatever Christ did, and rendred his Acti-

ons and Sufferings *Meritorious*: Yet, we muſt abſtract here, as well as in the other caſe, from Chriſt's being God, or the Eternal *Logos*, and conſider him as Man only, in his Conduct of himſelf in relation to God and Angels, whether good or bad; with reſpect to his having the very ſame Truſt, for Subſtance, repoſed in him now, which the *firſt Adam* formerly had, tho different as to Circumſtances. For the Apoſtle has taught us thus to conſider Chriſt as Man, in this Management of himſelf, when he makes him the ſecond fœderal Head of Men, and conſiders him as a Man, in contradiſtinction to the firſt Man; ſaying, 1 *Cor.* 15. 20, 21, 22. *But now is* Chriſt *riſen from the dead, and become the firſt Fruits of them that ſlept. For ſince by* Man *came Death, by* Man *came alſo the Reſurrection from the dead. For as in* Adam *all die, even ſo in* Chriſt *ſhall all be made alive.* And ſo alſo, *Rom.* 5. 19. *For as by* one Man's *Diſobedience many were made Sinners, ſo by the Obedience of* one *many ſhall be made Righteous.* And ver. 15. —— *For, if through the Offence of* one *many be dead; much more the Grace of God, and the Gift by Grace, which is by* one Man, Jeſus Chriſt, *hath abounded unto many.*

But, tho Chriſt come to be conſidered, in his Behaviour thus to *inviſible* as well as *viſible Agents*, as *Man only*, or the *Second Adam*, abſtracting from the Conſideration of his being the *Logos*; and tho alſo, the ſame *Rule* or *Maxim* of *Wiſdom* was followed by him, in reſpect to this *Heavenly Wiſdom*, as well as in reference to his *Human* or *Prudential Wiſdom*, treated of before: Yet, as I hinted but juſt now, the Accommodation of this *Maxim*, by our Saviour, is as different in *this Caſe*, from what it was in the former; as is that of the *Nature and Circumſtances* of the *inviſible Agents*, from the *Nature and Circumſtances* of the *viſible ones*.

How he manag'd himſelf in relation to *viſible intelligent Agents*, of all ſorts, I have already ſaid. So that it remains, that I ſhould conſider, how he acted, as the *Second Adam*, intruſted with the Affairs of Mankind, in reference to the *inviſible intellectual Beings*, with whom he

he had to do. Which I am the rather concerned to do, becauſe this is a Subject that was never diſtinctly treated of before, that I know of, and never ſo much as mention'd in our common Syſtems.

And now ſeeing the *inviſible Agents* are altogether different, either in Nature and Circumſtances both, as *God* and *Angels*, whether good or bad, are; or in Circumſtances only, as *Angels* and *Devils* are from one another: We are oblig'd from thence, to ſuppoſe, that the *Man Chriſt* was under a Neceſſity, to carry to all theſe accordingly.

I might add a fourth Sort of inviſible Agents, with whom Chriſt had to do alſo, *viz. ſeparate Souls*, whether good or bad. But, ſeeing they belong to the Claſs of Mankind, and were therefore, (as well as Men alive in this World) part of Chriſt's Charge, tho otherwiſe in different Circumſtances from the Living; and ſeeing, I ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak of them, and of *Hades* directly, in the 5*th* Book, under the Head of *Chriſtocraty*: I ſhall wave all Conſideration of them at preſent, and confine my ſelf to the other three; which are all that 'tis proper to conſider our Saviour in a relation to, in this place.

And 1*ſt*, let us begin with *God*: for to him, in this caſe, as in all other reſpects, belongs the *Priority*.

Now, ſeeing we conſider Chriſt here, not as *Logos*, but as Man, we are oblig'd to conſider God not *relatively*, with reference unto the Perſons of the Trinity, but *Eſſentially*, as the one Supream Being and Ruler of Mankind, and of the Man Chriſt.

God here is therefore to be conceived of, as the *Supreme Rector* of the World, who, as he had intruſted the *Firſt Adam*, with the Preſervation of the Dignity and Intereſts of Human Nature; ſo does here allow *Chriſt*, to make an Eſſay towards the recovery of the Dignity and Intereſts of human Nature again; promiſing that if he did ſo, he ſhould recover to Mankind all that *Adam* had loſt to them; providing, that they would be induc'd, upon his doing ſo, to renounce

the old *Adam*, and put themſelves under his Conduct.

But, ſeeing the *Man Chriſt* was to act towards God, not as an ordinary Man, but as *related* to the *Logos*; therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that *God the Father* did, in this Caſe, *ſuſtain the Dignity of the Deity*, in a moſt peculiar manner. So that the Man Chriſt, in carrying himſelf aright to the Deity, muſt be ſuppoſed to eye the firſt Perſon directly, ſeeing the Man Jeſus, was to be ſo united unto the *Logos*, as, in ſome ſort to owe its very Perſonality to the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity; the *Logos* being from henceforth to come under the Title and Idea of the *Loganthropos*, or the *Logos-Man*.

But in order to underſtand this glorious Myſtery, I muſt lead the Reader's Thoughts backwards, or rather upwards, even as far as the firſt Formation and Lapſe of the firſt *Adam*, nay and to the *Divine Counſel* too, ſo far as it relates to Mankind, thus conſidered, and as we can judge of it from Scripture. And, ſeeing my Thoughts upon this Head muſt be cloſe and conciſe, I muſt deſire the Reader, to advert the more narrowly to the Hints given, eſpecially as to the Tranſitions.

In the firſt Place then, let us obſerve, that *Adam* was not made ſo, as to be *the very Image* or *Picture* of *God*, *abſolutely* or *eſſentially* conſider'd, but of the *Logos*. For, 1. It is impoſſible, that any thing finite ſhould be the Image of what is infinite, in any propriety of Speech, unleſs in a very diſtant and imperfect reſpect. 2. Nor can the abſtract Eſſence or Nature of any thing, far leſs of the Deity, have any thing that can bear the Name of its Image.

The *Image* or *Picture* of *God* therefore muſt relate to him *perſonally* conſidered, even as the *Image* of a *Man* relates to him as ſuch. And, ſeeing it is not the Property of *Natures* or *Eſſences*, *abſtractly* conſidered to *operate*, but of *Perſons*: We are oblig'd to ſuppoſe, that, when *Adam* is ſaid to be *made after the Image of God*, or *after his Likeneſs*, *Gen.* 1. 26, 27. *ch.* 5. 1. *ch.* 9. 6. the Sacred

cred Oracles must be understood to mean this only; That *Adam* was made after the *Image* of *one* of the Persons of the Glorious Trinity.

Now *Adam* was not made after the Image of the *First Person*, or the Father, (I mean that he was not expressly or immediately *made after the Father's Person:*) for this is asserted to be the peculiar Property of Christ himself, of whom alone it is said, *That he was the express Image of the Father's Person*, as well as *the Brightness of his Glory*, (*n*) *Heb.* 1. 3. And indeed no less is insinuated, plainly enough, in those very places of *Genesis*, that I have quoted. For Man is not said there, to be made *after God's Person*, or to be made *the very Image of God*, but to be made *after the Image of God*, *i. e.* to be *a Copy* taken from the *First* or *Original Picture of God*, *viz.* from the *Logos*. For a Picture that is taken from the Original it self, and a Picture that is only taken from that first Copy, are altogether different things. And therefore the Sense is plainly this, that *Adam was made, at first, after the Logos, who was the true Image of his Father.* For to be the *Image* of *God* it self, *i. e.* his *proper* and *immediate Image*, is so the Prerogative of the *Logos*, as that it were Blasphemy to ascribe it, in a direct or immediate Sense, even to the highest Angel. And therefore *Philo*, and the *Targum*'s, and, I may say, all the ancient Fathers, do agree, that Man was made after the Image of the *Logos*. Thus (*o*) *Philo* says, that *we are all the Sons of* one Man; *for*, says he, *if we are not worthy to be esteemed* (*i. e.* in an immediate Sense) *the Children of* God, *yet we may lay claim to this, that we are the Children of the most Holy* Logos, *who is his* Eternal Image; *for the most* Ancient Logos *is the* Image *of* God. And indeed what else can that sacred ironical Derision or Sarcasm relate to, but this? when it is said, *Gen.* 3. 22. *Behold the Man is become as one of us.*

(*n*) *See* Christol. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 284. (*o*) De Confus. Ling. p. 267. C.

But yet there is perhaps something higher in this Expression, than has ever yet been taken notice of. To understand which, we must remember, that tho *Adam* was made after *the Image* of the *Logos, personally considered*, yet he could not be made after *the Image of the Person* of the *Logos*. For between these two there is a vast Difference. For, the *Essence* of the *Logos* being common to all the glorious Persons of the Sacred Trinity, and being such as could have no Image, as I have said: it must be the *Logos personally* considered, if at all, after whose Image the first Man was made. But however, the Question still remains intire; *How Man was made after the Image of the Logos?* To which I answer, That the *Logos, personally considered*, comes under a twofold Relation, *viz.* with respect to his Father, and the Holy Spirit, and with respect to Creatures. With respect to the Father and the Holy Spirit, he comes under the Idea of the Eternal Son of God. But as such he is intuitively known by no Creature, but is only known by himself, and the other Persons of the Trinity. Therefore with relation to intelligent Creatures, we are oblig'd to suppose, that he did ever *assume* some *Form*, in order to be known by them. And it was certainly *after this Form*, that *Adam* was made. For it was simply impossible that he should be made after the *Person* of the *Logos*, as he was the *Eternal Son*, or *second Person of the Trinity*. But he might very well be made after the *created Form*, wherein Christ appeared to the Angels; which was, unquestionably, that *of Light organized in human Shape*, of which I have treated so largely already, in the Second Book, and particularly in the 7*th* Chapter, that I need say no more to it now. And this was *that Form of God*, wherein Christ was seen of old, and which was eclyps'd or withdrawn, when he took upon him *the Form of a Servant*, of which *Paul* speaks, *Phil.* 2. 5. And, for the Restauration of this Christ prays, *John* 17. 5. when he says, *Glorifie thou me, with thine own self, with that Glory, (i. e. Shechinah,* or ancient Form of God, wherein I was seen before my Incarnation,

tion, and) *which I had with thee before the World was.* For ſure no Man can be ſo abſurd as to imagin, that the *Logos* ſuſtained any real Change, as to his *Perſon* or *Perſonality*, by his tabernacling in human Nature.

It was not therefore after the *proper Perſon* of the *Logos*, that Man was made, but after *his Image*, i. e. that *created and aſſumed Form* of the *Shechinah*, wherein he appeared and acted to intelligent Creatures; and which therefore might juſtly be called *the Image of God.* And it is memorable, by what I cited out of the *Sohar* and *Philo*, in the *6th* Chapter of the preceding Book, that the Jews do moſt commonly ſpeak of the ancient *Logos*, or *Shechinah, as a Man*, i. e. as One who was ever known under that *Form.*

And, if this be conſidered, we may ſee what relates to the Origin, Primeval State and Fall of Man, in a clearer Light than it was ever yet ſet in. For which end, let us conſider theſe Things. 1. That when God is about to make Man, He ſays not, *Let us make Man, as one of us*, but *let us make Man, in our Image, after our Likeneſs*, Gen. 1. 26. *i. e.* Let us make Man after that Likeneſs, which intelligent Beings call the Image or Likeneſs of God, as being that wherein the Son, who is the perfect Image of God, does manifeſt himſelf, and conſequently God, to them. 2. When *Adam* therefore was made, he was made after this Image. For beſides the Shape of Man, that remain'd after the Fall, he had at firſt a Luminous Veſtment which was concreated with him. But when our Firſt Parents revolted from God, that *(p)* Luminous Garment, (which was a Pledge of Innocence, and of their Protection under, and Favour with

(p) That this was the Tradition and Belief of the Ancient Jews, appears from the Targum *of* Jonathan Ben Uzziel, *upon* Gen. 3. 7. *where we have this Paraphraſe of the Words:* And the Eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; for they found that their White *(or Bright)* Garment, with which they had been created, was gone from them. *The word which I tranſlate* White *here, ſignifies the* Onyx *or* Alabaſter, *and therefore the Latin Verſion has it thus,* Nu-

with the *Logos* or *Shechinah*) was taken from them; so that they were left naked, to their Shame and Confusion, being put to that poor shift, of attempting to make up the want of their former Garment, by one made of Fig-

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dati enim erant à veste Onychina, in qua creati erant: *And this Garment is said to have been that to the whole Body, which the Nails are to one part of the Fingers and Toes; but more beautiful and pliable. And this may confirm what I said, in a Marginal Note, upon the name* Adam, *in the first Chapter. For I do suppose, that from this glorious Garment, both* Adam *and* Eve *had the general Name of* Adam, *(as we see they were both called at first,* Gen. 5. 1, 2.) *For this Garment was,* 1. *Their Ornament and Glory.* 2. *The Badge and Pledge of their Innocence and Favour with God.* 3. *Their Defence against Injuries of Weather, against Accidents of any sort, and against Sickness, Pain and Weariness.* 4. *Their Protection against Satan; so as he could not immediately approach them, to hurt their Bodies* 5. *The Enfign and Means of their Authority over the inferior Creatures, as being Sovereigns of this Lower World. And,* 6. *It was that which rendered their Bodies immortal, as the Author of the Book of* Wisdom *insinuates,* ch. 2. 23. *And, as it is every way rational to suppose, that our First Parents were thus clothed and dignified, when they were created; so I must say, that without this Supposition, I see not what rational Account can be given of the Consternation that they found themselves in, by reason of their Nakedness, immediately after the Fall.* Obj. *But is it not expressly said,* Gen. 2. ult. *that, before the Fall,* they were both naked, the Man and his Wife, and were not ashamed. Answ. *If this be understood of an absolute Nakedness, we must have an odd Idea of their Knowledge, or rather Ignorance; that being naked, they did not know so much. For, that they were not ashamed (if this be the Sense) was because they knew not that they were so, if we must rigidly adhere to the literal meaning; seeing we are told,* Gen. 3. 7. *that as soon as they had sinned,* the Eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked. *Now, it is an inconceivable thing to me, that* Adam *and* Eve *should be as naked before the Fall as after, and yet be so blind as never to see this, and so ignorant as not to know it; and that this Sight and Knowledge of theirs must be owing to their Apostacy from God. The meaning therefore of the words,* Gen. 2. ult. *must be this: That tho* Adam *and* Eve *had no such material Garment before the Fall, as they had afterwards, when God cloth'd them with the Skins of Beasts,* Gen. 3. 21. *in which Sense they were indeed naked: yet they had no reason of being asham'd, seeing they were cloth'd with such a luminous Garment, as did more than sufficiently make up that want. And, this being once allowed to be the Sense, we shall soon see how naturally all the rest of this History will come to be understood. For, their luminous Garment being removed from them, they do immediately apprehend their Misery. And thus they are said,* ch. 3. 7. To have their Eyes opened,

Fig-leaves. 3. *Adam* and *Eve* therefore, as well as Satan, knew sufficiently what the Image of God meant, after which they were created. So that had he told them, that if they did eat of the forbidden Fruit, they should

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opened, and to know that they were naked. *And therefore finding themselves defenceless, and in all respects alter'd for the worse, even as* Sampson *was, in point of Strength, when he had lost his Hair; they hide themselves for Shame amongst the Bushes and Trees, and twist the broad Leaves of the Fig-tree round about them (probably the Indian Fig-tree, whose Leaves are prodigiously broad) and by these, as with* green Arbors, *(as Mr.* Le Clerc *supposes, or as I rather think, with the Current of Interpreters)* Aprons, *they cover themselves. But having been inur'd before the Lapse, with the Company of the Luminous Angels, yea and with Converse with the* Shechinah *himself, who appeared as a Man thus apparel'd with Light, they dread the Appearance either of them or him now, whose Company was their greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction before. When therefore they hear* the Voice of the *Shechinah*, as he walked in the Garden, *as usually before*, ch. 3. 8. *it is said, that* Adam *and* Eve hid themselves from the Presence *(that is, the* Shechinah*)* of the Lord, amongst the Trees of the Garden. *But the* Shechinah, *who knew very well where they were, follows them, and, drawing near, says,* ver. 9. Adam, where art thou? *What's become of thee? or, what's the matter with thee, that thou avoid'st my Presence, when thou didst hear my Voice calling thee? So that, by the way, we are oblig'd to conclude, that the* Logos *did not only appear in a visible manner, but convers'd also with* Adam *and* Eve *audibly, and by an articulate Voice. And it would appear, by the Account of* Moses, *that when the* Shechinah *had a mind to converse with* Adam, *he order'd Matters so, that a particular Voice should be heard, which* Adam *and* Eve *knew to be his Voice from all others, as is insinuated,* ver. 8. *And it is not improbable, but that there might be certain times appointed for their more solemn Adoration of the Deity, and that at such times the* Shechinah *might either appear himself, or delegate some Angel to renew the Evidences of his Approbation. And perhaps* the Cool of the Day *might be one of those proper times of Worship, as being more temperate, and therefore fitter for* Adam *and* Eve's *being* sub Dio, *in the free Air, and under the open Canopy of Heaven, without any need of the Shade, as in the Heat of the Day. But however that was, it was at that time that the* Shechinah *appeared and walked in the Garden, as* Adam *and* Eve *were walking there: And therefore it gave the greater Suspicion of their Guilt (to speak after the manner of Men) that they should seek for Shade and Cover, at such a time. Now, the* Logos *approaching the Place where they were, and saying,* Adam: where art thou? *He answers,* ver. 10. I heard thy Voice in the Garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid my self. *The Sense of which is plainly this, O Lord, it is not now with me as formerly,*

ſhould be like unto the Image of God, they would immediately have concluded, that the Tempter was delirious; for ſo they were already. When therefore he promiſes that they ſhould be *as God*, ch. 2. 5. He muſt mean,

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I did indeed hear thy Voice in the Garden, as I uſed to do: but I was not in caſe to appear before thee; and therefore thy Voice, that formerly was ſo delightful to me, produc'd nothing but Fear and Terror in me. For alas! I am naked, I am naked. For, tho I have made a ſort of Garment to cover me, yet it is not that which formerly I was covered with. That Luminous Garment *is gone, and therefore I hid my ſelf in this Thicket from Thee. Upon which the* Shechinah, *tho he knew all things, makes theſe further Demands,* ver. 11. Who told thee, that thou waſt naked? Haſt thou eaten of the Tree whereof I commanded thee that thou ſhould not eat? *But, tho our Verſion renders the Words, as if they were two diſtinct Queries, yet the Hebrew ſeems to repreſent theſe to be but two Parts of one and the ſame Sentence, thus:* Who told thee, that thou art naked? Is it not becauſe thou haſt eaten, *&c. That is, Ha,* Adam, *is it come to this paſs with thee? Who was it that occaſion'd thy being thus naked? Was not thy own Sin produc'd this Change? And now, I leave the Reader to conſider, whether the Account which I have given of this matter, be not much more rational, conſiſtent and intelligible, than the ordinary Expoſition of this Matter, as our old Commentators and other Divines have handled things. But beſides, I deſire it may be conſidered, that this Notion is what the Apoſtle* Paul *ſeems plainly to allude unto, and found upon as certain, in more than one place, as particularly,* 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3, &c. *and* 1 Cor. 15. 44, 45, 53, 54. *In the* firſt *of thoſe Places, it is plain to me, that the Apoſtle runs a Compariſon between our preſent Body and that Vehicle, that the Souls of good Men will be clothed with, in its ſtead, after Death, until the Reſurrection. The* firſt *He calls* an earthly Houſe of a Tabernacle, *ver.* 1. *The* ſecond, our Houſe which is *to be given us* from Heaven, *and with which we ſhall then be* clothed, *ver.* 2. *And therefore he ſays, that he did* not deſire to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon; *as a Man that caſts off an old Suit of Clothes, in order to put on new and finer Apparel,* ver. 3, 4. *But then in the* ſecond *Paſſage, the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the Reſurrection of that earthly Body, that was laid in the Grave; and ſo he takes occaſion to ſhew us the vaſt Change wrought upon it,* viz. *That whereas it is now corruptible and mortal, it ſhall then be made a ſort of ſpiritual Body, by being made Immortal and Glorious. Now when he ſays,* ver. 53. This corruptible Body muſt put on Incorruption, and this mortal Body muſt put on Immortality; *He ſeems plainly to allude to that Garment of Light, with which our firſt Parents were clothed in their Primeral State; the being clothed with which render'd them immortal; and the withdrawing of which made them infirm and mortal. Whereas therefore, in the firſt of theſe Paſſages, the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the Happineſs of good Souls, when they*

mean, and they understand, that they should be such Persons themselves from that time, as He himself personally was, according to whose assumed or external Form or Image they were made. 4. And hence that Sarcasm is easily understood, *Gen.* 3. 22. *Behold Man is become as one of us!* For it is as much as to say, Behold how Man is exalted! For not contented to be made after the Image of one of us, (*viz.* the *Logos*) but aspiring after a Parity with the very Person of him, after whose Image (i. e. *Shechinah*) he was made: Behold to what State he is brought! A Saying, which, stript of its Irony, amounts to this. Behold poor Man how he is fallen, and how he has stript himself of his Glory; the Badge of the *Shechinah* having justly deserted him, who, not contented to be his Servant, aspired to rival him in some sort, as to his very Divinity. So that Satan drew Man into the very same Sin, upon the main, that had occasion'd his own Fall; as I shall have occasion to shew afterwards more particularly.

Now, Man being thus sunk from his Primitive Excellency, God might justly have suffer'd him to continue miserable, or otherwise have extirpated him, and all his Race, in him, as he pleased. But we must suppose the *Logos* to step in here; who, touch'd with Pity for Mankind, with Indignation against Satan, and with a Sense of the Indignity done himself, resolves to take

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they leave their Bodies, in respect of that Heavenly Clothing, which they will then put on, and by reason of which the Souls of such Men will be rendred not only immortal, but also capable of acting as Men. In this second Passage, he sufficiently insinuates, that when our former Bodies shall be raised again, the Luminous Vehicle or Garment that had clothed the separate Soul before, will be so framed and adapted, as to become the Vestment of the Body, and so of the whole Man; by which his Body will be rendered Immortal and perfect in its kind, as well as the Soul. So that this Opinion is unjustly ascrib'd to Origen, *as the Inventer of it: for it was the ancient Opinion of the Jewish Church, from whence* Pythagoras *and* Plato *borrowed it, tho they improv'd it too far, in their Notion of the Transmigration of Souls. However the Doctrine it self is that which* Paul *owns, and which therefore I believe.*

upon

upon himſelf the Recovery of loſt Mankind, as far as could be done agreeably with Mens Circumſtances and his own.

Upon his Interpoſition, we muſt ſuppoſe, that a Suſpenſion of the Threatning (made in caſe of Mans Rebellion) muſt immediately follow. But, in this weighty and divine Affair, ſeeing it is impoſſible, that we can reaſon otherwiſe than after the manner of Men, and ſeeing even the Scripture ſpeaks to us, in this Dialect: We muſt ſuppoſe, that an Agreement or Covenant muſt be entred into between the Father and Son, with mutual Conſent. And this is what goes under the Name of the *Covenant of Redemption*, that is ſuppoſed to have been between *God* and the *Logos*, in order to the Redemption and Salvation of loſt Sinners. To conceive of which rightly, we muſt remember, that God comes under a twofold σχέσις or Conſideration, with reſpect to Men, *viz.* either as an *Abſolute* or *Supreme Sovereign*, or as a *merciful condeſcending Father*. He is conceived to act under the firſt Notion, in his *Decrees*, generally conſidered; and, in this ſecond reſpect, he is ſuppoſed to act, in this *Counſel of his Peace*, in order thus to ſave thoſe that were loſt.

That we muſt ſuppoſe ſuch a Covenant or Agreement between God and Chriſt, will be plain to thoſe that ſhall impartially conſider the following Paſſages of Scripture, which I ſhall barely cite here, for Brevity's ſake, as being deſirous to leave them to Mens own Thoughts. They are theſe; *Iſa.* 29. 20, 21. *ch.* 42. *ver.* 6, 7. *ch.* 52. from *v.* 13, to the end, together with the whole 53*d* Chapter, *Pſal.* 40. 6, 7, 8. compared with *Heb.* 10. 5, 6, 7. *Pſal.* 89. 3, &c. *John* 6. 27. and from *v.* 36, to *v.* 45. *ch.* 10. 14, &c. *Heb.* 3. 2. *Luke* 22. 22.

But, beſides all theſe Expreſſions, if we conſider, (1.) the Deſign, either of the Types of Chriſt, as particularly of the Paſcal Lamb, *John* 1. 29. *Rev.* 13. 8. or of the Names of Chriſt, ſuch as *Goel*, Redeemer, *Job* 19. 24. and Μεσίτης, Mediator, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5, 6. we cannot but ſuppoſe ſuch an Agreement; eſpecially, if we

we consider such Expressions, as seem to be consequential upon this Supposition; such as these, which we have, *Matth.* 26. 28. 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. 1 *Pet.* 1. 18. *Eph.* 1. 7, 14. *Heb.* 13. 20. (2.) And surely the Account, which we have of the Offices of Christ, doth immediately lean upon such a Supposition; as when he is called *the Messenger of the Covenant*, Mal. 3. 1. *the Christ*, or anointed King *over Sion*, *Psal.* 2. *Acts* 2. 36. *the Prophet* or Teacher, for this end, *Acts* 3. 22. *the Witness*, *Isa.* 55. 4. *John* 18. 37. *the High Priest* by Agreement, *Heb.* 5. 4, 5, 6. *the* Great *Judge*, *John* 5. 22. and *he on whose Shoulder the Key of the House of* David *is laid*, *Isa.* 22. 23, 24. (3.) And besides all these things, we may easily observe all the Requisites of this Covenant hinted in Scripture. And surely, where all things necessary for matter and form to constitute a Covenant are, the actual being of it cannot be denied. Now we find in Scripture Consent of Parties; *viz. That the Father sent Christ*, *John* 6. 40. *Acts* 3. 26. and *that Christ accepted to be sent*, *John* 6. 38. *Heb.* 10. 9. *That it pleased the Father that he should lay down his Life*, *Rom.* 8. 32. *Isa.* 53. 10. and *that this was Christ's Choice and Pleasure likewise*, *John* 10. 18. *Isa.* 50. 6. (4.) Nay we have an account of Proposals made by God to Christ, in this Covenant, *Psal.* 110. 1. *Psal.* 2. 7, 8. compare with *Acts* 13. 33. and *Heb.* 1. 5. And we have an account also of Christ's Consent to these Proposals, *Prov.* 8. 22, *&c. Psal.* 40 6, *&c.* (5.) Yea we have the Vestages of express and formal covenanting between *Jehovah* and the *Logos*; consisting, in Stipulation and Re-stipulation; in Promises and Proposals on the one part, and the accepting of them and consenting to them on the other, in many remarkable Instances. For we have *Commands with Promises* from God to Christ, *Mich.* 5. 4, 5. *Isa.* 42. 1, 2, *&c.* We have *Promises with Conditions*, *Isa.* 53. 10, 11, 12. We have *Conditions with Consent*, *Heb.* 10. 5, 7. We have *consenting with Performance*, *John* 17. 4. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9. We have *asking and giving*, *Psal.* 2. 8. And we have *Work with Wages*, *Isa.* 49. 3, 6. *John* 10. 17.

17. *Isa.* 53. 12. *Isa.* 49. 4. *Heb.* 12. 2. (6.) Nay let me add, that as it is plain such a Covenant is, so it is not difficult to prove this *a fortiori*, *viz.* that it is *necessary* that it should be. I mean not an *absolute* and *simple Necessity*, such as there is for the Being of God; nor yet a *natural Necessity*, as if God and Christ had been obliged thus to concert Measures for our Redemption. But I mean *a Hypothetical Necessity*, upon the Supposition of a gratuitous Intention in God to save us, and of Christ's being a free Agent, who was no otherwise obliged to save us, than as his Father's Pity and Goodness, and his own, prompted him to agree to do so. Only we must ever remember, that tho we are allowed to speak of these things *more humano*, *i. e.* after the manner of Men, because we can do no otherwise; yet we are ever to remember to think this, that *Counsel*, *Contract*, *Covenant*, and such like Words (together with the Ideas, which they contain or suggest to us) are not to be applied to God and Christ, in such a manner, as if there were any Dispute, Reasoning, or the like things to be properly supposed, as is here among Men.

Now this Covenant being supposed, it will naturally follow; That by virtue of this Undertaking, Christ acted as the Ruler of the World and Church, before his Incarnation, as well as since, tho not in the same manner; and that God performed to him what he had promised and agreed to, both before and since Christ's Coming. And hence then we may easily see that on these, as the Foundation, the New Covenant is erected; and that upon the Supposition of Christ's Acquiring this Right and Power, he was allowed to erect such prior Dispensations, as might be proper for the time, and adapted to introduce the more excellent one under the Gospel.

Now, as from these Hints it is certain that such a Covenant-Transaction is supposed in Scripture, so it is necessary that we should labour to have as distinct Thoughts of this, as possibly we can. But, seeing it is

is from the Scripture alone that we can judge of this, we must keep close to the Hints given there.

Now my Notion of this wonderful Transaction, (which I think has never been yet cleared up by any Man, but rather made obscure by what has been hitherto publish'd on this Subject) I shall present the Reader with a short Scheme of, in the following Suppositions.

And, 1. I do suppose, as I have said, that the *Logos*, according to the Agreement of the Sacred Trinity, was He, that acted ever to Created Intelligent Beings, as their immediate Head, in the Name of God, essentially considered; The *Father* sustaining the Glory thereof, in the mean time, as the First Person, and therefore never acting to Creatures immediately; and the *Holy Spirit*, acting indeed, but invisibly, and by Delegation both from Father and Son.

2. The *Logos*, being Infinite, in regard of Essence, could never be seen or known, even by the most glorious created Spirits, had he not condescended to assume some created Form; such as that which the Jews call'd the *Shechinah*, or the Glory of God. And it seems plain to me, that the *Logos* appeared thus in Heaven to the Angels, as I have already said.

3. And I look upon it to be more than probable, that this assumed Image, was not barely Light, or something like a luminous Cloud; but was something likewise of a determin'd Shape, appearing as an animated Being. And I believe, from what I can judge by laying things together, that it was the exact Representation of a Man, clothed with a most glorious Garment of wonderful Light. And I make no question, but this ancient Image was the very same, with that wherein Christ appears now in Glory, excepting that he has now a real animated Body of Human Flesh, whereas before he had an Etherial one only, or one of some such sort of Composition. But, excepting this, I make no question, but that the Features and Lineaments of the one Body and the other were as exactly, and more exactly, the same, than ever any Picture was like an Original. And

when

when Christ was transfigured, I believe he appeared the very same to *Moses*, that he appeared to be to him formerly, when he and the Elders of *Israel*, as well as the Angels then present saw him upon Mouth *Sinai*, (p) *Exod.* 24. 1, 2, *&c.*

4. After this *Original Image* of the *Shechinah*, I do believe *Adam* to have been created at first, as *Eve* to have been a second Transcript of the same, taken immediately from *Adam*, as he was from the *Original Man*, even the *Organized Shechinah*. Nor do I think it any ways incongruous, to suppose that all the Angels have Etherial, or some such sort of Bodies, wherein they move and act, and that these Bodies of theirs were likewise fashion'd after the *Archetyphal Image* of the *Shechinah*, as well as made by him, who thus appeared ever, and will ever thus appear, without whom nothing was made that was made. But I leave my Contemplations concerning Angels to a more proper place: and then I question not but I shall be able to give such an Account of some things, in relation to them, as will be pleasing to all Men of Candor and Ingenuity.

5. *Adam* being made after the *Image* of the *Logos*; the Apostate Spirits, who could not reach the Person of the *Logos*, by whom they were thrown out of Heaven, thought that they could not serve their Malice and Revenge better, than by defacing this Copy taken from him, and so much honoured by him. And this they do not only attempt, but with such Success as totally to prevail, first with *Eve*, and then with *Adam*.

6. *Adam* turning Apostate, it was no way fit, that he should wear the Livery of the *Shechinah* any longer; and therefore the *Luminous Garment*, with which he and *Eve* were clothed, is taken away, and they are left naked. Nay, had the Sentence been fully executed, they had been cut off at the same time. For the Sentence was; that if they sinn'd, they should die. And

(p) *See my Exposition of this Place*, lib. 2. ch. 7. p. 313, &c.

how

how reaſonable this was, we may eaſily conclude from what I have hinted. For it was not to be indur'd, that the Grand Enemy of the *Logos* ſhould erect that into a Trophy of Victory, which was made after his Image.

7. Here then we muſt ſuppoſe, that the *Father*, as the Firſt Perſon, was about to deſtroy this Pair, and to extirpate in them, this new-made Race; the Honour of the Deity, and particularly of the *Logos*, requiring this; unleſs ſome Expedient could be found out, to ſalve Matters, as well, or better, another way.

8. The *Logos*, being moſt directly affronted here, but pitying Man, and not willing ſo much as to ſeem to fall ſhort of his end, in making ſuch a Creature, and being juſtly incenſed againſt the Arch-Rebel, ſteps in, and offers to come into *Adam*'s ſtead and room, to regain what he had loſt.

9. The Father accepts the Offer of his Son. And upon this mutual Agreement, comes in the Notion of what is uſually called the Covenant of Redemption or Reconciliation. But, tho this was one Act in God, yet being ſuch a complex one, according to our Method of conceiving things, as includes many, we are oblig'd accordingly to conceive of it, eſpecially ſeeing the Sacred Scripture ſpeaks in the ſame Dialect.

Now the only Key, by which we can be let in to the View of this wonderful Tranſaction, is to conſider what Chriſt actually did. For we may be infallibly certain of this; that Chriſt acted exactly that part, which he had agreed to act in Concert with his Father's Will: As we are equally certain, that the Father did carry to him, and ſtill does, exactly according to his Reſtipulation to the *Logos*, upon his having undertaken to become Man. And therefore by the help of this Key, and according to this Maxim, I think we may ſafely lay down theſe following Things, as ſo many *Articles of Agreement*, between *God* and the *Logos*; to ſpeak after the manner of Men, ſeeing we cannot ſpeak otherwiſe.

And, 1*ſt*. Chriſt having offered himſelf to act *Adam*'s Part over again, and this being agreed to, in the Counſel of the Sacred Three; (whom we call Perſons for want of a better Word:) We muſt conceive that, *ipſo facto*, immediately, upon that Concert, the *Logos* comes to be conſider'd, in a new Relation to Mankind, as their Head, Ruler and Patron. And therefore the Agreement is made with him, as ſuch, *i. e.* as, virtually and intentionally, the *Loganthropos*, and not as the *Logos* or Son of God, ſimply conſider'd. And, ſeeing every Divine Intention or fixed Purpoſe, is incluſive of abſolute and infallible Certainty, as to the Event: hence he came to be look'd upon, before his Incarnation, to have been the *Second Adam*, as much, as to the point of certainty, as if he had already become Man.

2*dly*. We ſuppoſe therefore, that the Father did require of him, 1. That he ſhould act, as the *Second Adam*, from that time forward, and take what Methods he thought moſt proper, in order to reclaim Men from Satan to their Duty; ſo, as might be conſiſtent with the *Human Nature*, as *Free* and *Reaſonable*, tho now *vitiated*. 2. That the *Logos* ſhould, in *the Fulneſs of time*, aſſume the *Nature of Man*, and ſuffer therein, in order to make full Satisfaction for the firſt *Adam*'s Offence, and thus fight and conquer Satan, in a State of Trial, by Sufferings, and under all manner of Diſadvantages. 3. That the *Human Nature* that he ſhould aſſume, ſhould be ſo far *left to it ſelf*, that the *Man Chriſt* ſhould retrieve what *Adam* loſt, the *Logos* not acting with his infinite aſſiſting Energy, in the Second *Adam*'s Conduct of himſelf, either in reference to viſible or inviſible Agents.

3*dly*. Now theſe things being required of the *Logos*, as ſuſtaining the Character of the *Loganthropos*; we muſt ſuppoſe that Chriſt yielded to them, with all Readineſs; but ſtill with theſe Proviſional Demands, as relative to them. 1. That what he did for Men, before his actual Aſſumption of the Human Nature, ſhould be interpreted and reckon'd to concern Men, as much, as that

that which he ſhould do after his becoming Man; and that he ſhould have Liberty to act, by the Manifeſtation of his *Shechinah*, at times, as far as he ſhould ſee proper; and that he ſhould never be deveſted of it, excepting during his abode among Men, in his ordinary Management of himſelf, in that State of Trial and Conflict. 2. That, even during that time, he ſhould have the *Logos* ſo far aſſiſting to him, as that he might be able to make up the want of that Evidence of his being the Meſſiah, by other Evidences of an equivalent Nature; and that therefore he ſhould be indu'd with a perfect Wiſdom, in knowing all things neceſſary to be known by him; and with a full Power of working what Miracles he pleaſed, for demonſtrating himſelf to be the Saviour and Patron of Men. 3. That, tho he was willing that he ſhould, as Man, act the perfect Reverſe of the Firſt *Adam*, in order to retrieve both the Dignity and Intereſt of Human Nature; yet he deſired that this might be taken in together with his doing ſo, *viz.* That the *Acts* of the *Man Chriſt*, by Virtue of the *Union* of the *Manhood* with the *Perſon* of the *Logos*, might be ever look'd upon and reputed, as of the ſame Value, for the Good and Benefit of Mankind, as if the *Logos himſelf* (abſtracting from all conſideration of the *Manhood*) had been the formal and only Author of them.

And, as theſe things muſt be ſuppoſed, to be mutually demanded and granted, as far as our Conception of ſuch Matters can reach: So I cannot, for my own part, ſee any thing material that wants to be added, but ſuch as is naturally and eaſily reducible to one or other of theſe General Heads; which I confeſs are very comprehenſive ones; for there is not one of them, which might not be ſtretch'd out into a vaſt Compaſs. But it is enough for my purpoſe, at preſent, to have ſuggeſted theſe things; eſpecially ſeeing I ſhall have (*q*) occaſion to touch on this Subject again.

(*q*) *In* Chap. 6. *when I come to treat of Chriſt's Patriarchal Office.*

However, the last of these things, which I just now have mentioned, as agreed to between God and the *Loganthropos*, being the most immediate Foundation of that Divine or Spiritual Wisdom, that I am now to discourse of; it is necessary that I should distinctly mention it again here, because I look upon it to have been the Great *Spring* of that *Maxim*, by which our Saviour manag'd himself in relation to God, Angels and Devils, in his carrying on the great Affairs of Mankind, with which he was intrusted.

The Case was this therefore. Tho the Actions and Sufferings of the *Man Jesus Christ*, received their Value, and became meritorious, only upon the account of the Union of the *Human Nature* with the *Logos*, and so because they were the Actions and Suffering of one, who was God: Yet all the Actions, as well as Sufferings of the *Man Christ*, were to proceed from Christ, *as such*, in as far as concern'd his Conduct of himself, in the Trust of Human Affairs, with respect to God, Angels and Devils, as well as with respect to those Men that he had then to do with.

For, had the *Logos* done all, or over-ruled all that the *Man Christ* did this way, in such a manner as that the Actions (for that the Sufferings were of the Man Christ only, none can controvert with me) had been formally and properly the Actions of the *Logos* or *Son of God*; then must these Consequences, of necessity, follow. 1. That Christ did not act, in the least, as *Man*, or a *Second Adam*; seeing the *Logos* acted all. 2. That *Human Nature* could not be supposed to *retrieve* its *Reputation*, by Christ's Assumption of it. For what credit could it have, if all things were acted *ad præsentiam ejus*, as the Schools speak, *i.e.* before it only, and not by it. And, in this case, it is supposed, not to have been active at all, but passive only. 3. Nay, in this case, there could have been no *Merit* at all, nor so much as any proper *Reputation* acquired, even by the *Logos* himself. For what Reputation could the *Logos* have acquired, by defeating finite Beings, by Infinite Wisdom and Power?

And

And had he done ſo, all Foundation of Merit had been cut off: Seeing, as nothing had been done this way but what was unavoidable, upon the Suppoſition of an Encounter between God and Satan; ſo nothing of all this Honour, (upon the Suppoſition that there was any) could be aſcribed to *Chriſt Man*. 4. And, if this was the State of the Caſe, no Reaſon can juſtly be aſſigned, in point of *Satisfaction* to Divine Juſtice, why the *Logos* ſhould have aſſumed the Human Nature at all. For to what purpoſe was this, if the *Logos* made the Satisfaction, abſtracting from all conſideration of the *Manhood* aſſumed by him.

If therefore we would avoid all theſe Abſurdities, we muſt, of neceſſity, ſtate the Caſe, as I have done it. For in the exact Adjuſtment of theſe two Things, which I have mention'd, ſtands the very central Point, ſo far as I can judge, of the *Divine Scheme*, as to this matter; *viz.* *That* the *Logos* ſhould ſo over-rule the *Manhood*, that he was about to aſſume, that the *Man* or *Second Adam* ſhould act the perfect Reverſe of the *Firſt Man*, and ſhould be ſo far left to himſelf, in doing ſo, that the Actions, as well as Sufferings, ſhould be formally *his*, and not the Actions of the *Logos*; and *that*, upon the Performance of this, the *Man Chriſt* ſhould *merit* a *Headſhip* over *Mankind*, to rule Men as he pleaſed, by Virtue of the Union of the Manhood with the Perſon of the *Logos*.

And now in this Propoſition, I think I have ſtated the Truth, as it ought to be ſtated; which is more than ever has been done yet, ſo far as I can learn. And, as I have guarded againſt the Error of *Popiſh Human Merit* on the one hand, as well as that of the *Socician Hereſy*, of ſuppoſing Chriſt to be no more than a mere Man: So I have ſet the matter in that Light, as is ſufficient to put an end to that *Darkneſs* and *Confuſion*, that our late *Proteſtant Divines* have run into; both in their *Myſtical Treatiſes* of the *Covenant* of *Redemption* and *Covenant* of *Grace*; and in their aſcribing every thing almoſt that Chriſt did, nay and ſuffered too, after his Incarnation,

to him, as *God-Man* (as they uſe to ſpeak) as if the *Manhood* or *Man Chriſt* had acted nothing *formally*, but been entirely *paſſive* and *acted upon*, in the whole Work of our *Redemption*.

But, that all the Actions that *Chriſt* did, whilſt on Earth, were *formally* the Actions of *Chriſt*, *as Man* (excepting only his Miracles, and thoſe extraordinary and ſupernatural Evidences, by which he proved himſelf to be the *Logos*, tho now made *Man*) is as plain to me, as any thing of this kind can be. For, it was thus only that he could act, as the *ſecond Fœderal Head of Men*, to regain the Dignity and Intereſt of Human Nature, which the *Firſt Adam* had loſt.

And indeed the only rational Objection, that can be made againſt this *Sacred Scheme* of the *Man Chriſt's acting the Reverſe* of the *Firſt Adam*, is this; That, it ſeems incongruous, that the *Man Chriſt* ſhould be under the immediate Conduct of the *Logos* at all. For it may be ſaid, If the *Firſt Adam* was left to himſelf, in his *State of Trial*, why ſhould not the *Second Adam* be ſo too? But the Anſwer is eaſy, if we conſider, that the *Firſt Adam*, was, tho in a State of Probation as to the future, yet under very eaſy Circumſtances, as having nothing to do, but to continue in that Happineſs, wherein he ſtood; which none could take from him, without his own Conſent: And how improbable it was, that ever he ſhould give this, to his own Poſterity's Ruin: Whereas the *Second Adam*, was to appear and act, under all manner of Diſcouragements and Diſadvantages; and therefore had need of ſomething, that might ſo far put him upon the level with the *Firſt Adam*, as to make up the vaſt difference of Circumſtances to him another way. Nor do I believe, that he had more of the Aſſiſtance of the *Logos*, during his State of Humiliation, than juſt compenſated and made up the Difficulties of his Circumſtances, ſo as to buoy him up, notwithſtanding of theſe, to act upon the level, upon the matter, with the *Firſt Adam*.

And, that this was the very caſe with him, and that therefore the *Logos* gave him no more Aſſiſtance nor Coun-

Countenance, than was just necessary to support Human Nature, from being exhausted, when unequally match'd, as Man, (having the whole united Powers of Hell to grapple with) had he not been thus reliev'd; appears plain to me from several things recorded concerning him. And, seeing my Account of this grand Affair may perhaps be look'd upon, by this time, by many of my Readers, as strange and novel, if not Heretical too by the ignorant and self-conceited; I shall now shew, that I have founded my Notion intirely upon the Gospel Account of our Saviour. For which end I shall produce these two following Passages, which I desire may be duly considered.

The *1st* Passage, is that Account of Christ, which the Apostle gives, *Heb.* 5. 7, 8, 9. Where, after he had asserted, That every High Priest was taken from among Men, *ver.* 1. in order to be a real Man; and *ver.* 4. that every true Priest, must have a Divine Commission to entitle him to this Office, and to warrant him in the execution thereof (no Man having a Right otherwise to assume it;) and after he had shewed what sort of Priest Christ was, in the General, *ver.* 6. He proceeds to give this Account of Christ, *viz.* *That in the Days of his Flesh, when he had offer'd up Prayers and Supplications, with strong Cryings and Tears, to him that was able to save him from Death,* (*i. e.* from being conquer'd by it, so as to be detain'd under it) he adds, *That he was heard in that he fear'd.* *For,* says he, *Tho he was a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the Things that he suffered.* *And being* thus *made perfect, he became the Author of Salvation to all that obey him.* Dr. *Whitby* in his Additional Notes, wherein he rectifies, or adds to, what he had publish'd at first, retracts what he had formerly said, by way of Explanation of these Words of the *8th* Verse; *tho he was a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the things which he suffer'd:* Which, he says, upon second Thoughts, he thinks are better render'd and understood thus; *tho he was a Son, yet he taught us Obedience by the things which he suffered.* I shall not dispute this Point with the Doctor now,

whither his first or second Thoughts be the most genuine. For, as I know that the original Word is sometimes used to signify *to teach* as well as *to learn*, tho neither so frequently, nor (as I humbly conceive) properly, but only by way of Accommodation: So either of these Senses will agree well enough with what I design here; seeing the rest of the Apostles Words will bear me out in this Assertion; That the Apostle is not giving an Account of Christ, as the *Logos*, but as *Man*. For it was *thus* only, that Christ could *offer up Prayers and Supplications, with strong Cries and Tears*, &c. And indeed when I consider this, I cannot but think, that the first Sense of the Verb προσφέρειν, was what the Apostle meant to express, and that he never dreamt of the other: seeing this is not only the ordinary meaning of the Word, but I think always so used in the Greek Bible, but that meaning also which agrees best with the rest of the Apostles Account. If any say, but is it not said here, *Tho he was a Son*, &c? and does not this refer to his *Sonship* as the *Logos*? I answer not at all. For it is not said, ὁ υἱὸς, *the Son*, but a *Son*. And Dr. *Whitby* himself owns on *v.* 5. and on *ch.* 2. 10. that the Father's Words to him, *Thou art my Son*, &c. relate not to his Eternal Generation, but to his being begotten again from the Dead, by his Resurrection. But, tho I agree with the Doctor, that Christ is called a *Son* here, as *Man*, and in relation to his Office; yet I crave the liberty of dissenting from him, in refering this Title to Christ upon the account of his Resurrection. For, as it was *Christ* himself, as the *Logos*, that raised himself, as *Man*, from the Grave, as he himself assures us; so it would sound odd, to suppose that the *Logos* gave the Designation of *Son of God* to *Christ Man*, upon this account; or that we must thus understand the Phrase, *This Day have I begotten thee*. But besides, Christ was invested with the Office of Priest, as well as King, upon his undertaking to be the *Second Adam*; tho he did not execute this Office, in the same manner, as he did after the Resurrection. And

now

now that I have mentioned Christ's acting as the Second *Adam*, let us consider that place, which I have occasionally quoted.

The 2*d* Passage therefore, that proves my Sense of this matter, is *Heb.* 2. 9, 10, 11, *&c.* Where the Apostle, after he had shewed, that the *Logos* manag'd the Affairs of the Old Testament by Angels, but the Affairs of the New Testament, in a quite other Method, *v.* 5. He proceeds to shew what that Method was. And for this end he quotes the words of the Psalmist, in *Psal.* 8. 4. *What is Man, that thou art so mindful of him; or the Son of Man, that thou dost so visit him? Thou madest him a little lower than the Angels*, &c. Which Passage he interprets, to relate intirely to Christ, as Man: for his words can no otherwise be understood, when he says, *We see Jesus* (i. e. as *Man* or the *Second Adam*) *who was made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of Death, (that he, by the Grace of God, might taste Death for every Man) crowned with Glory and Honour. For it became him, from whom are all things, and by whom are all things* (i. e. the Supreme Father) *in bringing many Sons to Glory, to make the Captain of our Salvation perfect by Sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth (i. e.* Christ, as Man) *and we that are sanctified, (viz.* by him or thro' him) *are all of one, (i. e.* of one Original, as partaking of one and the same Human Nature;) *For which cause he (i. e.* Christ Man) *is not ashamed to call us Brethren*, &c. And, a little after, the Apostle pursues his Discourse thus: *Forasmuch then, as the Children (i. e.* of the First *Adam*, who in this respect are all Christ's Brethren) *are Partakers of Flesh and Blood, he also took part of the same, that through Death he might destroy Death, and him that had the Power of it, that is, the Devil; And might deliver them (i. e.* from the Sting and continuance of it) *who, through the fear of Death, were all their Lives subject to Bondage.* (And in this sad State, were all Men, before Christ's Resurrection, especially the Gentiles, who had either no Notion at all, or a very confused one, of the Resurrection, and a future Life.) *For verily he took not on him*

him the Nature of Angels, &c. Wherefore it behoved him, to be made like his Brethren, in all things; that he might be a merciful and (r) Faithful High Priest, in things pertaining to God, to make Reconciliation for the Sins of the People. For, in that he himself suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them who are tempted. Now the whole of this Discourse of the Apostle, is so plain and full to my purpose, that I think there is no need of any further Comment upon the words, than that which I have given, in these few occasional Hints, that I have inserted by the bye, in so many Parentheses.

But, tho these Passages are sufficient to prove what I proposed, yet it may not be amiss to take notice of some few Matters of Fact, that bear full Evidence of this Truth, if duly considered. Indeed the whole History of our Saviour is, in a manner, one continued Proof this way. But, seeing I study Brevity, in all this Discourse, as far as is consistent with Perspicuity, I shall content my self with a short, and, as it were, cursory Account of Three only.

The *1st* is that Account which our Saviour himself gives us, *Mark* 13. 32. *But of that Day and that Hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* In order to understand these Words thorowly, let us observe, 1. That here are Three Orders or Degrees of Creatures made mention of, *viz. ordinary Men*, the *Angels of Glory*, and *Christ-Man.* And these are plac'd in such an Order, as may gradually increase the Wonder of Christ's Negation. *This Day and Hour is not revealed*, says Christ, *to any Man whatsoever.* But which is more strange, *the Angels in Heaven* themselves have no Knowledge of this Time. Nay, which is still more, even *I my self*, as I *am Man*, know nothing precisely or exactly of this. For the Father has hid this, at present, from all Creatures. 2. That the Thing that Christ had been speaking of,

(r) Πιστὸς here seems to be equivalent to ἀξιόπιστος, *one worthy of our Faith, Trust, Confidence and Reliance.*

was

was the *Deſtruction* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Temple* by the *Romans*, as is plain from the whole of the Chapter, compared with the 24*th* Chapter of *Matthew*, and the 21*ſt* Chapter of *Luke*, for which ſee *ver.* 20, 21, &c. But then, ſeeing Chriſt's Diſcourſe throughout the 25*th* Chapter of *Matthew*, in which he ſpeaks of the Day of Judgment, is the Application of what he had ſaid of the Deſtruction and End of the Jewiſh Oeconomy; it is plain to me, that what Chriſt ſpoke litterally, with reſpect to the end of that Diſpenſation, is meant ultimately of the End of the World in general; according to that compounded Senſe of Scripture, which is almoſt conſtantly obſerv'd in the Jewiſh Propheſies, where what is ſpoken of as fulfill'd one way, in the Type, is ſpoken of as fulfill'd another way in the Antitype: which I hope to ſpeak more fully to, in its proper place. If it be ſaid, But was not the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* known even to Men, ſeeing it was propheſied of by the Prophets? I anſwer, Yes. But no Prophet ever told, when this was to be. *Daniel* is the only Prophet that comes the neareſt to this matter, in his 70 Weeks of Years, *Dan.* 9. 24, 25, 26, 27. But the End of the laſt Week of theſe Years was calculated to be juſt after 3 Years and an half ſhould run out from Chriſt's Death; ſo that how long *Jeruſalem* and the Temple were to continue afterwards, is left wholly undetermin'd. Now, 3. Let us obſerve, that Chriſt calls himſelf *Son* here, as he was the *ſecond Adam*, and brought in his ſtead, who is alſo called *the Son of God*, Luke 3. *ult.* All Expoſitors are and muſt be agreed, that Chriſt did not call himſelf *Son* here, as he was the *Logos*, or eternal Son of God: for, as ſuch, he could be ignorant of nothing. But our Divines and Commentators generally tell us, that he calls himſelf ſo, as he was God-Man. A Saying that, I confeſs, I underſtand not. For if he be conſidered as *God-Man* here, we muſt ſuppoſe, that his *Ignorance* of this Day is *predicated* of his *Perſon*, as ſuch; eſpecially ſeeing our Divines have all agreed, that the *Logos* aſſum'd not an *human Perſon*, but

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the *Human Nature* only. But let this be as Men pleaſe, which I may take notice of, and inquire into before I end this Chapter; ſure I am, that Chriſt muſt ſpeak of himſelf as *Man only*, and in relation to his Office, as the *ſecond Adam.* What therefore Dr. *Lightfoot* ſays on this Text, tho cited and commended by Dr. *Whitby*, I approve not of, in as far as Chriſt is ſuppoſed to ſpeak here as *God-Man*, or (as I have rectified that improper tho common Phraſe) the *Word-Man.* For I do ſuppoſe it neceſſary to conclude, that ſo far is Chriſt from being thus conſidered here, that we are obliged to believe that the *Logos*, tho perſonally united to the *Man Chriſt*; yet did ſuſpend his Preſence with the *Human Intellect* of *Chriſt*, in this Particular: for otherwiſe it had been impoſſible that Chriſt could have been ignorant of this point. And if there was a Suſpenſion in one reſpect, no doubt there was in other reſpects. For indeed the *Logos*, as I ſaid, was obliged, by Compact with the Father, to afford the *Man Chriſt* no more Aſſiſtance, than was juſt neceſſary for his Human Management of himſelf, as the *Second Adam.* And by this, 4. We may be led in to underſtand, why it is that Chriſt limits this Knowledge to the *Father*, making no mention of the *Logos.* For, ſeeing he was united to the *Logos*, and ſeeing the *Father* was he that ſuſtain'd the Place of the Whole Deity, as contracting with the *Logos*; it was his part to ſee, that the *Logos* ſhould fulfil what he had promiſed, *viz.* to communicate nothing more to the *Man Chriſt*, than was neceſſary for his Support and preſent Conduct. The exact Knowledge therefore of the final Period, either of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, or of the Concluſion of the World, being, no way, neceſſary to be known, at that time, by *Chriſt*, as *Man*, under his then preſent Circumſtances; it was fit that *Chriſt* ſhould not have that Knowledge. For, as things then ſtood, this Point of Knowledge fell under the 3*d* of thoſe Articles, that I ſuppos'd above, to have been demanded by the Father from the *Logos*; and therefore one of thoſe Points that *the Father had reſerved in his own hands*, as Chriſt

Christ himself does elsewhere determine concerning the Times and Seasons of memorable Revolutions, *Acts* 1. 6, 7. And seeing these words were spoken by Christ solemnly to the Apostles, after his Resurrection, and almost immediately before his Ascention to the Father, it tends exceedingly to confirm what I have said on the former Text: Seeing, by these last and parting words of Christ, he insinuates, that he was not yet indued with this Knowledge of future times, as he was Man. And this will help us to understand the Reason, why the Apocalypse has this Title given it, *Rev.* 1. 1. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him*, &c. For, after the Man Christ was ascended to Heaven, and was there approved and rewarded for his Service, it was very fit that the *Father* should allow the *Logos* to communicate to him a further measure of the Knowledge of future Events. When therefore *John* the Baptist said, that *the Father did not give Christ the Spirit by measure*, John 3. 34, 35. We must not suppose, that he could be guilty of such an absurd Notion, as to think that the Man Christ, as such, was infinite; for the *Human Nature* is not so united with the *Logos*, as to be converted into the *Divine Nature*, or so as to be infinite; infinite and human, being, in this Sense, inconsistent. Either therefore *Christ* is spoken of here as the *Logos*, in case *John* mean that he has the Spirit given him *unlimitedly*, in a strict Sense of the Word. Or otherwise he must be understood to speak comparatively only; (which I judge was all he meant:) for it is certain, that Christ had the Spirit without measure, whether we compare him with any, or even with all the ancient Prophets and Patriarchs.

The 2*d* Instance of Christ's Acting as Man only, is the whole Account of his Sufferings, in as far as it is expressive of his Agony, Perplexity and Concern of Mind, that he was under, either from the prospect or present Sense of his Sufferings. For is it possible to conceive, that *Christ* should speak or act, as he did, had he been assisted by the *Logos* to

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that degree, that the *Logos* was capable to do? particularly then, when he was in his dreadful *Agony in the Garden*, to that degree as *to ſweat great Drops of Blood*, *Luke* 22. 24. and when *he prayed three times over*, with the greateſt Intenſeneſs, tho with Submiſſion to the Will of the Heavenly Father, *Let this Cup paſs from me*, *Matth.* 26. 38, 39, 42, 45. Methinks I ſee here, how exactly the *Logos* fulfill'd the 3*d* Article, which he had promiſed to fulfil to his Father, as I mention'd it above. For, it is plain to any that conſiders this Paſſage, with any cloſe Attention, eſpecially if he collate all that is ſaid by the ſeveral Evangeliſts this way, that Chriſt was brought to the very laſt and utmoſt Extremity, and that he had not, in the leaſt, any aſſiſtance from the *Logos*, more than was juſt neceſſary for ſupporting the Human Nature, ſo far, that it might not be intirely exhauſted at that time. For Chriſt was reſerved to ſuſtain more Shocks ſtill. But, not to mind all thoſe Brunts that he run through, before the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, *Pilate* and *Herod*, and the Affronts and Calumnies he met with, from the *People* and *Souldiers*; his laſt Agony deſerves to be moſt ſpecially conſidered. For it muſt be a very extraordinary Perplexity, Terror and Agitation of Mind indeed, that drew theſe ſtrange words from him, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* For it is obſerved by *Matthew*, That Chriſt utter'd theſe words with great Vehemence, and therefore he is ſaid to have cried them *with a loud Voice*, v. 46. and ſo ſays *Mark*, *ch.* 15. 34. Now, in order to form a genuine Conception of the dying Frame of Chriſt, let us conſider a little more narrowly his dying words. For which purpoſe let us lay the Words of the three Evangeliſts together, (for *Mark* differs not from *Matthew*) by way of Parallel, that we may judge impartially of this matter.

Matth.

Matth. 27. ver. 46.	Luke 23. v. 46.	John 19. 30.
And about the ninth Hour Jesus cried with a loud Voice, saying, Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani, i. e. *my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.* Ver. 50. *Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud Voice, gave up the Ghost.*	*And, when Jesus had cried with a loud Voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the Ghost.*	*When Jesus therefore had received the Vinegar, he said, It is finished; and he bowed his Head, and gave up the Ghost.*

Now, in order to adjust these seemingly dissonant Accounts: We must observe that *Luke*, who wrote after *Matthew* and *Mark*, supplies what they had omitted, as to Christ's dying Words; and that *John*, who wrote after *Luke*, supplies what was omitted this way by them all. As therefore *Matthew* and *Mark* say only, in the general, that Christ cried with a loud Voice the second time, as well as the first time, when he utter'd the melancholly, and, as it were, desponding Sentence, which we mention'd before: *Luke* and *John*, between them, have told us, what his last and dying Words were. And indeed it is happy for us, that these last Words are added. For, by the Account of the first two Evangelists, we might have very naturally been led to think, that Christ died with despairing Words in his Mouth: For who would not from thence conclude, that Jesus utter'd these Words, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani*, the second time, or as *Matthew* says, *again*, just when he gave up the Ghost. And how odd a Representation then had this been of our Saviour, had not the other two Evangests assured us, that the Words of the second Voice, were Consolatory and Triumphing Words. But then, tho we have gained this mighty Point, this great Difficulty seems to remain behind, that Christ's dying Words, as related by *Luke* and *John*, are quite different: And, if it be said, that *John* adds only what *Luke* omitted, it will be demanded, which of their Sen-

Sentences ought to precede the other. To this I anſwer, that it is no-way material, which of them go before or follow after. However, ſeeing we may be allowed to gueſs here, I do ſuppoſe, that the Word τετέλεσται, *It is finiſhed*, went before the Words, which *Luke* mentions. For *John* ſeems to inſinuate, that this was ſpoken calmly and with a low Voice, in the hearing only of himſelf, the Virgin *Mary*, *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas* and *Mary Magdalen*: Whereas his laſt concluding Voice ſeems to have been with great Vehemence, and ſo loud that all might diſtinctly hear him. And for this there was very good Reaſon, *viz.* That, whereas his firſt deſponding Words were ſo loud as to be taken notice of, his Comfort and Satisfaction might be as eminently founded forth afterwards. I do therefore think, that if we join *John*'s Words with *Luke*'s, we ſhall have the full Account of Chriſt's dying Words: which I think may be thus naturally interwoven and caſt together.

> *When Jeſus therefore had received the Vinegar, he ſaid, It is finiſhed. And, Crying* (φωνήσας is *Luke*'s Word, which our Verſion renders amiſs, in ſaying, and when he had cried) *with a loud Voice, He ſaid, Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit. And having ſaid this, he bowed his Head and gave up the Ghoſt.*

Now the firſt Expreſſion, *viz. It is finiſhed*, did certainly relate to the Work, that he came to accompliſh on Earth, with relation to all his preceding Management of himſelf and it. And it doth alſo, as certainly, denote his intire Conqueſt of Satan, in his having laid a Foundation for the Reſtauration of Mankind. And having obtain'd this Satisfaction, he had nothing elſe to do, *but to breath forth his Spirit*, (as he does here in the ſecond Expreſſion) with full Aſſurance, into the Boſom of his Father; before whom, as his Judge, he was not afraid now to appear, ſeeing he had perfectly acted the Reverſe of the old *Adam*. But however, by comparing theſe laſt Words of our Saviour, with his

his former desponding ones, we cannot but observe, that our Saviour had, as I said before, no more assistance from the *Logos*, than was just necessary to support human Nature, in this last Conflict. And here I cannot but observe, how unaccountably they speak and write, nay how inconsistently with themselves as well as with the Truth; who deliver this as necessary Christian Doctrine, *viz.* that *Christ, as God-Man, suffer'd thus*; and that *the Cause of this was the Wrath of God, which he was now the Object of, by reason of our Sins being imputed to him.* How gracious is God, to accept of well-meant Endeavours; passing by, at the same time, and (as the Apostle in another case) *winking* at such Ignorance and Error. For, to say nothing now of the Modern Notion of *Imputation* (which I shall consider in its proper place;) how strangely absurd is it, to assert, that Christ could suffer, or be deserted by God at the same time, that he was considered under the Idea of *God-Man.* But to talk of his being *thus* the very Object of God's Wrath, (whom his Father ever own'd as his beloved Son) is one of the strangest Monstrosities, that ever crept into the World under the Name of Christian Doctrine, nay and fundamental Doctrine too. And therefore I hope the Reader will see, by this time, the Necessity and Importance of what we are pursuing here, *viz.* "That *Christ* was left to himself, *as Man*, "both in his Actions and Sufferings, and no further "assisted by the *Logos*, in either of these (notwith-"standing the Union of the *Logos* with the *Man Christ*) "than was just necessary to support Human Nature, "that it might not be exhausted by the united Force "of Hell: Excepting then, when it was necessary or "convenient, to give super-natural and miraculous At-"testation, that he was not a mere Man, but such a "one, in whom the *Logos* was resident, and with whom "he was present in an extraordinary Manner; in or-"der to his being thus believed and submitted to, as "the true *Messiah.*

And now, that I have again ſtated the Caſe of our *Saviour*, with reſpect to his Circumſtances, as the *Second Adam*, and as intruſted with Human Concerns; I muſt deſire the Reader carefully to diſtinguiſh between the Actions of Chriſt, as *Logos*, as *Loganthropos*, and as *Anthropos* or *Man*. And, 1. Chriſt acted as *Logos*, in all he did, before his aſſuming our Nature. And yet we muſt remember, that he acted as the *Second Man*, even, by Virtue of his Agreement this way with the Father. However, ſeeing he had not then actually aſſumed the Human Nature, there is a juſt Foundation of a neceſſary Diſtinction, between his Actions before his forming to himſelf a proper human Body, informed and animated by a proper human Soul, and the Actions performed by him after this. But then there is as neceſſary a Diſtinction to be made, between thoſe Actions that were performed by him as *Loganthropos*, and thoſe that were done by him, as *Man* only. Therefore, 2. We are oblig'd to ſuppoſe, that he acted formally as *Man* only, in all his Converſe with Men of all Sorts, and in his Management of himſelf in reference to ſpiritual and inviſible Agents, in the manner I have ſaid. All therefore that the *Logos* did for him, was ſo far only to take his part, that his Trials and Warfare, undertaken *to God, for Man*, and *againſt the infernal Powers*, might have a fair Courſe; as being *a Trial of Skill for Maſtery*, in a way of *Wiſdom, Virtue and Bravery*, ſo as *Spirits muſt be ſuppoſed to encounter one another*. So that, 3. Thoſe Actions only are to be aſcribed to Chriſt, as *Loganthropos*, which were miraculous, in their own Nature; and ſuch were, in a word, all his Miracles, and what ever was *properly* ſupernatural: But of theſe we are not now inquiring. To return therefore to the ſecond Sort of Actions, and to the Conſideration of Chriſt as Man, I ſhall mention but one Paſſage more, to prove how far Chriſt was left to himſelf, by the *Logos*, in his acting as Man.

The 3*d* and laſt Paſſage therefore, is what I thought fit to reſerve to be diſtinctly taken of notice by it ſelf, (which

(which otherwiſe might have been inſerted under the former General one;) becauſe it is ſo Apodeictical, as is impoſſible to be eluded or ſhifted off, as to its Force and Cogency to my purpoſe. It is what *Luke* has recorded, *Chap.* 22. 43. *That*, when he was in the midſt of his Agony, *there appeared to him an Angel from Heaven, ſtrengthening him.* And yet it is immediately added, *v.* 44. *And being in an Agony, he prayed more earneſtly, and his Sweat was as it were great Drops of Blood falling down to the Ground.* As the Words immediately preceding are theſe, *ver.* 41, 42. *And he was withdrawn from them, about a Stone's Caſt, and kneeled down and prayed, ſaying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this Cup from me; nevertheleſs, not my Will, but thine be done.* I have thus ſet down the Words both that precede, and follow after the Account of the Angel's appearing to him, that we may be the better able to apprehend the State and Condition of our Saviour at this time. For, from hence it appears plain, 1*ſt*. That our Saviour was reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity, before the Angel's coming. 2*dly*. That, even after his Coming, his Agony continu'd to a very great degree. 3*dly*. That therefore all that the Angel could be ſuppoſed to do, when he is ſaid to ſtrengthen him; was (beſides comfortable and encouraging Advice, and Aſſurance, from God, of the Reward promiſed, if he did hold out to the laſt) to take care, that the *Prince of Devils*, who attack'd him at this time, might not take the Advantage of his having a mortal Body, by doing Violence to that, in order to prevent his being offered up a Sacrifice for Men upon the Croſs: For, could Satan have effected this, ſo as to have kill'd himſelf; the great End of Chriſt's Coming into the World had been fruſtrated, and the whole of the Scheme of the *Logos*, in recovering Mankind, as well as that of Chriſt's Prudential Conduct, had been intirely defeated and fallen to the Ground. As therefore it was the only Game Satan had then to play, to deſtroy Chriſt's Life, ſeeing he could not tempt him, any way, to diſhonour himſelf, or break his

Truſt, by any manner of Inſinuation; he became inraged at laſt, to that degree, as to bear in upon him, with all the Force of Hell, that he might kill him on the Spot, and ſo prevent his further Proceedings againſt his Kingdom. This, I am ſatisfied, was the Cauſe of Chriſt's Agony at this time, and the occaſion of the Angel's being ſent to ſtrengthen him, by obliging Satan to abſtain from that Violence, which the Human Nature of Chriſt had otherwiſe been unable to reſiſt. And I make no queſtion, but that *Satan* appeared to him *viſibly*, in the moſt terrible Form he could put on; even as he had formerly appeared viſibly to him, for 40 Days together, when he tempted him in the *Wilderneſs*, *Luke* 4. 2, *&c.* If any Man will object, that our former Divines uſed to give another Reaſon of Chriſt's being in an Agony, *viz.* that *he was then under the Senſe of God's Anger*; I need only tell ſuch an Objector, that as I have already ſhewed the Abſurdity of this Notion, ſo I need go no further than our preſent Text to do it again unanſwerably; ſeeing, beſides his calling God by the familiar Title of Father, the Miſſion of the Angel or Angels (for I do ſuppoſe, that the Angel mention'd was at the Head of many more, even as the Prince of Devils was at the Head of his Helliſh Army) to ſtrengthen him, was certainly an Evidence of Love. However, this leads me to obſerve, in the 4*th* Place, what I principally deſign here, by the Citation of theſe Words, *viz.* That *Chriſt* acted here as *a Man only*, and not as *Loganthropos*; nay, that the *Logos* was ſo far from acting in and by the *Man Chriſt*, that he was intirely gone from him, by a total Suſpenſion of Aſſiſtance; excepting, that, beſides the continuance of the Relation and Union, which was ever indiſſolvable, he took care that the Devil ſhould not have power to invade the Human Nature, by any further Attack, than it was able juſt to ſupport it ſelf againſt. For, had not this been the Caſe, how monſtrous would it appear to be to all Reaſon, that the *Logos* ſtood in need of *one created Angel*, or an Army of them, to aſſiſt him to protect his own

own *Human Nature*, against *another created Angel*, tho at the Head of all the Devils united. But as we explain the Words, there is nothing at all indecorous in this matter. For, if the *Logos* had now withdrawn his Influences from the *Man Christ* (which he was oblig'd to do, according to his expreſs Agreement with the *Father*, as I ſtated the Caſe above) and if then (as it neceſſarily follows) *Christ* was left to himſelf, *as Man*, to act the beſt he could; it was no way indecorous for him, who, *as Man*, *was made a little lower than the Angels*, to need the Aſſiſtance of *an Angel*, when he was encounter'd and attack'd, under innumerable Diſadvantages, by *the Greateſt* of all the *infernal Spirits*, at the Head, no doubt, of the *ſtrongeſt Army* that ever *Hell* ſent forth. Now, had Chriſt acted here as *Loganthropos*, as he did a little after, when *he tumbl'd the whole band of Souldiers to the Ground*, all at once, with a word, *John* 18. 6. there had been no need of any Angel either to comfort or ſtrengthen him. It was therefore neceſſary, that *Chriſt* ſhould be left to himſelf, *as Man*, in this grand Conflict. For which purpoſe, his Words to *Peter*, upon his cutting off the Ear of *Malchus*, deſerves ſpecial Conſideration, *Matth.* 26. 53, 54. *Thinkeſt thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father* (or as I ſhould chuſe to render the Words, in a reference to the former, *ver.* 52. *Doſt thou think, viz.* that there is need of making uſe of the Sword, *as if I cannot pray now to my Father*, &c.) *and he ſhall preſently ſend me* (upon ſuch a Demand) *more than* 12 *Legions of Angels, i. e.* I could have them, if I did act as *Loganthropos*. But that cannot be, in this Caſe. *For how then ſhall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it muſt be, viz.* ſuch Scriptures as *Iſa.* 53. 10. and *Dan.* 9. 26.

And now, by this time, I hope the Reader will ſee, how juſtly I have aſcribed the Actions, as well as Sufferings of *Chriſt*, to the *Man Jeſus*, and not to the *Logos*, evin conſider'd formally as *Loganthropos*.

But here I foreſee, that it will be objected, that this Propoſition of mine ſeems to be ſubverſive of *Chriſt's Merits and Satisfaction*, ſeeing we cannot ſuppoſe that

a mere Creature could ever merit any thing at the hand of God, or do any thing that could be look'd upon to be a just Satisfaction to Divine Justice, for the Sins of Mankind. To which I answer, 1*st*. That I pre-occupied this Objection before, in asserting; That, tho *Christ* did and suffer'd so and so, not as *Loganthropos*, but as Man; Yet the Actions and Sufferings of the Man Christ, drew their Virtue, Efficacy or Value, from the Consideration of the *Union* of the *Man Christ* with the *Logos*. And therefore I laid down this, as the third Article, insisted upon by the *Logos*, in his Contract with the Father, and agreed unto by him. But then, in the 2*d* Place, in order to corroborate this, let us consider, that had the Actions and Sufferings of the *Man Christ*, been formally the Actions and Sufferings of the *Logos*, tho considered as under the Notion of *Loganthropos*, or as united to the Human Nature, (supposing but not granting the possibility of his Suffering this way) there had not been any room left for Merit at all, in any Propriety of Speech. For what Merit could it be for one Infinite in Wisdom and Power, to overcome an Enemy, such as *Satan*, who is, in all respects, finite. This had been so far from laying the Foundation of Satisfaction, that it had been below the *Logos*, to have fought one infinitely his Inferiour. And, the addition of *Man* to the *Logos*, or the Consideration of Christ as *God-Man*, will not salve the matter here, especially to those that make the Objection; seeing it is taken for granted by all our Divines, that the *Logos* did not *assume a Man*, into *Union* with himself, *i. e. a human Person*, but only *the Human Nature*. So that, according to this Position, whatever Christ did, was formally done by the *Logos personally considered*, notwithstanding of the Union of the Human Nature, with the Person of the *Logos*: for certain it is, that the Actions of an intelligent Person or Subsistence, must relate formally to him as such, and not to his Nature, abstracting from all Consideration of his Personality: For if we abstract from this, so as that his Actions be not supposed to proceed from him, as a Person,

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it must follow that we do disown him to be a Person at all.

But I must own, that when I consider this matter closely, I cannot but suspect the Truth of this commonly received Notion, of the *Logos* his assuming into *Union* with himself, not *a Human Person*, or *a Man*, but *a Human Nature devoid of Personality*: and therefore I must say of it, as before, that it savours more of the *Schoolmen* than the *Bible*.

I know very well, what has made our Divines universally run into this Notion, *viz.* the supposed Monstrosity of asserting Christ to be *two Persons united*, and the hard name of *Nestorianism*, as well as the hard Usage of that poor Man of old. But, why may not Christ *as Logos* be considered as *one Person*, and *as Man another Person*; and yet be justly spoken of, and look'd upon to be but *one Person*, in another and more general Sense, *as Loganthropos*, upon the Account of the Union into which the *Logos* has assumed the *Man Christ*. And in this Sense (the only Sense that is both intelligible and Scriptural) I assert Christ to be *one Person only*, *viz.* when considered at *Loganthropos*, or *the Logos and the Man Christ united*. For, as this agrees with Scripture, so it is no more inconceivable, than that *Adam* and *Eve*, who were certainly two distinct Persons, should be spoken of, and look'd upon, in another Sense, as one and the same Man or Person, by reason of their intimate *Marriage-State*? And yet, God speaks of them in this Dialect, *Gen.* 1. 27. *God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him; Male and Female created he them.* Nay he determines them to make up one Man between them, and teaches *Adam* to own this as true Doctrine, and to speak in this Dialect, when he says, *ch.* 2. 24. *They shall be one Flesh, or one Man.* And therefore *Moses* tells us that the very Name of *Adam* was, in a General Sense, common to the Woman as well as the Man, *Gen.* 5. 1, 2. *This is the Book of the Generations of* Adam, *in the day that God created Man. In the Likeness of God made he him, Male*

and Female created he them, and called their Name Adam, *in the Day when he created them.*

And indeed, it seems to me to be altogether unintelligible and more dangerous, to assert the Union of the *Divine* and *Human Nature*, in their Sense, under the cover of *one Person*, than two; seeing to suppose an immediate Union, between the Infinite Nature of God, which is *common* to all the *three Glorious Persons* of the Trinity, and the finite Nature of Man, in such a manner, as that the *Human Nature* partakes equally in the Character of the *Personality* of the *Logos*, as the Divine does; seems to raise the *Human Nature* too high, to be accounted such any longer, seeing its Actions must henceforth be reckon'd the Actions of the *Logos*, as a Person; the Human Nature being considered here, as having no Personality else at all.

And sure I am, that the Scriptures speak of Christ, to be as much and as really τελείῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, *a compleat Man* (as the Council of *Constantinople* determin'd of old against the *Apollinarians*;) as they do agree, that he is, in another Sense, the *Logos*, or Eternal Son of God; and, as such, ἀληθὸς θεὸς, *truly and properly God*, as the Synod of *Nice* concluded, in opposition to the *Arrians*. Now how Christ can be *a compleat Man*, or indeed *a Man at all*, in any Propriety either of Speech or Sense, unless he have a *Human Personality*, I confess, is beyond my reach to apprehend. For without this, a Human Nature, in an abstracted Sense, can never be said to be a determinate Man: and indeed is so inconceivable a thing, that I can as little form an Idea of it, as of *Forma substantialis*, *Universale à parte rei*, or such like Gibberish of the *Schoolmen*. And, if, to make the *Human Nature a Person*, we must suppose it to partake of the Divine and *Eternal Personality* of the *Logos*, and yet so as to partake of this, in *time only*, and in *a finite Sense*, so as to become a Person, without being, as such, either *a Human Person* at all, or *a Divine Person*: I say, if we must suppose these unintelligible Inconsistencies, I leave those Orthodox Gentlemen, that talk thus, to

please

pleaſe themſelves with them; for I do not ſuppoſe others will envy them this Sort of Satisfaction. Only, I would beg them, to condeſcend ſo far to others, as to let us know, whether, by this Poſition, [*viz. that Chriſt aſſumed Human Nature, without a Human Perſonality,*] they mean, that Chriſt aſſumed *univerſal Human Nature? or a determinate and particular Human Nature?* If the *former*, then it follows, *either*, that all Men beſides were only *Entia Rationis, i. e.* Perſonalities, without any ſhare in the Human Nature; or *otherwiſe*, that, tho other Men did partake of the Human Nature, as well as Chriſt, yet Chriſt had all ſtill; which is, I confeſs, *univerſale a parte rei*, with a Witneſs. But, if they underſtand their Poſition, in the *ſecond Senſe*; then they and I differ in words only. For I defy them to give me any other *Idea* of a *Human Perſon* than this, *viz. One who partakes of the Human Nature, or one, in whom the Human Nature is determined ſo, as to ſpecify him to be ſuch or ſuch a Man or Human Perſon.* And if the *Logos* did thus aſſume the *Human Nature*, they muſt mean what I aſſert here, whether they will or not; tho perhaps they will not ſee this, through a Prejudice at the Words *Perſon*, and *Perſonality*, in this caſe; tho as innocently uſed here, as upon any other occaſion.

Seeing therefore, I am neceſſarily obliged to ſpeak and think after this manner; I hope none will look upon me as *Heretical*, in keeping by the *Form of ſound Words*, which the Spirit of God has taught me; without regarding the Authority of thoſe Great Men, who, inur'd to *Aquinas* and ſuch like old Monkiſh Authors, have ſpoken they knew not how, from the fear of I know not what phantaſtical Errors, in caſe of ſuppoſing that the *Logos* united to himſelf, for his own Purpoſes, the *Human Perſon* of *him*, that was born of the *Virgin Mary*, and ſuffered at *Jeruſalem* under *Pontius Pilate*.

If any ask, but what Sort of Union can we ſuppoſe that to be between the *Perſon of the Logos*, and the *Perſon of the Man Chriſt*? I anſwer, I know not; nor is it needful that any ſhould know. But, becauſe I comprehend

prehend not the πῶς, *i. e.* the *Modus*, or how it is, must I therefore deny the thing? I suppose those that put the Question, do not pretend to tell, how the Divine and Human Nature are united, in the Person of the *Logos*; upon the Supposition, that any that reads this, doth still persist in that odd Opinion. And therefore the Difficulty is at least equally unanswerable the one way, as well as the other. Shall I deny that the *Three Glorious Persons* of the *Trinity* are *united*, because I am not able to understand what Sort of Union it is, by which they come to be united so, as to be, in a proper Sense, one, as well as in another Sense, three? And, why then should I deny the *Union* of the *Divine* and *Human Person*, in Christ, as *Loganthropos*; more than that of the Union or Unity of the *three Persons* in the Deity? Is there any Man, that can pretend to know the Nature of all possible Unions? or indeed of all Actual Ones, or such that really are? The Union between the Persons of the Trinity; the Union between Christ and the Church in general; the Union between him and a particular Believer; are all real Unions, in their kind, and not imaginary things: And yet they are all different Sorts of Union. And why then should we deny this Union between the *Logos*, as a *Divine Person*, and the *Man Christ*, as an *Human Person*; tho it be a different kind of Union, from all the rest? Nay, are we able to unriddle the Nature of the Union of the Soul and Body? or can we conceive how Angels were united with Bodies, assumed for a time? wherein yet they acted, walked, discours'd, eat and drank, and were not only seen, but sometimes even felt too. Nay who is that Man, that can pretend to know what the Nature of abundance of material Unions are; such as those, that lay a Foundation of different and opposite *Sympathies* and *Antipathies*, that are commonly observ'd among Men, as well as other Creatures.

But, tho we are not able to tell the Nature of this Union, by which the *Logos* and *Man Christ*, come to be look'd upon, in a general Sense, to be *one* and *the same Person*,

Person, under the Notion of *Loganthropos*; at the same time, that, in *other respects*, they are considered and spoken of as *two Persons*: Yet, there is perhaps no *Union*, that we are more oblig'd to believe than this, if we own the Scriptural Revelation at all. And the Reason of this my Assertion is; because, without this, it is impossible to form any Conception of Christ's Acting as the *Second Adam*, or second *federal Head* of *Men*; or indeed to believe the *Satisfaction* of Christ; or so much as the Verity of Matters of Fact, recorded in the Gospels.

I hope therefore, that by this time the calm and inquisitive Reader, will either be altogether of my mind, or otherwise see reason to suspect the Common Notion that has so long and so generally obtain'd in the Church. But that I may put this point beyond dispute for the future with impartial Men, (tho I pretend not to be capable of putting that, or indeed any thing beyond the Cavils of some Men) I shall yet say something more upon this Head, before I proceed further, by proposing five Questions.

Quest. 1. Was not Christ, in one Sense, as really and truely *the Son of Man*, as he was, in another Sense, *the Son of God*? If he was; then I ask again, whether a *Human Sonship* can be conceived of, without involving in it the Notion of *a Human Personality*, any more than *a Divine Sonship* can be supposed without involving in it the Notion of a Divine Personality? If it cannot; then I enquire further, whether *Christ* can be conceived of as the *Son* of the Virgin *Mary*, or understood to speak Sense himself, when he so commonly calls himself the *Son of Man*, unless my Notion of Christ as Man, be imbraced.

Quest. 2. Whether it be not peculiar to the Persons of the Glorious Trinity to be so united in Nature or Essence, as to have it common to them only, and incommunicable to any Creature whatsoever? And whether then it be not both inconceivable and unscriptural, to assert *such a Hypostatical Union* of the

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Human Nature, with the *Divine*, as to have all its Actions look'd upon to be the *proper Actions* of the *Person* of the *Logos*?

Queſt. 3. Whether there be any one Expreſſion, in all the Bible, that does ſo much as neceſſarily inſinuate or ſuppoſe, that the *Logos* aſſumed the *Human Nature*, without a *Human Perſonality*? I can, for my own part, think of none, (*s*) nor find any aſſigned, that can be, ſo much as probably interpreted this way, unleſs the Words of the Apoſtle ſhould be ſuppoſed to look this way, *Heb.* 2. 16. When he ſays, that *Chriſt took not upon him the Nature of Angels, but the Seed of Abraham.* But ſo far are theſe words from favouring the old Opinion, that they do indeed overturn it, by ſaying that Chriſt *took upon him*, or took hold of the Seed of *Abraham*, *i. e.* form'd to himſelf a Man thereof, ſo as to become a *Son of Abraham*, and, in this Senſe, to be as really a Man, as any of us are. And therefore, it is immediately added, *ver.* 17. *Wherefore, in all things, it behoved him to be made like unto his Brethren.* And now that I have mention'd this, let me form a new Query from it.

Queſt. 4. Whether what the Apoſtle aſſerts here, be not falſe, in caſe the ordinary Notion be true? ſeeing if Chriſt aſſumed the *Human Nature*, ſo as not to be a *Human Perſon*, he muſt be ſuppoſed to be really and eſſentially *unlike* all his Brethren. And, it will be in vain to elude the Force of this Reaſoning, by aſſigning other Senſes of *Likeneſs*; ſeeing the preceding Verſe nails it down ſo, as to put it beyond doubt, that the Apoſtle meant it of the thing, that the Son of God aſſumed, eſſentially conſidered: So that it muſt be a *Man*, or *Human Nature*, *ſo and ſo determin'd* in particular, and not an unintelligible *individuum Vagum*, or

(*s*) *All this is uſually ſaid, on this Head; is to preſent us with a* Simile *(inſtead of Reaſon) drawn from the Union of Soul and Body; which is as eaſily rejected as adduced.*

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Human Nature, in such a *lank Sense*, as is inconceivable to all Reason, unless it be as an Absurdity. And therefore once more.

Quest. 5. Supposing, that it had been possible, that the *Logos* could have assumed a *Human Nature*, without a *Human Personality*; yet How could Christ have been, this way, a *Man* at all, in any Propriety of Speech? Could he be *a Man*, that was not a *Human Person*? This were in other Words to say, that he was a real Man, at the same time that he was not a real Man. So that unless we run into the greatest Absurdity and grossest Contradiction, we must quit this old, and I hope by this time obsolete Notion, as equally unscriptural and unphilosophical.

I might say much more on this Head. But I hardly think, that any intelligent Man, after this, can ever suppose, that the Apostle ever dreamt of our late Philosophical Notion, which I have shew'd the Ridiculousness of. Did the Apostle think of this, when he says, *Rom.* 5. 12—15, *&c. Wherefore as by* one Man *Sin entred into the World*——*So the Grace of God, and the Gift by Grace, hath abounded by* one Man *Jesus Christ*. But I forbear to add more now.

If any say, But I must not determine what is possible or impossible to God. I answer, I am far from doing so, in a true Sense. But this Objection, as made against me here, is no other, than that old senseless one of the Papists, in favour of *Transubstantiation*. And therefore, as the Protestants have answered a thousand times over, in that case, so do I in this; *viz.* that I do determine no further, as to this Point, than in those things, that are in their own Nature impossible. If it be impossible for God to lie, as the Scripture justly asserts; it is no less impossible, for God to make two parts of a Contradiction to be equally true: For that were to suppose, that one and the same thing could so be made as to be equally at the same time, and in the same respects, both true and false. There is not one Principle of Philosophy

or

or Reason, more certain than this; *That a thing cannot be, and not be, at the same time.* And I never heard of any Sceptick, that ever call'd this in Question. And yet such is the Absurdity of this old confused and confounding Opinion; that it supposes *Christ to be really and properly a Man, at the same time that he is really and properly no Man.* I am far from charging any Man, that has held this Opinion, with this Absurdity: For I am apprehensive, that this was, as many other things, never exactly consider'd before; and I am ever careful to keep close to this Rule, *to charge no Man with any thing, as his Opinion, which he does not hold formally and* in terminis *to be such, however naturally it may be deduced, by way of Consequence, from what he owns to be his Opinion.* And I readily own, that I thought and spoke the same way, that others have done hitherto, until God was pleased to enlighten me further, whilst I was pursuing the Thread of the present Subject. But tho I do as little reflect upon others this way, as upon my self; yet I hope I may charge the Opinion it self, when narrowly considered, with involving the Absurdity, which I have, I think, prov'd it to involve.

But, in case, after all I have said, I be judg'd by others to be mistaken, I hope they will act by the same Rule to me, by which I act towards them; and therefore that they will not load me, with holding any strange unscriptural, or absurd Opinion, by Consequences drawn from what I have said, which I never dreamt of. But, lest Ignorance and Prejudice (the only Enemies I fear in this Case) should misrepresent me, as if I had some other Notion or Design, than I have, in this part of my Discourse; I shall subjoin a summary Account of my Faith, as to the Grand Article thereof, agreeable to the Sentiment of the ancient Christian Church, according to the Determinations of the General Councils, and particularly (t) *that* of the *Synod of Chalcedon.*

(t) Syn. Chalc. Art. 5. p. 340.

And,

And, 1. I believe, with the *Council of Nice*, in opposition to the Opinion both of the *Arrians* and *Socinians*; That Christ is ἀληθῶς θεὸς, *truly and properly God*, as he is the *Logos*. And I hope I may be allowed to say, that no Man has set this matter in a clearer Light, than I have done, in the preceding Book.

2. I do as firmly believe, That our Blessed Saviour, is τελείως ἄνθρωπος, truely and really Man; as the *Council* of *Constantinople* agreed, in opposition to the *Apollinarian* Heresy.

3. And, in Case *Nestorius* and his Followers were guilty of the Error of denying the Union of the Divine and Human Nature of Christ, I do as readily as any Man, condemn this as an Error. For I own, with the *Council of Ephesus*, that the *two Natures* are united, in the Person of Christ, ἀδιαιρέτως, *i. e. without Division.* Nay I do not only assert, that the *two Natures* are united, so as never to have been actually divided; but I readily approve of the further cautionary Word added by the *Council of Chalcedon*, that they are united, ἀχωρίστως, *i. e. inseparably*: For I make no question of the Eternity of this Union, by what account the Scripture gives us of this matter.

4. I do believe the *Eutychians* to have been grosly mistaken, when they talk'd of such a Union as denoted a *Mixture* of the *Divine* and *Human Nature* in Christ, as if they had been *blended* or *confounded* together; or, according to the Dialect of others, that the two Natures were *converted* or *changed* the one into the other, in which they seem to have been at mighty odds among themselves (as is common in all such confused and wild Errors) some supposing, that the *Divine Nature* was changed into the *Human*; and others, that the *Human* was changed into the *Divine*. And I do therefore readily own with the same *Synod of Chalcedon*, that the *Divine* and *Human Nature* of *Christ*, were united, ἀσυγχύτως and ἀτρέπτως, that is, *without Confusion* as to both, and *without Conversion*, *i. e.* of either of them into the other.

If

If any say, but how is the 3*d* Article of this Confession consistent with what I said before, when I denied an *Union of Natures*, and asserted *an Union of Persons*? I answer, that if what I said before be duly considered, there is no Difference at all. For I know no Difference between a *Human Person, and the Human Nature, as it is specified and determin'd to denote this or the other Man.* My Design was therefore to shew the Unaccuracy and Confusion of the Common Opinion, as it is usually explain'd, or rather asserted. But, as I love not to speak in the dark, so I love not to quarrel about words, when Truth is once secured. And therefore, if by that *Human Nature*, which was united to the *Divine*, in the *Person of the Son of God*, we understand *that determinate Human Nature*, which denominated him *the Son of Mary*, and thus *the Son of Man*, and upon the account of which he is called *the Man Christ Jesus*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. I am fully agreed to speak in the usual Dialect of Christians, since the Days of *Nestorius* and *Cyril*. For, as I firmly believe Christ, to be both *the Son of God* and *Son of Man*, in different respects; so I do as firmly believe, that the Union of these is such (tho I pretend not to comprehend it, as being an Article of Faith and not of Science) that we can conceive of Christ, as he is *Loganthropos*, or the *Logos* made Man, no otherwise than as *one Person*; at the same time, that, abstracting from this Consideration, it is impossible to conceive of a *particular Human Nature*, destitute of a *Personality*, to be united to the *Logos*; any more, than it is possible to conceive that the Man Christ could be united to the *Divine Nature*, as *determined* to the *Second Person* of the Trinity, rather than to the first and third; and suppose, at the same time, that the *Divine Nature*, as thus *determined* to the *Second Person*, was destitute of its proper or specifick *Personality*. And I must, for ever, abandon all Pretence to Thought and Reason, if we have not an equal Ground, and as necessitating an one too, for our asserting the one, as for our asserting the other. For, if we are obliged to assert this; That the *Person* of the

Logos

Logos was united to the Man Christ, and not the *Divine Nature*, abstracting from this *Determination* to the *second Person*, or *Personality* of the *Logos*; seeing otherwise we must suppose, that the *Father and Holy Spirit* were equally united with the *Manhood*, as the *Son*: Are we not, upon the account of the same Idea, applied the other way, equally, and as much oblig'd to assert, that the *Man Jesus Christ*, as thus specified and distinguish'd from all the rest of the Individuals that partake of *Human Nature*, was united to the *Logos*? seeing otherwise, we must either speak the grossest and most palpable Contradiction, or assert, that all Men that ever liv'd or are to live, are equally united, as Christ was with the *Divine Nature* of the *Logos*, in as far as they partake of the same *Common Human Nature*, that Christ did partake of. And, if this be once allowed of, all Christianity, as well as Ratiocination upon such Points, is enervated at once. For then, we must suppose that every Man is equally united to the *Logos*, as *Christ* was; and that every Man (even *Cain* and *Judas*) is as highly exalted, in a relation to God, as *Jesus*; yea, and as much the Author of Salvation as he was. Nay, even the Error of *Eutiches* and his Followers, with the Absurdities that follow the same, must be supposed to be true, unless what I have advanced be received. For it is impossible to conceive that the Human Nature, without any Personality of its own, can be immediately united to the Divine Nature, so as to partake of its Personality; and avoid, at the same time, all hazard of concluding, that these Natures must therefore reciprocally partake of one another's Properties. So that it needs be no wonder, that *Eutiches* run into such an Error, by attempting to explain and defend what was incapable of either Explication or Proof; when he pretended to demonstrate, that the Virgin *Mary* was the Mother of Christ, as he was God, in opposition to poor *Nestorius*, who never denied, that I can find, that *Mary* was the *Mother of God*, if the Phrase was rightly explained, but only taught that the

Senſe ſhould be given thus, *viz.* (*u*) that the Virgin *Mary* was the Mother of Chriſt, not as he was God, or the Son of God, but as he was Man only, *i. e.* the Man who died at *Jeruſalem*. But whatever the Controverſy was then, between *Neſtorius* and *Cyrillus*, (who was a hot and violent Man, and was perhaps his Enemy, from (*w*) a Deſign to get his fat Archbiſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*,

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(*u*) *That I ſpeak nothing in this, without Authority, I need only refer the Reader to conſider what* Socrates *ſays of* Neſtorius *and his Opinion, and the Contentions that roſe upon that account. And we may believe him the more, becauſe he ſeems to be exceedingly prejudic'd againſt him, (tho he would perſwade us that he was not) calling him a weak, ignorant, conceited and arrogant Man. And yet, when he comes to give us an Account of his Hereſy,* Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 32. *He owns, that he was unjuſtly cenſur'd by thoſe, who reckon'd him to hold the ſame Opinion with* Paulus Samaſatenſis *and* Photinus, *who held, That* Chriſt was a mere Man only. *But, ſays he, I have read his own Writings, and I find, that his whole Error was this, that he was afraid to call the Virgin* Deiparam [Θεοτόκον] the Mother *or* Bringer-forth of God. *But in what Senſe* Neſtorius *ſcrupl'd to uſe that Expreſſion, we may learn from* Evagrius Scholaſticus, Lib. 1. cap. 7. *who, tho a moſt bitter and inveterate Enemy of his, calling him conſtantly an impious Fellow, a vile Heretick and Blaſphemer; yet produces nothing againſt him, but the ſame Scrupulosity, in uſing that Phraſe, in a proper Senſe, which it ſeems then was a main Article of Faith. Now to fix the greater Odium upon him, on this Head, he cites ſeveral Paſſages out of the Letters which poor* Neſtorius *ſent to ſome Great Men then, in order to beg that the Perſecution againſt him (which was barbarouſly ſevere) might be, at leaſt mitigated. And amongſt thoſe Paſſages, there is this memorable one, wherein* Neſtorius *writes,* That finding the Church ſplit unhappily into two Parts; one Party aſſerting, that the *Virgin Mary* was only ἀνθρωποτόκον, *the* Mother *of Chriſt, as* a mere Man; and the other Party aſſerting, *that ſhe was* θεοτόκον, *the* Mother *of* God, as ſuch; I was, ſays he, afraid, to uſe either Expreſſion, leaſt I might either ſink her Character too low, or raiſe it too high, and therefore I call'd her χριστοτόκον, *the* Mother of Chriſt. *Now this modeſt Account of* Neſtorius, *is cenſur'd by* Evagrius, *as a bold* Defence of his Blaſphemy. *But let the Reader judge how ſubtle Men were then, to find Blaſphemy in theſe Words.*

(*w*) *If any ask, Why I ſuſpect* Cyrillus *ſo far as this comes to? I anſwer, becauſe I cannot otherwiſe imagine, how a Man of his Learning, Parts and Character, ſhould have acted ſo furiouſly againſt* Neſtorius, *and in ſo intriguing a manner. For,* 1. *It is plain from all the Accounts of the Synod of* Epheſus, *that condemned* Neſtorius, *(tho we have no other Account*

ſtantinople, if not for himſelf, yet for ſome Friend) I am perſwaded, that what I have ſaid on this Head will be unwelcome to none, but ſuch as are either ſottiſhly ignorant, or unaccountably prejudic'd.

And now, ſeeing not only how true our Aſſertion is, but of what Importance likewiſe; I ſhall return, and take ſome Notice of Chriſt's *Satisfaction* to Divine Juſtice, for Mens Sins, as he was Man, by Virtue of

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Account than that which his bitter Enemies have given us) that Cyrillus *acted an intriguing and falſe Part there; in precipitating the Sentence before the Arrival of the Eaſtern Biſhops; as even* Valeſius *owns, in his Annotations on the* 34th *Chapter of the* 7th *Book of* Socrates. *For the Story is, in ſhort, this:* Cyrillus *and his Party puſh on the Sentence againſt* Neſtorius, *before the Synod was fully met; and ſend him the Copy of his being depoſed from his Office and Benefice.* Neſtorius *ſends this to the Emperor, with a Complaint of his Enemies, both as to their Fraud and Violence, and repreſenting the Injuſtice of the Sentence, as being paſt, before the Arrival of the Eaſtern Biſhops. And ten Biſhops ſign this Relation of* Neſtorius, *as containing the very Truth of this Matter. Five Days after this Sentence,* John *Biſhop of* Antioch, *with the Eaſtern Biſhops, arrives; who deteſting this unjuſt Proceeding, calls a Council of the other Party, and depoſes* Cyril *and* Memnon; *as* Cyril *again depoſes him. The reſt of the Story is tedious. But* Cyril *prevails with the Emperor, and ſo* Neſtorius *fell by the Secular Arm, and was moſt cruelly uſed afterwards.* 2. *Certain it is, that* Neſtorius *did tax* Cyrillus *with ſome ſuch Deſign: For ſo* Evagrius *inſinuates,* Lib. 1. cap. 7. *and he undertakes to vindicate* Cyrillus; *but does it ſo lamely, as increaſes my Suſpition. For indeed all he does is to magnify the one, and rail at the other, without giving one Reaſon for his ſo doing. Only he is pleas'd to call the terrible Perſecution againſt* Neſtorius, *by the Name of God's puniſhing him for Hereſy; and to confirm all, he ſays, that he read in a certain Author, that* Neſtorius *his Tongue was eaten away by Worms, and that then he went to Hell. He was, I ſuppoſe, aſham'd to name his Author. And I am ſure, he might have equally been aſham'd to write ſo ſcurrilouſly as he does; which is ſo little either like a Chriſtian or Hiſtorian, that a Heathen could hardly have allowed himſelf to have acted ſuch a Part.* 3. *I ſuſpect this the rather, becauſe the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, tho they were too much* Cyril's *Friends to mention his Name, yet inſinuate that his Party kept out* Proclus *from ſucceeding* Neſtorius, *by trumping up an old* Canon *againſt the Tranſlation of Biſhops, he being then Biſhop of* Cyzicus. *Now, whether the* Canon *was miſtaken, (as* Socrates *contends) by the Party, or whether there was really ſuch a* Canon *(as* Valeſius *ſays) is nothing to my purpoſe. Tho, by the bye, I wonder how* Valeſius *comes to inſiſt upon this ſo much, ſeeing the* Pope *was*

of

the Union of the Person of the *Man Christ*, with the Person of the *Logos*. For tho, according to the Rule I have laid down to my self, (*viz.* not to treat professedly of any Head, that has been fully cleared up already) I am not to discourse of the Satisfaction of Christ largely: Yet I cannot altogether omit this weighty Point. And yet I hope the Reader may find that Advantage, by what I shall say on this Head, (tho touch'd upon, as it were, by the bye) which he will not easily meet with in some, even of those Authors, that have made it their Business to treat of this Subject particularly and fully. But, to proceed; let these things following be duly considered here.

1. That, when the *Logos* had formed to himself *a Man*, partaking of the *Common Human Nature*, and had united *this Man* to *himself*; it follow'd in course; 1. That this *Man* must be innocent and sinless; and,

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of another Mind, as Socrates *relates*, Chap. 40. *However I cannot but take notice how cunningly the Party of* Cyrillus *trumpt up this Canon, to keep out a Man of the fairest Character of all the Bishops of that Age; in order to get in* Maximianus, *a poor superstitious Tool of a Monk: For this is the best that* Socrates *has to say of him, tho he do it in softer Words. But he dying in a little time after,* Proclus, *who it seems was aware of* Cyrillus, *got the Roman Bishop to write to him not to oppose his Election; and the Emperor favouring his Election likewise, I suppose* Cyril *was too politick to meddle any more. If then any ask, Why I suspect* Cyril *to have opposed* Proclus *at first? I answer, because, as I said but just now, the Roman Bishop wrote to him not to oppose him now; which supposes that he had done so before. But, if the Question be, Why* Cyril *was his Enemy? I answer, because he knew* Proclus *would never be his or any Man's Tool, in persecuting those of different Sentiments; for this was his professed Opinion, that it was unjust to do so, and accordingly his Practice was a Refutation of the violent Methods of* Cyril *and his Party. See his Character this way, in* Socr. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 41. —— *But, after all, in case any should think me too favourable to* Nestorius, *I do declare, that I have no great Opinion of the Man. For I think he deserv'd all the Severity he met with, from the hands of God, upon the account of his barbarous Persecution of the* Macedonian Hereticks; *for which* Socrates *does justly censure him*, Lib 7. cap. 31. *Only I think he was as unjustly persecuted by* Cyrillus *and his Party, upon the Reasons already assign'd. And had we any account of this Affair from an impartial Historian, I question not, but that what I propose here conjecturally, would appear to be no more than the Truth.*

2. That,

2. That, by virtue of his *Relation* to, and *Union* with the *Perſon* of the *Logos*, what he did bore a Character more than Human; and (upon the Suppoſition of a previous *Agreement* between the *Father* and the *Logos* this way) his Performance came, by Virtue of the ſame *Relation* and *Union*, to be *meritorious*, and of Divine Value and Efficacy.

2. That, ſeeing the *Logos* aſſumed *the Man Chriſt* into *Union* with himſelf, in order to defeat Satan, and to deſtroy his uſurped Dominion over Men; and thus to lay a Foundation for their Salvation; It was neceſſary, 1. That *the Man Chriſt* ſhould be in a *ſtate of Trial*, during the time of his Converſe among Men; 2. That he ſhould act (as I have formerly ſaid) the *very Reverſe* of that Part, which the *Firſt Man* acted. As therefore, he muſt be ſuppoſed to be under the greateſt Engagements, to defend himſelf, ſo as to *ſuſtain* all the Attacks of Men and Devils, without any Diſhonour to himſelf, or Prejudice to the Cauſe which he eſpouſed: So, likewiſe, to be animated with that Vigour and Reſolution, as to act offenſively againſt his Enemies, and that with ſuch Glory to himſelf, as to defeat them intirely, notwithſtanding of all the Diſadvantages he himſelf was under. Hence it was, (*x*) that he *conquer'd Death by dying*, (*y*) and *led captive Principalities and Powers*; (*z*) making thus *an open ſhew of 'em*, as the Apoſtle ſays, *even upon the Croſs*.

Therefore, 3. We muſt conclude likewiſe, that our Saviour, was *a publick Perſon*, and oblig'd to act as ſuch in the ſtead and for the ſake of others. For this is the very eſſential and principal Notion of the *Man Chriſt*, in this preſent Relation; That he was put into the room and place of the *Firſt Man*, and conſequently repreſented all Mankind as he had done; in order not only to *render all Men ſalvable*, ſo as *fallen Angels* were not; but likewiſe *actually* to *ſave all ſuch*, as, renouncing the *Old Adam*, ſhould come and put themſelves

(*x*) 1 Cor. 15. 54. (*y*) Eph. 4. 8. (*z*) Col. 2. 15

under his *Patronage*, with a concern to act as his ſpiritual Children, in order to attain thus to glorify and enjoy God.

But, 4. In order to obtain this Power and Authority as Man, it was neceſſary that he ſhould *merit* this *Supream Headſhip* over Mankind, in order to reach the ends I juſt now mention'd. And, he could not otherwiſe *merit* ſuch Favours for *Lapſed Men*, but by being *a vicarious* and *ſubſtitute Sacrifice* of *Attonement* or *Propitiation* for us, and in our ſtead. And that he was ſo, is aſſerted plainly, and over and over again, in Scripture. He tells us himſelf, to this purpoſe, *Matth.* 20. 28. that *he gave himſelf* λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, *a Ranſom for many*; or, as the Apoſtle words it, ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, *a Ranſom* (or a vicarious Ranſom, as the Word denotes) *for all*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 6. Which Expreſſions we may properly enough join together, and call Chriſt (with relation to his Satisfaction) λύτρον ἀντίλυτρον, *i. e. a vicarious Ranſom*, or *a Ranſom given and accepted in the lieu and ſtead of that Ranſom, which was owing by us to Divine Juſtice*, or (in caſe of failure) *of that Miſery that we were bound over unto, and was intail'd upon us*, without ſuch a *Proviſo*. For, as we are told, 1 *John* 2. 1, 2. *Chriſt the righteous, is not only the Paraclete* of ſinful Men, but alſo ἱλασμος, *the Propitiation for our Sins, and not only for our Sins, but alſo for the Sins of the whole World.* For, ſays the ſame Apoſtle, *Chap.* 4. 10. God ſent his Son for this very end, that he might be a Propitiation for our Sins.

Were I to treat of Chriſt's Satisfaction here, I would, (1.) In the general, conſider and prove, that Chriſt did truly and really, tho in a Spiritual Senſe, execute the Office of a Prieſt; and *then*, (2.) More particularly treat of Chriſt's making Satisfaction to Divine Juſtice for us, for the Breach of God's Law, and the Affront thus done to his Authority. And in doing this, I ſhould be obliged to conſider theſe three Things diſtinctly; *viz. Firſt*, The Matter of this Satisfaction, or that by which Satisfaction was made, *viz.* Chriſt's Obedience, both

both active and passive. *Secondly*, The Nature of this Satisfaction, in its Properties: (where three Things would occur to be cleared, *viz.* its *Necessity*, its *Verity*, and its *Perfection.*) And then, *Thirdly*, Its Object, where what I hinted before, as to the stating of this Controversy, would properly fall in to be cleared. But all these things have been copiously discoursed of by others, and therefore I shall chuse to wave them.

Only there is one thing, the Misunderstanding of which has occasioned many Mistakes and Errors, which I shall briefly touch here. And this is, in what respect Christ is said to die for us, and in our stead. Which turns upon this one point, so far as I am now concerned to answer it; *viz.* Whether Christ paid the same individual Price, which we ought to have paid, according to the Tenour of the Covenant of Works, or Law of Innocency, which *Adam* broke; or whether he paid only what was a sufficient and full Equivalent, to that which we were otherwise obliged to have paid. Many Learned and Pious Divines have held the former. But others, who have look'd more narrowly into things, assert the latter only. And indeed sad Experience has let us see, that the former Opinion, tho no doubt honestly and piously meant, is unscriptural and besides the Truth. For besides, that this has given rise to wild Antinomian Conclusions; that seeing Christ has paid the very same Price, we have nothing at all to mind, as to Repentance, Faith and Obedience, which to mind were to impeach Christ's Merits and Satisfaction as imperfect: I say besides this, it will be found impossible for us, upon this Supposition, to stand our ground against the Socinian Arguments, brought from the Impossibility of Christ's paying the very same individual Price we were obliged to, because our Penalty was eternal Death and Misery, which Christ could never undergo. For Christ's Sufferings were not the *Idem*, but the *Tantundem* of what was threatned against *Adam* and his Posterity, in case of Disobedience. Besides, that it was we and not Christ that were then threatned. So that when God

accepted Christ's Sufferings for a limited time, instead of ours for Eternity; it is plain, *dum alius solvit, aliud solvitur*, that the change of the Person suffering includes another thing paid in lieu of our Suffering for ever. And tho Sin be represented in Scripture sometimes as a Debt, yet that is not the only nor principal Consideration it comes under. For it is most properly the Violation of God's Law, as the Apostle defines it (*a*): So that God is to be considered here, not so much as a Creditor, as a Legislator and Judge, requiring Satisfaction for the Transgression of his Law, without which he threatens to inflict the Punishment due to such Transgressors, according to the Letter and Rigour of the Threatning. Christ's Part therefore here was not so much that of a Surety, (tho that word be used to shew us that he was not properly the Debtor) as that of a Mediator, expiating Guilt, and making Reparation to Justice, some other way than by the Execution of the Law upon Offenders, according to the Threatning, considered in its proper and literal Sense.

Now since the Case is thus, we may easily discern the Invalidity of the Grounds, upon which the former Opinion is founded. Therefore when they say, *First*, That the Dignity of the Person of Christ makes up, what was wanting as to the Kind or Degree of the Punishment: This answers it self, and militates against them; since it is a plain Confession, that Christ suffered not the very same thing that was threatned against us, but something equivalent to it, which by reason of his Dignity and Worth, was as much as all our Sufferings for ever; nay, I shall add infinitely more, seeing upon this account he merited Salvation for us, which the Eternal Sufferings of all Sinners could never possibly have done. And therefore this suggests *another* Reason to shew that it was not the *Idem* that Christ suffered, seeing he merited by what he suffered. Which, by the

(*a*) 1 John 3, 4.

way,

way, lets us see the Absurdity of supposing that it was not Christ personally considered, but mystically, that suffered, as the Head of his People, in such a Sense, as if they actually suffered and merited in him. An Opinion monstrous in it self, as raising us up to a share in the Honour of Christ's Satisfaction, (when we are sure, that he trod this Winepress alone;) and dreadful in its Consequents; which are such as these, *viz.* That the Elect are as Holy and Righteous as Christ himself; that all their Sins were actually pardon'd at Christ's Death (nay some have been so absurd as to carry this up as high as Eternity, wisely jumbling the Decree to Pardon, and actual Pardon, together in one and the same Idea;) and that Christ did believe, repent and obey for them, so that there is no need for them to mind any of these, *&c.* But to return, *Secondly*, We are told in favour of this first Opinion, that Christ must have undergone eternal Death, had he not been able to free himself from it: It is plain from this also, that Christ did not pay the very same thing, which we were to pay. And again, *Thirdly*, When we are told, that if it was not the same thing actually, yet it was the same thing by Imputation: It is still plain, even from this Supposition of theirs, that it was not the very thing, which we were threatned with, that Christ suffered.

But, 5. (to go one step further) We must suppose, that what *the Man Jesus Christ* did and suffer'd, could never have been meritorious or satisfactory, had not Christ acted with that Wisdom and Exactness, in relation to *God Himself*, as the Party offended, which the *Logos* had agreed and promised, he should do; and that to that degree, as to agree, that his Father should himself be Judge and Umpire in this Affair.

And now, that I am come to this last concluding Head, of my Preliminary or Foundation-Work, in order to our understanding how *Christ* manag'd himself as the *Second Adam* or *Fœderal Head of Men*, during his *State of Probation*; in order to his obtaining the same more

more fully, in Point of ſupreme Agency, in a *State of Exaltation:* I need only deſire my Readers to recollect what I have ſaid, and to carry along with them the Sum and Connexion thereof; which I hope I need not abridge now, as not being willing to detain the Reader any longer, than mere neceſſity requires.

For I am ſure, that if the Reader do but apprehend the *Sum* and *Connexion* of what I have ſaid, he will readily ſee, that I did juſtly ſuppoſe the *Maxim*, mention'd in the beginning of this Chapter, to have been that by which our Saviour, *as Man*, manag'd himſelf, in reference to *inviſible Agents*, and conſequently to the *Supream Father* of all, in the firſt place. For to him, he ſtood in a moſt ſpecial *Relation as Son*, both by reaſon of his *Union* with the *Logos*; and upon the account of his *Office* as the *Second Adam*; as well as becauſe of his *miraculous and extraordinary Conception and Birth.*

Now, by our *Lord's* exact Management of himſelf, according to the *Maxim* laid down, he obtain'd to have this Approbation from God; That *he had done all that was expected or deſired, and all that a Man could do, for Mankind, under the Circumſtances wherein he was ſtated*; and that therefore *he had merited to be their Head, to govern and judge, and to reward or puniſh them, as he ſaw fit*; upon Condition of *his being reſponſible for all he did this way, at the end of time*, and of *his being thus ſubject to God, upon his giving up the* Mediatorial *Kingdom to the Father*, that God *may*, after that, *be all in all*, as the Apoſtle tells us, 1 *Cor.* 15. 28.

That this was the *Rule* of our Saviour's Management, in relation to God, does not only appear from all that has been ſaid, but from this alſo; *That he could not act either a lower or higher part.* For, to have acted *below* this, had ruin'd the whole Work he came about. And, to act *higher* than the *Sphere* of a perfect and innocent Man, was ſimply impoſſible, unleſs the *Logos* had acted for him, which neither could have been reckon'd the Doing of the *Man Chriſt*, nor have been conſiſtent with the Covenant of Agreement between the Father and

and the Eternal Son. Nay, for the *Man Christ* to have so much, as attempted to act beyond the *Sphere* of his Activity, had been a Sin; and such a one, as must be supposed to be, at least, very near a kin to that of the *first Adam*.

Nor could *God the Father* require more of him than an exact Management of himself, this way. For, besides what I have said, as to the *Covenant of Redemption*, by which God had gratuitously tied up himself so, as to require no more; We are oblig'd to conclude, (from all the Ideas we have of things, and from all the Rules of Reasoning) that *God* could not expect more from a *Creature*, than its Nature and Circumstances would allow of.

The nice and critical Part therefore, that *Christ* had to act *as Man*, and *as intrusted with human Concerns*, was; To keep closely by the *Rule* mentioned; without either *sinking*, in the least, *below* this *Character* and *Trust*; or attempting to *soar above* it, by interfering with that Part that did formally, properly and immediately belong to the *Logos*, as such, under whose *peculiar Guardianship* the *Man Christ* was, by reason of the close and indissolvable *Union* which he had with him.

And, in order to *act this Part*, we must suppose, that the *Man Christ* was under the most *deep Impressions* of these things following; from a distinct View of which, and with the most fervent Zeal, and Concern for which, he acted and behav'd, in all he did and suffer'd, from first to last; *viz.* 1. That the *Logos*, who had undertaken for him, and ingag'd his Honour this way, might not suffer any thing, like an Affront, by any Indecency in his Conduct. 2. That the *Supreme Father*, who was Judge and Umpire of his Procedure, in all he did, might not see any just Cause, to pass Sentence upon his Performance, otherwise, than in his Favour, and consequently in the Favour of Mankind. 3. That *Men* might not be Losers, but Gainers, by this his Undertaking. For, as now he has regain'd what the *First Adam* lost; had he failed, he had rendred our

State

State yet more desperate; seeing no other, after this, could have pretended to have been capable of retrieving Mankind and Human Affairs. 4. That *Angels* might have a new Incouragement to continue faithful, and be deterr'd from any thing like that, which had precipitated their former Equals into Misery, and had been so fatal to Men, as to be no other way salvable, but by this strange Method; which they could not, in reason, expect would ever be acted over again. And, 5. That *Satan* might not have any reason, to boast of his Conquest over *him* that was made after the *Image* of the *Logos*; but might be defeated, even by *Man*; tho he had been the occasion of his losing the Image of God, and consequently his Favour by precipitating him into Sin. For, in order to the *Devils* greater Disgrace and Consternation, the *Logos* would not degrade himself so low, as to conquer him, by his great Power, or by himself immediately. No, no, this had been *impar Congressus*, an unequal Match, by which *Satan* had gain'd some Reputation; seeing this would have led *rational Creatures* to suppose, that he could not be conquer'd otherwise, than by *infinite Power*, immediately put forth against him. Therefore, the *Logos* took a quite other Method, and formed to himself a *Second Adam*, that should conquer him, even under all the disadvantageous Circumstances, that an *innocent Man* could be supposed to be in. And, this he performed, without apparelling this Man with the *Luminous Garment* of the *Shechinah*, which *Adam* was cloathed with (as I said) before the Fall, but without this or any such appearance, whilst he was ingag'd in fighting Satan. For the *Man Christ*, during all the time of his State of Humiliation (excepting then when he was manifested thus to select Witnesses, in order to be known to be the *Messiah*,) appeared and conversed, as an ordinary Man only, being destitute of any such Pledge of the Presence of the *Shechinah* with him. So that, tho he was really innocent and without Sin, *he appeared* on Earth all along, in this respect, *with Sin*, *i. e.* as if he had been a sinful

ſinful Man; and, as if he had been ſuch a one, he ſuffered, in the Opinion both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*; becoming thus our Subſtitute, as *being offered to bear the Sins of many*, as the Apoſtle ſays, *Heb.* 9. 28. adding immediately, *But unto them that look for him he ſhall appear the ſecond time without Sin*, i. e. with the Glory of the *Shechinah* upon him. So that by the Antitheſis of theſe two, *viz.* his appearing the time firſt *with Sin*, and his appearing the ſecond time *without Sin*, we are led to underſtand the Apoſtle's full Meaning in both: Which, I humbly conceive, was never clearly explained before. For, if *Chriſt's appearing the ſecond time without Sin*, doth denote his Appearing with the Glory of the *Shechinah* upon him (as certainly it muſt:) Then it is certain, that by *Chriſt's Appearing with Sin the firſt time* (which, tho not expreſt here, is yet neceſſarily ſuppoſed) we muſt underſtand, not only his being a *Sin-offering*, but his appearing, as an *ordinary Man*, and his ſuffering Death accordingly, (and by the Suffrage of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as a *Malefactor* too.) For, had he had the Badge of the *Shechinah* upon him, he could not have been obnoxious to Death. As therefore the withdrawing of the *Shechinah* from *Adam*, was a Mark of his *Mortality*; ſo Chriſt's being, without this, repreſented him as one that was to die too. And hence we may perceive the Strength of the Apoſtle's Reaſoning, by the Connexion of *ver.* 27, and 28. *And, as it is appointed unto all Men once to die, (but after this the Judgment:)* So likewiſe *Chriſt was once offered to bear the Sins of many; but unto them that look for him, ſhall he appear the ſecond time without Sin.* For the Senſe and Deſign of theſe Words, is plainly this; That, as the State of all Men, ſince the Fall of *Adam*, is ſuch, by the Divine Appointment, that they muſt die, and then afterwards give an account of their Conduct, whilſt in this World, to the Supreme Judge, at the laſt Day: So even Chriſt himſelf, by reaſon of his being a Man, was oblig'd to undergo Death too; and that, in a publick manner alſo, as a propitiatory Sacrifice for Men,

Men, by reaſon of his being the Second *Adam*, and thus under a general Character, and in a Publick Station, in relation to Mankind as their Fœderal Head. But then, ſays the Apoſtle, Chriſt did ſo act his part, in all that he did and ſuffered, that tho he appeared in all this, as if he had been no more than an ordinary Man, he will certainly appear the ſecond Time, in all the Glory of the *Shechinah*, to the Joy and Comfort of all that give up themſelves to his Conduct, in the Faith of this.

But now, to return; ſo exactly did Chriſt act, as Man, with reſpect to the Purpoſes he had in View, that he did perfectly carry on all that the *Logos* had undertaken to his Father, to do by him. And thus, 1. The *Logos* came off with the higheſt Honour before his *Father*; And, 2. The *Father* ſaw his Juſtice ſatisfied, to the utmoſt of what he demanded, ſo as to have reaſon to truſt the *Loganthropos*, for the future, with the Management of the World. 3. Men came this way to be ſalvable, and to have a ſolid Foundation laid, in order to their being ſav'd actually, and that for ever, from Sin and Miſery. 4. The Angels of Light came thus to have new Views of God's Wiſdom, Greatneſs and Goodneſs, and to have new Incouragement, and Incitements to mind their Duty and Intereſt. 5. Satan ſaw himſelf out-witted and conquer'd, and his own State, and that of his Fellow-Rebels, rendered further miſerable and deſperate.

And to all theſe things I muſt add this further, in the *6th* and laſt Place, *viz.* That this way the *Man Chriſt*, who was *united* with the *Logos*, came to have this Union ſeal'd and ratified by obtaining *that Reward*, or, as the Apoſtle calls it, *Joy that was ſet before him*; for the obtaining of which, *he endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame, and is* therefore now *ſet down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God*, Heb. 12. 2. So that, as a further Reward of his Faithfulneſs and Conduct, he is now ſeated at the Head, not only of Men, but of Angels. For this the Apoſtle expreſly aſſerts, *Heb.* 2. 9. *We ſee*

ſee Jeſus, who was made a little lower than the Angels (ſo that here he is conſidered formally as Man only) *for the Suffering of Death,——crowned with Glory and Honour.* Now what the Subjects of this Crowned King are, we may ſee by comparing, *ver.* 7. with *ver.* 8. and both with *ver.* 9. 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. For the Apoſtle ſays, *That every Being is ſubjected to him, excepting him only, that put all things under his Feet, i. e.* excepting God only. So that certain it is, that all the Angels are now ſubject to Chriſt as *Loganthropos*, in ſuch a manner, as that tho other Men, that are glorified, can be only reckon'd their Equals; yet the *Man Chriſt* is raiſed above them, by Virtue of his *Union* with the *Logos*.

And now, that I am enter'd upon the Relation that the heavenly Angels ſtand in to Chriſt, I find my ſelf inſenſibly brought upon the ſecond Thing which I propoſed to conſider in this Chapter.

Therefore in the II*d Place*, Let us conſider Chriſt's Management of himſelf in reference to the *Angels*.

Were it proper for me, to run out upon the Conſideration of Angels here; what I am about to ſay upon this Head, would appear in a clearer Light, than it can be at preſent. But I muſt be content to repreſent the matter now as I can; ſeeing I ſhall be oblig'd to ſpeak of this ſort of intelligent Beings, in a more proper Place.

Let it ſuffice therefore, at preſent, to remember; 1. That *Angels* are finite and depending Creatures, as well as Men; and that conſequently they know but in part, and worſhip and ſerve God accordingly. 2. They are *all of them miniſtring Spirits, ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be the Heirs of Salvation*, which is the higheſt Deſcription the Apoſtle gives of them, *Heb.* 1. 14. And therefore, 3. In as far as they are Servants, and have ſuch a Service to accompliſh, they muſt be ſuppoſed, in ſome Senſe, to be in a State of Trial; ſeeing further Service and a further Reward

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe one another: Tho their State of Trial is not ſuch, as that of Men, in this preſent World. 4. And we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they know perfectly all the Ends of God, even in thoſe things that they are imployed about as Servants: For this is neither neceſſary, nor (in ſome Senſe) poſſible. Our *Saviour* aſſures us, that they knew not the time of the *Deſtruction* either of *Jeruſalem* or of the *World*, *Mark* 13. 32. And *Peter* tells us, that they are *Learners* and *Students* ſtill, even of *the Myſteries of the Goſpel*, 1 *Epiſt.* 1. 12. And ſo does *Paul* alſo, *Eph.* 3. 10.

How far then the *Angels* were acquainted with the Deſign of God, in the Incarnation of Chriſt, cannot certainly be determin'd. That they knew, that this would bring new Glory to God, and be of general Advantage to Men, is certain from their *Genethliacum* or Congratulatory Song of Praiſe upon the Occaſion and Subject of *Chriſt's Birth*, *Luke* 2. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. But, how theſe ends could be thus brought about, ſeems to have been rather a matter of Aſtoniſhment to them, than any way ſeen thro' by them, either at that time, or for ſome time afterwards; if we may judge of the meaning and ſcope of the Expreſſions, 1 *Pet.* 1. 12. and *Eph.* 3. 10. And therefore, the Apoſtle might juſtly reckon this, as one of the Articles of the Myſtery of Godlineſs, 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. that *Chriſt was ſeen of Angels*. For what could be more aſtoniſhing to them, than this, *viz.* to ſee the *Logos*, who had been manifeſted to them in Heaven, in the Glory of the *Shechinah*, which was to them *the viſible Form of God*; I ſay, to ſee the *Logos* now, *born of a Woman*, and become a Babe, to run thro' the ſeveral Ages of Infancy, Childhood and Youth, *&c.* up to Manhood; and then to be cut off, by the violent Hands of Men. The ſeveral Steps of this could not be otherwiſe, than moſt amazing to them, that were oblig'd to believe that God had the greateſt Deſign in View this way; eſpecially if they were Strangers, at the ſame time, to the Secrets of this wonderful Deſign, as I think it more than probable they

they were, from the Paſſages already cited. For, tho they knew, that the *Logos* was incarnate, for the greateſt and beſt of ends; they were ignorant of the *Modus* or *Method* of God's Proceeding this way; and therefore, as *Peter* ſays, *they were deſirous to look into theſe things* that were then a doing; that they might, by a critical and nice Obſervation of them, attain to know, what God had not thought fit directly to reveal to them, and perhaps for this very reaſon among others, that they might be incited to ſtudy this Myſtery the more cloſely, and thus have a new Task put upon them. For beſides, that this Contrivance was ſo great, that even *Angels* themſelves could not underſtand it, without much and cloſe Study; we are oblig'd to think, that it was a *new Trial* they were put to this way, *viz.* being oblig'd to ſerve in thoſe things, the Deſign of which was kept a Secret from them: Tho, at the ſame time, we may well conclude, that this Trial was made eaſy to them, from the Complacency they had to do the Will of their God; which muſt ever be ſuppoſed to be the greateſt Pleaſure next to (or rather jointly with) that of enjoying him, that an innocent rational Creature can be ſuppoſed to be capable of.

But, that which deſerves moſt ſpecially to be conſidered here, is, how or in what reſpect the Goſpel was a Myſtery to the Angels? In anſwer to which, I ſhall only ſay one thing (becauſe I would be cautious of running too far upon ſo dark a Subject) *viz.* that the great Strait and Difficulty with them was, no doubt, this; *Whether the* Logos *did intend to ſatisfy the Father, to conquer the Devil and his Angels, and to recover Mankind, by a full and plenary exerting of himſelf this way*; or, *by the Man Chriſt, whom he had form'd to himſelf, and taken into ſo ſpecial an Union with himſelf.* For, as in this caſe, no third Suppoſition can be made, ſo the Difficulties ſeem to be equally unſurmountable, upon the Suppoſition of either of theſe, if we reaſon abſtractly this way.

For, if the *Logos* was to do all, by his infinite Energy, then might the *Angels* juſtly reaſon conſequentially thus; 1. Why ſhould the *Logos* aſſume the Human Nature at all? For, if he do nothing by it, to what purpoſe is all this done that relates to its Aſſumption? 2. And, is it any great matter, for the *Logos* thus to overcome the *Devil*, and ſave Mankind from his Power for the future? Seeing, what more unequal Match, than that of Infinite Wiſdom and Power, in its Encounter with Finite Beings?

But, if upon the other hand, there be a neceſſity, in order to the Ends mention'd, that the *Logos* ſhould unite a *Man* to *himſelf*; then either the *Logos* muſt do part of the Work, and the *Man Chriſt* do part; or the *Man* muſt do all. And either of theſe, no doubt, was full of difficulty to them. For, 1. If *each* muſt do his part, the *Adjuſtment* of theſe muſt needs have been an unfathomable Myſtery to them; as it is ſtill to us, when we reaſon, in an abſtract manner, upon theſe Points. But I hope what I have ſaid already, with reſpect to the Covenant of Redemption, will be a ſafe Clue to our Thoughts, thro' this Labyrinth. But, 2. Upon the Suppoſition that the *Man Chriſt* did all; the Mind of Angels might well recoil, with the Thought of the Impoſſibility of this; that a *mere Man*, tho innocent, and as perfect as ſuch a Creatuure could be, ſhould be able to act ſo critical and hard a part.

Let us but conſider *one End* of Chriſt's Incarnation, *viz.* to *conquer the Devil*; and we cannot but ſee how embarraſs'd the Angelical Intellect muſt be ſuppoſed to be, in reference to this ſingle point. For the *Strait* with them lay here, *If the* Logos *exert himſelf fully againſt Satan, there is no Difficulty for him to overcome Satan, in what way he pleaſes: For he that made him out of nothing, can again reduce him to nothing, if he have a mind.* But *if the* Logos *do not exert himſelf thus, how is it conceivable that one ſingle Man can reſiſt all the united Powers of Hell, ſo as to diſarm and conquer them.*

Now,

Now, what reaſon have we to praiſe God, who has given us ſuch Satisfaction in a matter of ſuch Conſequence, as this is! For, by what I have ſaid above in this Chapter, we cannot but apprehend how exactly all Difficulties are adjuſted, by the Method that Divine Wiſdom has fallen upon, in order to the Salvation of Sinners: Tho we muſt own, that it is impoſſible for any finite Mind to comprehend the exact Adjuſtment of all things relating to this, in a perfect Manner.

However, as we ſee, in ſome meaſure, how the *Man Chriſt* manag'd himſelf in reference to God, we may alſo form ſome Idea of the Method of his Conduct in relation to the Angels. For his Concern, with reſpect to them, ſtood chiefly in theſe things; 1. To act ſo, as that they might ſee no Imperfection or Indecency in his Conduct; but, on the contrary, ſuch an exact and perfect Diſcharge of his Duty, as became one under his Character, and in his Circumſtances. 2. To give them *ſome ſuch Diſcoveries* of his Deſign, as might gradually let in their Minds to underſtand the Intention and Scope of the *Logos*. 3. To lay a Foundation thus of his *Headſhip* over them, as Man. For, if they were thus forc'd, as it were, to go to School to him, whilſt in a State of Humiliation; they could not think it incongruous to ſubmit themſelves to him, when they ſhould afterwards behold him actually poſſeſs'd of the *Shechinah* in Heaven, and thus made the *Medium* of their Intercourſe and Communion with the Deity. And, it is hence, that we may attain to conceive, how the *Angels* will attend *Chriſt*, even *as the Son of Man*, when he comes, at the laſt Day, to judge both Men and Angels. For, as he himſelf has aſſured us, *John* 5.27. *He hath given him Authority to execute Judgmnt*, even upon this account, *i. e. becauſe he is the Son of Man.* 4. And this, no doubt, our Saviour had in his eye further; *viz.* the laying a new and permanent Foundation of the *Union* of *Angels* and *Men*. For, as he was about to break the *Confedera-*

cy between *Hell* and *Earth*, and free Men from their Servitude and Misery under the Tyranny of Devils: So he took care to act so, that he might become *Centrum & Vinculum Unionis Angelorum & Hominum*, the Center and Cement of the Union of Angels and Men. And, as Christ merited this, so it was no small Incouragement to Angels, to love the Society of Men, and to assist them Heavenward, for the future, as ministring Spirits, sent forth for their Good; when they saw, in the Conduct of the *Man Christ*, what Human Nature was capable of, and might be brought to. And, seeing *Angels* and *Men* were to be, for the future, united under one *Common Head*, and he *a Man* too; a kind of Spiritual Sympathy must be supposed to be begot, this way, in the Breasts of the Celestial Inhabitants, to do their utmost, in their way, in order to harmonize with the Design of the *Logos* his becoming Man, by incouraging, inciting and assisting Men in coming in to him, and in their way to Heaven.

And as these were, at least, some of Christ's Views in relation to Angels; certain it is, that he has now obtain'd his end, in these, as well as all other respects. For, as the Apostle says, *Phil.* 2. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. That *because he took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Men; and because, being found in Fashion as a Man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross: Therefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name, which is above every Name,* (*viz.* the Name of *Loganthropos*, which is above all Names, that were ever appropriated to any Creature or Finite Being:) *that at the Name of Jesus* (as he is *Loganthropos* or a Divine Prince and Saviour) *every Knee should bow* (*i. e.* all Beings should obey him, as their rightful Sovereign) *of* (those who are) *in Heaven, and of* (those that are) *in Earth, and of* (those that are) *under Earth* (*i. e.* that the *Angels* in Heaven, and *Men* on Earth should pay their Homage to him, and even *Devils* too, whither they would or not) *And that every*

every Tongue ſhould confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father.

And now I hope the Reader may be aſſiſted to underſtand the Relation that there was, between *Chriſt Man*, and the *Angels*, during his State of Trial on Earth, and how and from what Views he manag'd himſelf with reſpect to them.

I proceed therefore, in the III*d* Place, to conſider what Part he acted, with reſpect to his Grand and Inviſible Enemies the *Apoſtate Angels*, as they were led on by the Great Apoſtate, the Prince of Devils, who, by way of Eminence or Peculiarity, is commonly called *the Devil* or *Satan* in Scripture.

And here I muſt ſay the ſame thing, that I ſaid, when I entred upon the laſt Head; that were it proper, to run out upon the firſt Apoſtacy of the Fallen Angels, and what relates to their Government, State and Acting; it might tend very much to illuſtrate what I have to ſay on this Head. But, ſeeing this would carry me out too far at preſent, and ſeeing I purpoſe to treat of *Devils*, as well as *Angels*, in a more proper place; I muſt be contented to ſay no more now, on this Head, than is juſt neceſſary.

Let it ſuffice therefore, at preſent, 1. To recollect what I ſaid already, in relation to the Deſign of *Satan*, in drawing *Adam* over, from the *Logos*, to his own State and Party; together with what I hinted concerning the Undertaking of the *Logos*, to recover Mankind again. And then, after the Reader has carried along with him the Chain of the Thoughts laid down, purſuant to the Undertaking of the *Logos*; Let him, in the 2*d* Place, remember, That ever after that, down from the *firſt Promiſe*, made concerning the *Seed of the Woman* (which, by the way, was the Foundation of Man's Salvation, as it was a Declaration of Mens being ſalvable) until the *Fulneſs of time* came, when *Chriſt was made of a Woman*; That I ſay there was, all that time,

(*viz.* for 4000 Years) a conſtant War carried on between the *Logos* and the *Devil*; the one purſuing the Good, and the other the further Ruin of Mankind and Human Nature. Now,

In order the better to conceive how this War was manag'd, we muſt remember, 1. That the *Logos*, upon his undertaking the Patronage of Mankind, in order to their Recovery, was look'd upon, under the Character of *Loganthropos*, as being virtually ſuch, as I ſaid above. 2. That therefore the *Logos* was tied up from acting *formally* as the *Logos*, in a way of Omnipotent Energy or Force, as being oblig'd, by Ingagement, to ſeek the Recovery of Men, in ſuch *Methods* only as ſhould be *conſiſtent* with *Human Nature*, conſidered as *Free* as well as *Reaſonable*; that as *Adam* ſin'd out of Choice, his Poſterity might chuſe whether they would be ſaved or not. For this was what the Father demanded, in the *firſt Article* mention'd, and what the Son agreed to, tho with this *Proviſo*, that He might appear and act as the *Logos*, when there was juſt Reaſon to give Evidences of his being ſuch, when Men could not otherwiſe be ſuppoſed to have ſufficient Ground to believe in him, as the Divine Patron of Men. However, we muſt remember, 3. That the ordinary Method, that the *Loganthropos* was to proceed in, was that of Wiſdom, both in order to incounter and overcome *Satan*, and to ingage Men to fall off from Senſuality and Wickedneſs, in order to their intire Salvation and returning to God.

Now, from the Conſideration of theſe things, it follows, that we ought to obſerve theſe two things: 1. That *Satan* had a great many Advantages on his ſide, which the *Loganthropos*, or Second *Adam*, as thus tied up, had not. For, tho the *Loganthropos* had the true Intereſt of Man, and right Reaſon, for him: yet Men were ſo vitiated by the Fall, that it was no eaſy matter, to make them either underſtand their true Intereſt, or to induce them to proſecute it, even upon the Suppoſition of their underſtanding it. And ſuch was the *moral Impotency* of the *Human Nature*, by reaſon of Sin and Temp-

Temptation, that it did not seem easy to make so much as a Head against these, even after satisfying Mens Reason, that a Course of Holiness was to be prefer'd before a Course of Wickedness. Whereas *Satan* had all the corrupted and vitiated Passions and Inclinations of Men to work by; which he labour'd to ferment and boyl up perpetually, by all the Insinuations and Perswasives, that could be contriv'd. And there is no Man, whose Experience does not tell him, how strong these are, and how hardly they are overcome. And hence it came to pass, that the Generality of Men remain'd Proof against all the Methods which the *Logos* used to reclaim them by; as appears fully from the Scripture-History. And there is no arguing against such plain *Matters of Fact*, from *fansied Theories* or *Schemes* of our own Invention, which are inconsistent with the sacred Account of Things. Therefore, 2. We must conclude, from the Scripture-History, as agreeable with the Account I have given of the Contract between *God* and the *Logos*; That the *Logos*, being thus tied up, as I have said, was oblig'd to try one Method of Wisdom after another, in order to reclaim Men, as often as the former had proved ineffectual, through the Folly and Wickedness of Men. Of these Methods I may have a more proper Occasion to treat afterwards: and therefore I shall not digress upon them here. However we may observe something in the general, in relation to these, by the bye; which a transient Review of the History of the Bible will help us to. The banishing *Adam* and *Eve* out of *Paradise* was one Method to make Men sensible of their Folly and Misery. The *Mark* put upon *Cain*, (whatever that was) was another. The successive Labours of the good Patriarchs was another, particularly the holy Life and Translation of the Great *Enoch*. But, when all these, and the like Appearances of God, proved ineffectual, the *Deluge*, one would have thought, might have been a means to rectify the Posterity of *Noah*. But notwithstanding of this, and the Defeat of *Nimrod* and his Followers at *Babel*, the Destruction

ction of *Sodom* and her Sister-Cities, and the Longevity, Authority and Labours of *Shem* or the *Melchisedeck*, still Men grew worse and worse. A new Family therefore is miraculously raised up from a decrepit *Abraham* and a barren *Sarah*, in order to be made use of to preserve Religion in. But what various Methods the *Logos* was oblig'd to use, to keep even them right, I need not say; seeing the History of the Old Testament is full this way. And indeed, should we confine our selves only to what happen'd in the *Wilderness*, we might see sufficiently, as in a Glass, what the Method of the *Logos* has ever been with Men, as such, and how prone Mankind is to rebel against God, notwithstanding of all that can be done, in a way of Wisdom to reclaim them. For, as the Psalmist says, by way of Admiration, as well as Question, *Psal.* 78. 40. *How often did they provoke him* (or rebel against him) *in the Wilderness, and grieve him in the Desart?* And, if we descend lower, and run through the rest of the History of that Nation, we shall find, that it is impossible for the Wit of Man to think of any one Method, that could be used to cure a Nation of Wickedness, which the *Logos* did not try successively, with respect to that People. And yet after all, *Satan* had gain'd so much ground over them, as well as the Generality of the World besides, that when Christ was born, there was hardly any true Religion to be found, either at *Jerusalem*, or any where else among the Jews. ω βαθος σοφιας.

The *last Method* therefore, that was reserv'd to be made use of, in order to reclaim Men, was that of *Christ's Coming* into the World, to die for Sinners, and to give forth a *new* and *divine Edition of Religion*. And seeing the Jews, and indeed the Generality of Men besides, were big with the Expectation of the Coming of such a Prince, as should conquer Satan, and destroy his Works; we may be sure, that He was not ignorant of this himself, seeing he knew how often, and how much the Prophets had predicted his Coming, together with the Consequents thereof.

But

But how ſagacious ſoever *Satan* be, yet as he is neither Omniſcient nor Omnipotent, ſo we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that he was in doubt for ſome time, whether Chriſt was the true *Meſſiah* or not. For as the Jews expected that he would come, as a glorious Conqueror, ſuch as *Cæſar* or *Auguſtus:* ſo perhaps even *Satan* himſelf thought, that He would come in ſome more extraordinary and ſplendid way, than that wherein he appeared. And ſeeing *Satan* could only judge of this matter, by conſequential Reaſoning; we may well ſuppoſe that he was in Suſpenſe, for a while, what to conclude. For, upon the one hand, the *Angelical Song* at Chriſt's Nativity, the Meſſage of the *Eaſtern Sages*, the Determination of the *Sanhedrim*, as to the place of the Nativity of the *Meſſiah*, with ſuch other concurring Circumſtances, did ſeem to determine, that he was the *Meſſiah*. But other things ſeem'd to render the Belief of this difficult, for a while; ſuch as the Meanneſs of Chriſt's Appearance, and the Poverty of his Parents, and the Improbability therefore of his being capable to overturn that Kingdom of Ignorance, Idolatry and Wickedneſs; which was at that time ſo univerſal, and had taken ſuch deep Root in the World, after ſo long a Poſſeſſion thereof, for many Ages; and which had the Advantage of having the Bigottry of the Jews, the Wiſdom of the Greeks, and the Power of the whole Roman Empire to patronize and ſecure it.

But, if indeed *Satan* did conclude that Chriſt was the Promiſed *Meſſiah*, yet we may well ſuppoſe, that, for ſome time, he might remain doubtful and pendulous, whether the *Meſſiah* was to be any more than a Man, tho an extraordinary one. For, tho ſome Expreſſions of the Prophets ſeem'd to aſſert, that he was to be more than a Creature, yet others ſeem'd to repreſent him as a Man only. As therefore, at ſome times he might doubt whether any of the great Expreſſions of the Prophets concerning him, amounted to any more than noble and elegant Flouriſhes, in order to beget high Thoughts of him, in the Minds of Men: So, at other times,

times, he might be apt to think, that none but one that was greater than any Creature, could do what the Prophets gave Assurance of, as that which the *Messiah* would certainly accomplish.

Now, whether *Satan* was doubtful at first of both these Points, or of the latter only, I cannot determine: but, that he was in some sort of Doubt, at least, who or what sort of Person Christ was, appears to be more than probable, from the Account given of the Conflict between our Saviour and him, in the Wilderness. And now, that I have mention'd this, let us observe these Particulars concerning it. (1.) That Christ's Temptations by *Satan* in the Wilderness, were immediately upon the back of God's owning him so eminently to be his Son, when he was baptized by *John* in *Jordan*. For so *Luke* tells us, *chap.* 4. 1. that *as Christ returned from Jordan*, after his Baptism, *he was led by the Spirit into the Wilderness*. (2.) That Christ had a greater measure of the Presence of the Spirit, after he was own'd so wonderfully to be the Son of God, than he had before; for *Luke* observes, that upon his being baptized by *John*, and his having the Holy Spirit descend visibly upon him, *he was full of the Holy Ghost*. And there was just Reason, that he should have more of the Divine Presence now than before, when he liv'd a private and retired Country-Life with *Joseph* and *Mary*. For, when he was baptized by *John*, he was about 30 Years of Age, and was now ready to enter upon his publick Ministry, which he was to begin, as he was to end it, with a hot Fight and Conflict with Satan. (3.) The *Logos* having thus honoured the *Man Christ*, and qualified him for his future Conflicts and Service, sees fit now to expose him to the brunt of Satan's Temptations. And therefore he so orders Matters, that our Saviour should be diverted from his intended Journey homeward, and carried, as it were, by force, into the Wilderness, as seems to be plainly insinuated by the Words of *Luke*, ch. 4. 1. *And Jesus being full of the Holy Spirit, returned from* Jordan, ἠγετο, *and he was led*, or rather,

ther, as the Word ſounds, *was driven by the Spirit into the Wilderneſs*. And, that this muſt be the Senſe, ſeems plain from the word that *Mark* has made choice of, to expreſs this by, when he ſays, *Chap.* 1. 12. *That the Spirit*, αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει, *drove him*, or *forc'd him*, into the Deſart. And it is not improbable to me, but that *Chriſt's Body* was carried through the Air into the Wilderneſs, even as it is ſaid of *Philip*, that after he had baptized the Eunuch of *Ethiopia*, *the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip*; and, as it ſeems, ſet him down at *Azotus*, *Acts* 8. 39, 40. For thus God uſed ſometimes to act in relation to his Prophets, as we ſee, 1 *Kings* 18. 12. and 2 *Kings* 2. 16, *&c.* (4.) What *Wilderneſs* it was, into which he was carried, is not expreſly told us. But, for my own part, I make no douht, but that it was the *Wilderneſs* of *Sinai*; ſeeing it is emphatically called the Wilderneſs, without the Addition of any thing to particularize it otherwiſe. And, it is conſonant to Reaſon to think, that Chriſt ſhould be led into no other Wilderneſs to faſt for 40 Days, than that wherein *Moſes* and *Elijah* faſted before him. And as the Number 40 does unqueſtionably bear a relation to the 40 Years Journey of the *Iſraelites* through that Wilderneſs; there is all Reaſon to believe, that the Place where all three faſted, as well as the Number of Days, was the ſame. And what more proper Place could be ſuppoſed to be made choice of for this great and long Conflict, than that wherein the *Logos* had given that ſame Law, of which Chriſt was to be the Completion, in order to its Abolition. And hence we may perhaps have ſome light, as to the Nature of thoſe Temptations, at leaſt ſome of them, wherewith Satan aſſaulted Chriſt, during the 40 Days of his Abode there. For, may we not probably conjecture, that the Devil, (beſides the captious and puzling Queries, which he did probably muſter up, in relation to the Myſteries of Creation and Providence in general) might take occaſion, from the very place, whither Chriſt was brought to try him, with abundance of captious Queſtions, in relation to the

the *Old Law* given from *Mount Sinai*, and ſuch things as related thereunto; as why God kept *Iſrael* ſo long in that place? Whether it was the ſupreme God, or not, that ſpoke, with an audible Voice from Mount *Sinai*? How it was conſiſtent with Divine Wiſdom, to enjoyn ſo many things, as were ſo very burdenſom, and of ſo little Uſe? Why he grudg'd the *Iſraelites* the Uſe of ſo many wholeſom Meats, which other Nations fed upon? Why he was at ſuch Pains to inſtitute things, that were to be aboliſh'd? And, when would the Abolition of them be? And in what way? *&c.* For we may juſtly ſuppoſe that Satan having ſo long a time with Chriſt alone in the Wilderneſs, would rack his Invention to the uttermoſt, in order to try whether he could inſnare Chriſt in any thing. But let the kind of the Temptations be what Men pleaſe, ſtill we are ſure that Satan ply'd our Saviour hard all that time; ſeeing both *Mark* and *Luke* tell us, in plain Words, that *he was tempted in the Wilderneſs by Satan for* 40 *Days*. And it is probable, that amongſt other things that the Devil might make uſe of, with a Deſign to terrify him, one was, the hounding of wild Beaſts upon him; ſeeing *Mark* has told us, *ch.* 1. 13. *That he was with the wild Beaſts*. (5.) We are to obſerve, that Chriſt was not hungry, until after the 40 Days were expired, as *Matthew* and *Luke* aſſure us. And it was upon Chriſt's being hungry, that Satan ſets upon him with new Vigour, and with new Temptations; being permitted to have Power over Chriſt's Body, ſo as to remove him from place to place, in order to render his Temptations the more formidable. And it is of *theſe laſt Temptations only*, that the Spirit of God has thought fit to give us any particular Account. For the *firſt Temptation* mentioned, is occaſion'd by *Chriſt's being hungry*, to ſuch a degree as to be obſerv'd by Satan; and therefore he deſires him, to evidence his Power, *by turning the Stones*, that were next him, *into Bread*, Mat. 4. 3. But tho both *Matthew* and *Luke* make this Temptation, to have been the *firſt* of the three laſt; yet they differ as to the *Order* of the *other*

two;

two; *Matthew* relating that as the *second*, which *Luke* supposes to have been the *third*. Which, by the way, lets us see, that as these two Historians did not write by Collusion, so it is a very precarious Notion and indefensible, to carry the point of the Inspiration of the Sacred Penmen so high, as those have done, who have asserted, that the Holy Spirit directed and moved them so, as to indite every Circumstance of their Writing, in such a manner as if they had been equally conducted this way, as the Pen was by their hand, when they wrote with it. But to proceed; (6.) Let us observe, that Christ was, all this while, left to himself *as Man*, without more of the Presence of the *Logos*, than was just necessary to preserve him, from being injur'd by Satan: which confirms what I have again and again mentioned before. For, had the *Logos* exerted himself fully with him and for him, it had been *impossible* for him to have been *hungry* at all? Nor had it been possible for *Satan* to have had such Power over his *Body*, as to carry him at one time up to a *Pinnacle* of the *Temple*, and at another time to the top of an *High Mountain*. But in the (*7th*) and last Place, Let us come to that Observation, which principally concerns my purpose as to this place; *viz.* that Satan was all this while under some doubt, with respect to Christ. For every one of his Temptations is probatory this way; *If thou be the Son of God*, do so or so? For we must remember, that Christ had not as yet done any Miracle, as not having entred upon his Publick Ministry. And therefore, tho the *Angel* told *Mary*, that Christ should be called the *Son of God*, because of his *Miraculous Conception*: Yet *Satan*, in case he knew what the *Angel* said, might doubt, whether, in case this was the *Messiah*, he ought to carry the Notion of Christ's being *the Son of God*, any higher, than that of *Adam* and the *Angels*, who, because immediately and extraordinarily created by God, are called *his Sons* in Scripture. And tho God own Christ to be *his only begotten Son*, when he was baptized; yet I have shew-

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ed (*b*) before, that these words were heard by *John* the Baptist only. 'Tis true, that tho *John* was the only Man that heard them; yet this does not hinder, but that *Satan* might understand what was said. But, tho this might have been so, it is more probable, that even Satan might be kept a Stranger to this Truth for some time. Were the Authority of *Ignatius* that with me, that it is with many others; it might be corroborative of this Supposition, seeing he has (*c*) asserted, *That* Mary's *Virginity, Christ's Deity, and his Death, were three Things which were concealed from the Devil, as Mysteries.* But, without regard to his Authority, I do think, that the second and Third of these might be unknown to Satan for some time. And, as to the Second, I cannot but observe with (*d*) *Origin*; that in none of Christ's Answers to Satan's Temptations, he *owns himself to be the Son of God.* Nay, tho Satan was baffl'd, in all his Attempts against our Saviour, we find that he went away, with a Design to try him again, for so *Luke* insinuates, when he says, *Chap.* 4. 13. *That he departed from him, for a Season* only. I suppose he was exhausted in point of Topicks of Argument, and thought it proper to retire, and call together the *Black Divan* of *Hell*, to give his Counsellors an account of what had past, and to desire their Thoughts of what was most proper to be done for the future. And, if he was tyr'd with so long a Conflict, so as to be willing to retire for some time, we may well suppose that *Christ Man* had need of some Relief, after a *Fast of above* 40 *Days*, and a close Intention of mind all that time, in order to give proper Answers to all Satan's Questions. And therefore it was convenient, that the Body of Christ should be recruited, after such an expence both of the Animal and Vital Spirits. Accordingly we are told, *Matth.* 4. 11. That *when the*

(*b*) *See* Lib. 1. pag. 97. (*c*) Epist. ad Magn. S. 19. (*d*) Hom. 6. in Lucam.

Devil,

Devil left him, behold Angels came and ministred unto him; *i. e.* they came to administer Food to him, and whatever was necessary for his Refreshment. So that, if all things be considered, we must suppose that Christ was much longer than 40 Days in the Wilderness. For, it was not till after the Expiration of these, that Christ was an hungred; and Satan was sensible of his being so, before he began with those violent Temptations, that are made mention of. And besides, Satan could not carry the Body of Christ, thro' the Air, from the Wilderness to a Pinacle of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and from thence to the Top of that High Mountain, according to *Matthew*'s Account, or, *vice vera*, to the High Mountain first, and to the Temple afterwards, according to *Luke*'s Relation; I say, these Journeys could not be performed in a few Hours, because Christ's Body must be supposed to be carried no more swiftly, than was consistent with his Breathing and Living. Nor could the Angels so minister unto him, but that it must take some time, for him to eat and drink, and be refresh'd, in order to his Great Journey, back from the Wilderness into *Galilee*; if indeed he was not brought from thence through the Air, in the same manner as he was probably carried thither. But however this was, certain it is, That *he returned in the Power of the Spirit into Galilee*, *Luke* 4. 14. For, upon this Illustrious Victory over Satan, he had it, as a Reward, to be endued with the Presence and Gifts of the Holy Spirit, in an extraordinary manner, in order to be fitted for his great Ministerial Work; which he entred upon immediately after his return from the Wilderness, as we see *Luke* 4. 14, 15. Now, if we may be allowed to reckon from Congruities (as I see no reason, why we may not, in case we propose things by way of a rational Conjecture only, without any thing like Assertion or Positiveness) I should think, that as there were just 50 Days, from our Saviour's Resurrection, to the Day of *Pentecost*, upon which the Holy Ghost was given: So there were just 50 Days between Christ's first Arrival in the Wilderness,

derneſs, when he began to be tempted, to the Day of his Return into *Galilee* full of the Spirit, and his firſt Preaching there. For thus his *Firſt Period of Trial*, will exactly harmonize with his *Firſt Period of Honour and Exaltation*. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this laſt Period of 50 Days more particularly and exactly, in the next Chapter; wherein I ſhall ſhew, that Chriſt continued 40 compleat Days on Earth after his Reſurrection, and conſequently aſcended to Heaven on the 41*ſt* Day from his Reſurrection; and, that as his *Crucifixion* was on a *Friday*, ſo was his *Aſcention* on another; even as both his *Reſurrection* and *Miſſion of the Spirit* were on *Lord's Day*. And, as theſe are Congruities, that ſeem to bear the Character of Divine Wiſdom: So it ſeems conſonant to the ſame, to ſuppoſe, that Chriſt was baptized upon a *Saturday*, being the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, and that he was the next day, being *Sunday*, hurried into the Wilderneſs, where he continued for 40 compleat Days to be tempted of Satan; and that after the Expiration of theſe, which was on *Friday*, he came to be hungry, and was then attack'd the remaining part of that Day, and all the Sabbath Day following, even as he lay in the Grave afterwards, during the ſame length of time. And, if ſo, then it will be equally probable, that Satan left him early on *Sunday* Morning, about the ſame time, whereupon he did afterward riſe from the dead, and that, upon this Conqueſt, the Angels came and miniſtred unto him, the ſame being the 43*d* from his Arrival in the Wilderneſs, and that having afterward arrived in *Galilee* on the *Friday* following, he entred the next Day into ſome of their Synagogues, on their Sabbath Day; where we may ſuppoſe that he made his firſt Publick Appearance, ſeeing we are told, *Luke* 4. 14, 15. *That Jeſus returned* (*viz.* from the Wilderneſs) *in the Power of the Spirit into* Galilee, *and there went out a Fame of him thro' all the Region round about, and he taught in their Synagogues, being glorified of all.* Now, if he made his firſt Publick Appearance, in ſome *Synagogue*, the *firſt Sabbath Day*, i. e. *Saturday* after his Return;

Return; we may well ſuppoſe, that a Great Conflux of People would come about him the next day, being Sunday, and the 50*th* Day from his going into the Wilderneſs, and that then he would take occaſion to ſignalize himſelf, both by preaching and working of Miracles, which would increaſe his Fame. And here if this Conjecture be reaſonable, we may, from hence as a *Poſtulatum*, calculate about what time of the Year this happened; in caſe, we can find out, when Chriſt began his Publick Miniſtry. Now I ſhall make it appear to be probable, by what I have to ſay in the next Chapter, that Chriſt began his Publick Miniſtry the 5*th Day of October*, or at leaſt near that time. Suppoſing therefore at preſent, that the *firſt Lord's Day*, wherein Chriſt made his Publick Appearance, was the 50*th* Day from the beginning of his being tempted in the Wilderneſs; and ſuppoſing, that this *Lord's Day*, or *Sunday*, was the 5*th of October*: It will then follow, that the *firſt Day* of Chriſt's Temptation was *Sunday* the 10*th* Day of *Auguſt*; and that conſequently, if he was *baptized* the Day before, it was upon the *Ninth* of *Auguſt*, being *Saturday*. So that whether we reckon from the Day of his Baptiſm, to the Day of his Preaching firſt in the Jewiſh Synagogues, or from the firſt Day of his being tempted, to the firſt Sunday of his Publick Miniſtry; we have juſt 50 Days. And, in both the Beginning and Ending of each of theſe Calculations, it is obſervable, that the *Saturdays* are preparatory to the *Sundays*, in ſuch a manner, as if calculated, to lay a Foundation for the bringing in of the *Chriſtian Sabbath*, in the room of the *Jewiſh*. But enough of theſe Conjectures at preſent. To return therefore:

We have no particular Account of *Satan*'s encountring *Chriſt* again, until towards the End of his Life; and then indeed he attempted him *twice*; *viz.* in the *Garden*, and upon the *Croſs*. But of both theſe I have ſaid enough already, when I gave the continued Hiſtory of theſe, as the 2*d* Inſtance of Chriſt's Acting

as Man, in a Reference to God. And I am not willing to be tedious, by saying more now, than is just necessary.

But, tho the Evangelists speak nothing directly of any other Fight between Christ, than these three famous ones; *viz.* the Conflict in the *Wilderness*, the Combat in the *Garden*, and the last and decisive Battle upon the *Cross*, wherein *he spoiled the Principalities and Powers* of Hell, *and made a Shew of them, triumphing thus over them*, *Col.* 2. 15. I say, tho these be the only Fights, that are described: Yet I am apt to think that as Satan lay at catch continually, to see if he could insnare him, in any respect; so there are some Passages, that seem to suppose and insinuate some such thing. And, (1.) Some such thing seems to have been the occasion, at least in part, of *our Saviour's going out into a desart Place, so early in the Morning*, as we read he did, *Mark* 1. 35. For the Case seems to have been this. Our Saviour having demonstrated himself to be the true Messiah, by abundance of Miracles, and particularly by casting out Devils from Persons that were possess'd, and that with such Authority, as *not to suffer them to speak, because they knew him*, or (as the words may as well be render'd) so, *as not to suffer them to tell, that they knew him*, ver. 34. He thinks fit, *to rise up early in the Morning, a great while before day, to go out and depart alone into a solitary Place*, in order (as would appear from the Connexion of these two Verses) to evidence himself to have Courage to attack Satan there, in the Night, as well as elsewhere, in the View of Men, in the Day. Whether the ejected Devils gave him any Challenge this way, we know not. But there is reason to think, that *Satan* would not be idle, now that he had Christ in a solitary Place, in the dark Night; and probably he might appear to him, in a frightful manner; which might put our Saviour upon fervent Prayer. And it is remarkable, that the Evangelist does not say, *that he went into a solitary Place, to pray, but that he went into a solitary Place, and there prayed.* For, I suppose that his Disciples

ciples found him in that Posture, when they came up to him, *v.* 36, 37. But, (2.) It seems not to be improbable, that he might have been in some struggle of this Sort, when *he retired into the Mountain to pray, having dismiss'd the Multitude that he had miraculously fed, and constrain'd his Disciples to enter into a Boat, in order to cross the Sea of* Tiberias, *Matth.* 14, 22, 23, 25. *Mark* 6. 45, 46, 47. For, tho the occasion of this his Retiring from the People, was to avoid their proclaiming him King, as we see, *John* 6. 15. Yet we may well think, that *Satan* would not let such an Opportunity slip. But, as I propose these things conjecturally only: So, whatever the Spiritual Exercise of Christ was, at these times, still it is certain, that the whole Life of Christ on Earth, was fill'd up with Difficulties, Temptations and Trials, and that in the most eminent manner. And we are sure, that it is comparatively but a little part of the Life of Christ, that is related by the four Evangelists; seeing *John* assures, *Chap.* 21. *ver. ult. That there were so many things done by Christ, which were not committed to Writing, that, were they all enumerated, the World would not be capable to contain the Books.* And I do not in the least question, but that those things that were kept secret from the World, were equally considerable, as those things that are related, and particularly his Conflicts with Satan, and Prayers to God when retired from the View of all Men, even his own Disciples, as well as others; and which therefore they were not capable to give any account of.

From this silence of Scripture, it proceeds; that we are in a great measure, at a loss, how to judge of our Saviour's Conduct, in abundance of respects, and particularly, how and in what way he fought Satan, and conquer'd him. However, the *Maxim* I supposed him to act by, seems to be equally accommodable in this Case, as in the others I have mention'd. And by an Accommodation thereof, to the Circumstances of our Saviour, and those of

the Devil and his Associates, I think we may very rationally suppose these things. (1.) That it was very proper, that our Saviour should act chiefly a *defensive Part*; that Satan might be the more incited and incourag'd to attack him, and thus play the same Game with the *Second Adam*, as with the *First*, in hopes of the same Success. (2.) That Christ should behave so, as never to detract any Ingagement of this kind; and that therefore he should yield himself to fight Satan, as long as he could himself desire. And hence it was, that he continued so long in the Wilderness with him, till Satan himself found it necessary to leave the Field; and consequently own'd himself foil'd and conquer'd for that time. (3.) That this Dispute between *Satan* and the *Man Christ* was manag'd on Christ's Part, in a way of *fair Argument*, so as *an intellectual Being only ought to contend, viz.* for the *Conquest of Truth*. And, that *Satan* was, by an over-ruling Providence, oblig'd to fight the same way, in the main; tho he manag'd it, in a way of *sophistical Reasoning* only, seeing his Business was, to oppose the Discovery and propagation of Truth. (4.) That *Satan's Attempts* upon our Saviour, in the *Garden* and upon the *Cross*, were manag'd in a way of Violence, with all the unfair and base Methods he could make use of; in order to destroy his temporal Life, if possible, or otherwise to discompose his Mind, so as to disperse and sink his natural and animal Spirits, in order to unfit him for the great and difficult part, which he had to act in his last hours. And that therefore, as I have said, it was absolutely necessary, that he should be repuls'd so far, by Violence also, as that Christ's Life might be preserved, as long as it was necessary that he should live; that our Saviour might have it so far in his own disposal, as to breath out his Soul neither sooner nor later, than at the exact and critical Hour, wherein he was to finish his Work; that thus his Work and Temporal Life might be concluded together. (5.) That, by these last violent Assaults, which Satan made upon Christ, the *Devil* lost both his

Honour

Honour and *Interest*, so as he had never lost them before. For this was a Publick Indication of Satan's Despair, and that he was satisfied of the Impossibility of being capable to fight Christ any more, in a way of Reasoning: as it was also an Evidence of the greatest Cowardize and Baseness, to attempt to murther the Body of him, that had done no more, on his part, than to convince him of the Truth. (6.) That, when *Satan* had so far out-shot himself, as to get *Judas* to betray Christ, and the *Jewish* Rulers to agree to destroy him; and that he saw his Design to destroy Christ's Life, in the Garden, defeated by the *Logos*, thro' the Administration of one or more Angles: He falls upon a new Plot of a different kind from the former. For, seeing he could not, by force, prevent his being offered up upon the Cross, as a Sacrifice for Men; which he had done effectually, could he have slain him, in the Garden, as he attempted to do: He falls upon a new Project, to see if he could divert the Rulers, from putting him to Death at all; as finding, that he had fail'd in his Politicks, in driving Things so far as he had done. And, 1. seeing the *Jewish Rulers* were the first Actors, in pursuing Christ, he labours to divert them from their Design, by cutting them short of their main Evidence against him. The Testimony of *Judas* was likely to be used by them, as a great Argument with *Pilate*, to pass Sentence upon him. And therefore *Satan*, who had entred into *Judas*, after the Sop which Christ had given him, *John* 13. 26, 27. (and who therefore could use him, as his proper Tool, ever after) broiles and teizes the Conscience of that miserable Wretch; so that he had no Rest, untill he went to the Priests and Elders, and retracted what he had said against Christ, giving Evidence of his Master's Innocence, and his own Wickedness; which he evidenceth, by restoring the Pieces of Silver, which was so much the more remarkable, because he was notoriously covetous. For that *Judas* his Repentance, was not true, all are agreed; seeing the Scripture is plain in this Case,

if we consider Christ's Words, *Matt.* 26. 24. and *Peter's* Words, *Act.* 1. 18. and the Words of all the Apostles in Prayer, *ver.* 25. And, seeing his Repentance was not saving, and that he was possessed by Satan, and was a little while after (Satan having no more Service for him) hurried and agitated with such Terrors, as to murder himself; I cannot but think that the Devil made use of him, to see if he could, by this means, divert the Priests from pursuing Christ to death. For, seeing he was not permitted to murder him himself, and seeing he understood that the *Messiah* must be cut off, and made thus a Sacrifice for Men; and seeing also, he could not but foresee, that this would be extremely detrimental to his Interest: Hence, it was very rational in him, to labour to divert the *Jews*, all he could, from taking away Christ's Life. For could he have done this, by turning that into Banishment, or any other Punishment of another Nature; he thought he might enervate the Designs of God, prove the Scripture-Prophesie false, and obstruct the Good of Men, and the further Misery of Devils. But he had before so boyl'd up the *Jewish* Rage, that he could not reach his End. And indeed it was a strange Answer they gave to *Judas*, *Matth.* 27. 4. *What is that to us? Look thou to it.* 2. Satan having miss'd his End, this way, attempts it by another Method. For when he saw that he could not alter the Intention of the *Priests* and *Elders*, from pursuing Christ to Death; he bethought himself, whether he might not divert *Pilate* from passing Sentence upon him. And for this end, as we see, *Matth.* 27. 19. He impresses *Pilate's Wife* with an odd Dream, that very Morning that *Pilate* was gone to the Judgment-Hall, she being, as it would seem, asleep after her Husband rose. And the Impression was so strong, that she could not forbear instantly to send a Messenger to *Pilate*, upon this Head. Some may say, this is an odd Notion; when the Current of the Interpreters have supposed, that this was a Divine Dream. I answer, I cannot help it, if I am forced to differ from others, in this, as well

well as other Things. I queſtion not, but that God over-ruled this, as well as all other Matters. But that it was (thro' the Permiſſion of God) done by Satan, as the immediate Agent, is what I make no queſtion of, when I conſider, that had he reach'd the end of this Dream, it had made exceedingly for his Intereſt. But beſides, there are two things in the Account which *Pilate*'s Wife her ſelf gives of this, that determine me this way. The *firſt* is, that ſhe dreamt of Chriſt diminutively, as a *juſt Man only*; whereas had a good Angel form'd the Dream, ſomething of Chriſt's peculiar Character, as the *Meſſiah, Son of God, &c.* had been, no doubt, given. *Secondly*, becauſe her Dream was not calm, ſerene, or like a divine Dream, but terrifying, impetuous, and like a Diabolical Dream: For ſo her Words ſhew; *I have ſuffered many things, this Day, in a Dream*, &c. (7.) That, by all this unfair, baſe and *unſpirit-like Management*, Satan did not only fall under the *greateſt Diſgrace*, but procur'd to himſelf a *new Degree* of *Puniſhment*, by becoming the *Trophy* of the Conqueſt of the *ſecond Adam*. And we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that this Conqueſt did put him out of all hope of ever being pardoned; which perhaps he might, before this, fondly dream of, as that which was, at leaſt, poſſible. For, this ſeems to have been the laſt Probation, under which Satan was brought. And his Carriage under it was plainly ſuch, as the Sin of thoſe is repreſented to be, who are guilty of ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt. For *Satan* either did know who Chriſt was, eſpecially after he had wrought ſo many Miracles; or if he did not, it was his own Obſtinacy that was the Reaſon of his Ignorance this way; ſo that let the Caſe be ſuppoſed either way, ſtill it is certain, that his Impudence and Malice were demonſtrated this way to be the greateſt that poſſibly could be. And if he was ſo far from doing any thing that ſavour'd of Repentance, Submiſſion, or a Concern to be reconciled to God, as that he acted, with a high Hand, the other Way; we have all Reaſon to conclude, that his State was neither ſo miſerable,

nor desperate, before Christ's coming, as since that Time. (8.) That *Christ*, by a fair Conquest over *Satan*, in a way of *just* and *exact Reasoning* and *rational Acting*, brought such a *Credit* and *Reputation* to *human Nature*; as it never had before: seeing, *as Man*, he out-witted and defeated all the Cunning and Subtilty of the Old *Serpent*. And by this he regain'd to Mankind that Honour that *Adam* had lost, and brought back the Spoils of Men, which Satan had so long boasted of and erected, as so many Trophies of Conquest. (9.) That therefore Christ justly *merited to* be set at the *Head* of the *Human Race*, as their true *Hero* and *Saviour*. Whence we may easily understand the Connexion of the Apostle's Words, *Phil.* 2. *v.* 7, 8, with *v.* 9, *&c.* And not only did Christ, this way, *merit* to be made the *Head* and *Prince of Men*, whose Interest and Honour he had retriev'd, but likewise to have *Dominion* over the *Infernal Spirits*, in Right of Conquest, as Prisoners of War, to dispose of them as he pleased. (10.) That our *Blessed Saviour*, pursuant to his *Conquest*, and by Virtue of his justly *purchased Headship* over Men, has erected a New Covenant and Dispensation, of a Nature that is rational and easie; inviting and ingaging all Men to come in, by the most powerful *Perswasives*, and the Proposal of the most kind and condescending *Terms*. What this New Covenant is, I shall have Occasion afterwards to discover more particularly. In the mean time, we have the Sum of it propos'd to us, *John* 5. 24. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my Word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting Life, and shall not come into Condemnation, but is passed from Death unto Life.*

And hence we see, 1. what just Reason all Men have to come unto, and put themselves under the Protection and Conduct of this Glorious Saviour and Conqueror; without whom it is impossible for Men to be happy. 2. We see whence it is, that a Christian may attain to a Certainty and Plerophory, as to his being happy, upon his devoting himself thus to God in Christ; seeing we are assured, 1 *John* 1. 9. that *if we confess*

confeſs our Sins, God is juſt and faithful to forgive them: *Juſt*, becauſe Chriſt has offered himſelf a Sacrifice for Sin, pleadible by ſuch as do ſo; and *Faithful*, becauſe God has given his Promiſe and Word of Honour to ſuch Perſons. For, as the Apoſtle ſays, *Rom.* 8. 1. *There is no Condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus*, i. e. to them, *that walk not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit.* 3. Hence Chriſtians are oblig'd to evidence the Truth of their Chriſtianity, by a thorow Concern to walk holily, humbly, and inoffenſively, and to have no Intereſt ſeparated from that of their bleſſed Maſter and generous Benefactor. And, (4.) hence we are taught, in Prayer, to appeal from the *Throne of rigid Juſtice*, and the *Sentence of Severity*, to *God's Court of Equity*, that is *erected in Chriſt*, for the Benefit and Solace of all penitent and returning Sinners. So did the *Pſalmiſt* of old, *Pſal.* 130. 3, 4. *If thou Lord ſhouldeſt narrowly mark Iniquity, O Lord who ſhall ſtand? But there is Forgiveneſs with thee, that thou mayſt be feared.* See alſo, *Pſal.* 143. 2. and *Rom.* 8. 33, 34, 35, *&c.*

CHAP. IV.

The Time wherein our Saviour was born into the World, conſidered, as it was the Fulneſs of Time. *Together with a ſhort Hint concerning the* laſt Days.

HAving touch'd upon the Subject of Chriſt's Coming into the World *in the Fulneſs of time*, in the firſt Chapter of this Book, and having there inſinuated my Deſign to diſcuſs this point more diſtinctly and particularly afterwards; I come now accordingly to treat of it here. For, tho I am not ignorant, that ſome very learned and ingenious Men have taken notice of this profeſſedly: Yet I think there is ſtill room for further Inquiries,

Inquiries. And, in case I should not be able to say any thing new on this Head; yet I hope what I am about to propose, will not be useless, if it were only, upon the account, that I hope I may be capable to bring in some further Light, with respect to our seeing the Wisdom of God more clearly displaying it self, in the choice of the time, wherein he brought his only begotten Son into this World of ours, and in the adapting of the Circumstances that attended that time of his Publick Appearance.

The Expressions of Scripture, that I would explain here, or rather found upon, as to what I have to propose in reference to this Head, are principally these two, *Gal.* 4. 4. and *Eph.* 1. 10. In the *First* of which it is said, *That God sent forth his Son, made of a Woman, and made under the Law, just as* τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, *the Fulness of the Time came,* or *was come,* as our Version words it. And in the *second* Text, the Apostle says, *That God did, in the Dispensation* (or Oeconomy) τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, *of the Fulness of the Times* (or Seasons or Opportunities) ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, *Gather together in one* (as under one Common Head) *all things in Christ, both the Things which are in Heaven and which are on Earth, even in him,* or under him. Now, in order to the joint Explication and Illustration of both these Passages, and in order to our Understanding the Mystery of Godliness, and the Wisdom of God displayed therein more exactly and distinctly, in this *Great Central Point* of Revealed Religion, with respect to this Great and necessary Circumstance of the Time of Christ's Appearance; I shall give an account of my Thoughts upon this Subject, in some material and weighty Observations, besides those Hints that I gave this way before, in the *First Chapter,* which I need not mention again in this place.

And, *1st.* I *observe,* That the first Expression seems not obscurely to allude to a *Woman with Child, that goes out her full time, and then is happily deliver'd;* seeing it is said, that *in the Fulness of Time, Christ was made* or born *of a Woman.* For we know, that as there is a proper

proper and appointed Seaſon, as for every Seed, Flower and Fruit to ripen in; ſo more ſpecially for the Fruit of the Womb. And therefore we read of *Rebekah*, that ſhe brought forth her Twins, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, juſt *as her Days to be delivered were fulfilled*, Gen. 25.24. Now Time had been all along *pregnant* with a *Saviour*, in the *Womb*, of which *Chriſt* was *conceived*, immediately after the Fall, in the *firſt and radical Promiſe*, which we have *Gen.* 3. 15. But the longer Time run on, the *Bigger* it grew this way. The Promiſe made to *Shem*, and the handing this over to *Abraham* and his *Seed*, but eſpecially the Erection of the *Jewiſh Church* and *Nation* under *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, gave evident Signs of *Times* being *Big* with a Saviour, and of its gradual Ripening towards its being deliver'd of a *Man-child*, that was to rule the World and Church: The ſeeing and injoying of whom was the rational *deſire of all Nations* (who groaned under the ſad and felt effects of Sin and Slavery) as Chriſt is called, *Hag.* 2. 7. and concerning which I ſaid ſomething in the firſt Chapter. It were a pleaſant and uſeful Study, to obſerve, in this place, how full the Old-Teſtament-Saints were of Hope and Expectation, as to the coming of the *Meſſiah*, and what Hints we have this way, ſeveral of which have been very little minded hitherto. But, as this would lead me too far, I ſhall let it alone at preſent; and the rather, becauſe I have ſaid ſomething conſiderable this way already, in the *Second Book* of this *Work*. Therefore to proceed;

2*dly*. I *obſerve*, That our Saviour's Coming into the World, was, at laſt, become a Matter of *real neceſſity*. All other Means and Methods had been tried to reclaim Mankind, and bring them back to God; but all proved ineffectual; and therefore it was neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould come himſelf at laſt, to make an Eſſay of a new kind. This I do ſuppoſe our Lord himſelf does inſinuate, in *the Parable of the Lord, and the Husbandmen and Vineyard*, Luke 20. 9, *&c.* For what elſe mean theſe words, *ver.* 3. *Then ſaid the Lord of the Vineyard, What ſhall*

I do? I will send my beloved Son: It may be, they will reverence my Son.

But the main thing that I would have observed, is the necessity of his being sent at that very time, and neither sooner nor later. I mean not an *absolute Necessity*, or a Necessity in the *Abstract*, as the Schools speak; but such a *Necessity* in the *Concret*, as arose from the Concurrence of such and such Circumstances and Congruities of Providence; which made it fit and proper, and consequently necessary (in relation to the Harmony and Order of the Divine Oeconomy in ruling this World, and to the Design of the Supreme Wisdom therein) that Christ should neither come sooner nor later into the World; and that therefore he should come at that very time and no other.

And, (1.) I shall shew, that it was not fit, that he should have come *sooner*, from these Considerations. 1. Because it was congruous to all methods of Wisdom, that all other *Means* should be made use of first, according to the Scope of the Parable mentioned. For, if God could have reclaimed Men, by common Servants; why should he have sent his Son? Had he sent his Son therefore immediately after the Lapse, Men could not so well have fathom'd the Reason: For they would have been apt to think that other Methods might have done as well. 2. Because it was fit, Mankind should have *full Proof of their distemper'd and desperate State*, before this *Divine Physician* should come; that they might be the better appriz'd of the Necessity of his being sent, from the Sense and Experience they had of their absolute need of him. And therefore it was fit that they should be sensible of the dreadful Nature and horrid Effects and Consequents of Sinning. And that for this end many Ages should run out; that the Universality of the Contagion should be known and own'd by all, by their seeing and experiencing the general Prevalency of innumerable Diseases and other Sorts of Miseries, such as Proverty, Famine, desolating Wars, Tyranny, Oppression, Massacres, inhuman Sacrifices, unnatural

unnatural Lusts, *&c.* 3. Because the World must first be *universally and fully Peopl'd*, that the *Scene* may be large and wide enough for such a *Divine Hero* to act upon, with respect to a more diffused Usefulness. And, tho we have not an exact Account of things, yet I am apt to believe, that the World was never so universally full of People in any preceding Age, as it was towards the latter end of the Reign of *Augustus*, and the beginning of that of *Tiberius*; seeing *Augustus* alone reigned 56 Years, without almost any thing that could be called War, or any thing else that brought any general Mortality along with it. And I find not that ever there was such a time since, wherein so few were cut of. So that I question much, whether ever the World had so many Inhabitants in it together, as were at that time, not only before, but even since. 4. Because it was decorous to all Management that *so great a Prince* should not come into the World, until a great many things should go before, by way of *Premonition* and *Preparation* for his *coming*; and that with such Variety, as to raise the Minds of Men, with greater Concern for, more Desire after, and stronger Expectation of this glorious Person and his Appearance.

But in order to understand more clearly, that it was altogether improper for Christ to have come into the World *sooner*, let us take a View of the several Periods of time, that elapsed before his Birth. The *1st Period* of time after the Lapse, was that long one of 1656 Years, before the Deluge. Now it was not proper, that Christ should be born then; seeing Divine Providence had in prospect, the Extirpation of that whole Race of Men, by the Flood, excepting one Family only. Besides, that this was not so necessary as to the time; upon the Account of the *Longevity* of the *Ante-Diluvians*: For by this they had a full and exact Account of the Creation, of the Primoval State of Innocence, and of the Fall of Man from thence, by such an easy Tradition as was unquestionable. For if we divide the Age of the *Ante-Diluvians* into two Periods; the

first

first takes in 930 Years of the 1656, *viz.* all the Years of *Adam*'s *Life*, *Gen.* 5. 5. during which all Men might have an account of things from *Adam* himself, if they pleas'd; and had it materially from him, whether they would or not. And, as for those that were not come to Years of Understanding, or that were not born then, and so liv'd in the *second* Period, they had no doubt many to converse with, for at least the greatest Part of the remaining 726 Years, that had an intimate Knowledge of, and Conversation with the *First Parent* of Men. And, if there was no other, *Methuselah* alone might have satisfied all Men this way; who was born in the 687*th* Year of the World, *Gen.* 5. 21. and so was *Adam*'s Contemporary for 243 Years, during the far greatest part of which we may be sure that *Adam* would take care to instruct one, that was born and appointed the Head and Prince of the *Sethites*, and the rather, because of the Apostacy of the *Cainites*. And we know that this same Person died not before that very Year, wherein the Flood came, *viz. A. M.* 1656, in the 969*th* Year of his Age, *Gen.* 5. 27. And, in case any should say, that whatever *Methuselah*'s Authority might have been, he was probably so far super-annuated, and perhaps doting long before he died, as to be incapable to teach and instruct others; I answer, tho this be but a precarious Supposition, yet granting that it was really so, still the *Ante-Diluvians* had those that were vigorous and strong enough to supply this Defect. Such surely was *Noah*, the Preacher of Righteousness, who was born *A. M.* 1056, *Gen.* 5. 29. *i. e.* 600 Years before the Deluge, during all which time he was *Methuselah*'s Contemporary; and for the most part of which he had Opportunity of an intimate Conversation with him, nay and with many that were born before him, for a considerable Number of Years. For tho he was born not only after the Death of *Adam*, the Translation of *Enoch*, and the Decease of *Seth*; yet he was Contemporary with all the rest of the Patriarchs, for fewer or more Years. For, if we consult

consult the Hebrew Chronology, we will find that *Noah* was Contemporary with *Enoch*, the Son of *Seth*, and Grandson of *Adam*, for the first 94 Years of his Life; with *Cainian*, the Fourth from *Adam*, for 179 Years; with *Mahalael* the fifth Patriarch, for 234 Years; with *Jared* the sixth Patriarch, for 476 Years, and with his own Father *Lamech*, for 595 Years. So that never was there any People more inexcusable, in their Apostacy from God, and universal Wickedness, than the *Ante-Diluvians*; who had such Means to keep them right, and to deter them from sinning, who knew so well the effects of it, since *Adam* and his Posterity were both thrown out and kept out of Paradise. The *2d Period* was that, which commenc'd with the Cessation of the Deluge, and ended with the calling of *Abraham* out of his own Country into the Land of *Canaan*. Now seeing *Shem*, according to Dr. *Usher*'s Calculation, died in the Year 2158, and *Abraham* surviv'd him but 25 Years, as dying *A. M.* 2183, it is easy to conceive what an exact Account Men had, during that Period, not only of the first Ages, but of the Destruction of the old World by the Deluge; *Shem* being 90 Years old when the Flood came. So that the same is to be said for this Period, as for the former, that things were not yet come to that pass, as to require the hastning of Christ's coming. Nor was it more necessary during the *3d Period*, which I reckon from *Abraham*'s Vocation and Coming into *Canaan*, to the People of *Israel*'s going out of *Egypt*. For *Abraham* liv'd till *Jacob* was 15 Years of Age, and *Isaac* till he was 100 and eleven Years old. So that there was an easy Conveyance of the Knowledge of God's Dispensation to *Jacob*'s *Posterity*, down to *Moses* his Time, especially considering the Longevity of many of the twelve Patriarchs, and of their immediate Posterity, who were acquainted with *Jacob* himself. For *Jacob* died not till the Year 2315, *Gen.* 48. and *Levi* not till the Year 2385, *Exod.* 6. 16. whose Daughter *Jocebed*, being married to *Amram* his Son's Son, tho she was his own Aunt, *Exod.* 6. 20. bare

to

to him *Aaron* and *Moſes*. Now *Amram* living juſt as long as *Levi* did (who was both his Grandfather and Father in Law) *viz.* 137 Years, could not die long before *Iſrael*'s going out of *Egypt*. Seeing therefore *Moſes* was 80 Years of Age, when he ſtood before *Pharoah*, with his Brother *Aaron* (who was the Eldeſt by 3 Years) *Exod.* 7. 1——13. which was in the Year 2513, according to *Uſher*: Hence we may juſtly conclude, that *Moſes* had a particular Account both from Father and Mother, and perhaps probably from many others that out-liv'd them, of all thoſe things that had paſs'd in the World, down from *Abraham*'s time, as well as before. All which he has ſummarily given us an Account of in *Geneſis*, and the firſt Chapters of *Exodus*. And now, 4. Let us come to *the times*, that followed the People of *Iſrael*'s going out of *Egypt*, until their Captivity in *Babylon*, and return from thence. For I ſhall reckon that whole Time, as one Period, for Brevities ſake. Was it proper that the *Meſſiah* ſhould appear to that People, whilſt they were but a framing into a Body Politick? Not at all. They were then *rudis indigeſtaque moles*, a rude and uncultivated People. It was fit therefore that they ſhould be under the Rudiments of Knowledge only, and have a ſtrong and ſevere Fence about them, to preſerve them, if poſſible, from Idolatry. They were as unfit to receive or underſtand Chriſt's pure, rational, ſpiritual and ſublime Doctrine, as a Boy, that has not got his *Accidence*, is for the Study of *Algebra*, or the abſtruſer Parts of the *Mathematicks* or *Metaphyſicks*. Nor were they much riper for the Reception of the Goſpel afterwards, during the Continuance of that pompous, but ſevere ritual Diſpenſation: Which was only deſign'd to be ſubſervient, to and typical of the better Oeconomy. Nay, ſo far were they from being even kept in this way, that God was oblig'd, as it were, at laſt, to ſend them Captives to *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, to cure them of Idolatry, which they were ſo frequently guilty of. And, upon the whole, I need not ſay, how unſuitable it was for Chriſt

Christ to appear, to appoint a Worship, which was commanded for this very end, to be Typical of his Appearance: For the real and personal Appearance of the *Antitype*, was inconsistent with, and subversive of the Use of the *Types*. So that *the Law was added because of Transgressions*, and for a time only, even *till the coming of the Promised Seed, to whom the Promise was made*, Gal. 3. 9. upon whose coming it was virtually vacated and null'd. During the Continuance therefore of the Jewish Dispensation, it was enough, that God expressed his Care sufficiently for this People, *by sending all his Servants, the Prophets*, one after another, and sometimes many together, *daily rising up early and sending them* (a memorable Expression;) tho with so little Success, that it is added of that People, that *yet they hearkned not unto him, nor inclined their Ear, but hardned their Neck*, Jer. 7. 25, 26. And, as it was improper, that Christ should appear, during the continuance of that Erection; so it was much more improper, that he should be born, whilst they remained Captives in *Babylon*: Seeing they were not at that time so much as a Free People, or in a National State to receive him. Let us therefore consider the *5th and last Period* of the Old Testament-Church. This, in a large Sense, I may well reckon to reach from the Returning of the Jews from *Babylon* to their own Land, and their rebuilding *Jerusalem* and the Temple, to the *Final Destruction* of both, and consequently of their whole Polity and ritual Law, by the *Romans*. During this Period, it was necessary indeed that Christ should be born; but not till towards the Expiring of it: because one end of Christ's coming was to vacate the old Law, and indeed the whole Constitution and Polity of the Jews: For, it was necessary that the *first Covenant should be made void, by the bringing in of a better Testament*. The Jews were indeed cur'd of Idolatry, by their Captivity in *Babylon*. But their other Sins were so many and heinous, that it was necessary that they should be punish'd and oppress'd sometimes by the Kings of *Egypt*, and sometimes by the Kings of *Syria*, and last

of all, that they ſhould be inſlaved by the *Romans*; that, by theſe ſevere Diſpenſations, they might be the better diſpoſed to receive their *Meſſiah*, when he ſhould come. Tho alas! their Wickedneſs made them to turn their Food and Medicine both into Poiſon. However the Train of Divine Procedure, in all this, is admirable. Beſides, that it is to be obſerved, that the Ceremonial Law ceas'd to be of further uſe, as to one great End of its Inſtitution, after that the Jewiſh Nation was cured of Idolatry. So that it was proper that Chriſt ſhould come at laſt, as for other ends, ſo for this, *that he might nail that old Hand-writing of Ordinances, that was*, as *Paul* ſays, *contrary to us, to his Croſs*, with a Deſign to *bring in true Peace*, or a true peaceful Erection in its ſtead. And now from all theſe Conſiderations we cannot but ſee, that it was incongruous that Chriſt ſhould have come *ſooner* than he did. See *Heb.* 1.1,2. *Gal.* 4.3,4.

But, (2.) It was no leſs incongruous, that Chriſt ſhould have come *much later*. For, 1*ſt*. It was proper, that his Coming ſhould co-incide with the Heigth and Grandeur of the *fourth* and *laſt Univerſal Monarchy* (as it is uſually call'd) of the *Romans*. For he was to encounter it, when it was in the very Top of its Power and Glory, and ſo lay the Foundation of its Ruin, by the very ſame ſteps that he took to lay the Foundation of his own Kingdom. Now as our Lord died towards the latter end of the Reign of *Tiberius*, *i. e.* about five or ſix Years before the Death of that Prince; ſo we may well conclude, that Chriſt's Death was exactly in the *Vertical Point* of that Empire, which ſeems to me to have begun its Declenſion from that Year; which is generally ſuppoſed to have been the 18*th* Year of *Tiberius*. And I am apt to think, that that ſtrange Qualm and Terror that ſeiz'd *Tiberius* that very Year, was ordered by God, to the intent, that he might be a kind of Emblem, of the Enemies of Chriſt and his Church, and of the way that God was to take, from that time forward, to deſtroy, by degrees, the Roman Power, by an inward Conſumption, wherein God's hand ſhould

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be felt and own'd. The Paſſage I refer to, is that memorable *Letter of Tiberius* to the *Senate*, wherein he confeſſes his Terror and Miſery, in Words that ſhew him to have been really mad and diſtracted at that time. And it looks to me to be a very remarkable Providence, that two of the moſt celebrated Roman Hiſtorians ſhould both give us his own Words, without any Difference; I mean (*c*) *Suetonius* and (*d*) *Tacitus*. The Words are theſe; *Quid ſcribam vobis Patres Conſcripti, aut quomodo ſcribam, aut quid omnino non ſcribam hoc tempore; Dii me Deæq; pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie ſentio, ſi ſcio:* That is, *What I ſhall write to you, Senatorian Fathers, or how I ſhall write, or what I ſhall not write, at this time; may the Gods and Goddeſſes torment me worſe, than I feel my ſelf to periſh every Day, if I can tell you.* Thus it was then with *Tiberius*; who, I think, was over-acted by God, in a ſuper-natural way, (eſpecially conſidering his ſtrange and reſerved Temper) to write his Mind in this publick manner, upon the Account mention'd. And ſure I am, that, from this very time, we may date the Declenſion of the Roman Empire; For, as a little before, *Tiberius* had murder'd many brave Men; ſo he rag'd with more Fury after this, not only by deſtroying the Flower of all the Roman Nobility and Gentry, but by overturning the very Conſtitution of *Rome*, and any Branches of Liberty or Privilege that yet remain'd among them. And, as *Tiberius* laid the Foundation of the Declenſion of *Rome*, ſo *Caius*, and the ſucceeding Emperors carried it on. So, that tho ſome good and brave Emperors labour'd to reſtore it to its priſtine Glory, ſuch as *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, the *Antonines*, *Probus*, *&c.* yet it is certain, that it never arriv'd to that Pitch, wherein *Auguſtus* left it. Had our Saviour therefore come but a little later than he did, the Roman Empire would have been in its Declenſion before; whereas it was by his Doctrine and Sufferings, and the Sufferings of his Followers, that the Empire was to re-

(*c*) In Tiber. cap. 67. (*d*) Annal. Lib. 6. cap. 6.

ceive its ſeveral Shocks, and its Ruin at laſt. But, 2. Our Saviour's Coming could not be longer delay'd, with Congruity to the *Jewiſh State* and *Law*. For he was to come, before either of theſe was at an end; ſeeing his Coming was the very Cauſe of their Ruin and Deſtruction, all Circumſtances being conſider'd. And therefore the Apoſtle, when he had ſaid, that *God ſent his Son in the Fulneſs of time, made of a Woman*, adds immediately, *made under the Law*, i. e. while the Jewiſh Law was in full Force; for Chriſt was not only, as *Man* and *Redeemer*, made *under Law*, but ſubject to that Law, which the Jews call'd, by way of Eminence, *The Law*, *i. e.* the *Moſaical* Law. Seeing therefore *Jeruſalem* and the *Temple* were deſtroyed in the 70th Year after Chriſt's Birth; it is not conceivable, how our Lord could have come later than he did. For, being cut off in the 33d Year of his Life, the reſt of that time was little enough to ſettle the Chriſtian Church in the Provinces of the Roman Empire, and to fix the difference between the *Chriſtian Religion* and *Jewiſh*; that the *Chriſtian Jews* might not be involv'd in the ſame Quarrel with the unbelieving Part of that Nation, nor conſequently in their Ruin. It was not therefore before the 41ſt Year of our Lord, that *Peter* preach'd firſt to *Cornelius*, and other *Gentiles*. Nor was it ſooner than the Year 52, that the Apoſtles agreed, to diſpenſe with the uſe of the Ceremonial Law, to thoſe that were Gentiles. Nor was the Chriſtian Religion properly brought ſo far as *Rome*, until *Paul* arriv'd there in the Year 63, where he continued a Priſoner at large, at leaſt two Years. And yet it was neceſſary that the Chriſtian Religion ſhould have taken deep Root in the Empire, and have ſpread it ſelf far, before *Jeruſalem*, the Mother-Church, ſhould be cut off. If therefore it was not before the Year 65, that the Chriſtian Religion was fully known in *Rome* it ſelf, if indeed it was fully known there ſo ſoon; it could not be till 5 Years after, that it came to be much, if at all known on this ſide the *Alps*. So that if *Jeruſalem* was to be finally deſtroyed, *An.* 70, and the Jewiſh Nation expell'd from thence

thence the ſame Year; we cannot ſuppoſe that Chriſt could have delay'd his Coming longer than he did, with Congruity either to the putting an end to the Jewiſh Law, and Oeconomy, or to the Security and Settlement of the Goſpel-Kingdom; or indeed with any Decorum at all, to the Circumſtances of things, and the time that they take, in ripening ſo as to draw to a proper periodical Concluſion. And there ſeems to be ſomething obſervable, in this preciſe Period of 70 Years; as harmonizing with the 70 Years Captivity in *Babylon*. For, if the firſt 70 Years ſerv'd to cure the Jews for ever of their Itch after Idolatry, and that ſo as to render them fit to be truſted with a new Leaſe of their Law and Religion; were not 70 Years enough likewiſe to convince them, that Chriſt was the *Meſſiah*, under ſuch innumerable and extraordinary Manifeſtations of God's owning him as ſuch? If then they were not ripen'd by that time for the caſting off their own ſhadowie Law, of their own Accord, in order to embrace the Goſpel; it was high time to caſt them off, and their Law with them, in order to the better Propagation of the Goſpel. And yet how many Warnings had they of their approaching Fate, if they would have minded them? For, beſides many other things that might be minded, let us remember, that it was by *Nero*'s Order, that the War was firſt commenc'd againſt them, of which *Veſpaſian* had the Charge only as General. Now not only *Nero* died a little after, but *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; ſo that they had many fair Opportunities to have ſav'd themſelves, eſpecially by concurring with other Eaſtern Nations, in aſſiſting *Veſpaſian* to gain the Empire; who was not a Man that delighted in Oppreſſion, as neither his brave Son *Titus*, who courted Opportunities to ſave them. But their own Wickedneſs drew down Ruin upon them, and the Hand of God was manifeſt even to (e) *Titus*, as

(e) *See for this what I cite and obſerve from* Philoſtr. in Vita Apoll. Tyrann. Lib. 6. Cap. 14. Page 305. A. *in my* Diſcourſe *concerning* God's Dwelling with Men, *pag.* 43.

to this matter. I grant that the Time between the Death of *Nero*, and the first Year of *Vespasian*, was not long; but, as it was one of the most remarkable Periods, for strange Changes, Revolutions, and Events, that was almost ever in the World, so it was long enough, and afforded Handles and Opportunities enough, for the Jews to have secured themselves from Ruin, if they had not been most strangely infatuated. And here, by the bye, it may not be amiss to mark this Period particularly, as we find it set down by (*f*) *Ziphilinus*. *From the Death of* Nero *to the Reign of* Vespasian, *there interven'd only one Year and two and twenty Days. And this I write, least any should reckon amiss. For they,* (i. e. *Galba, Otho, Vitellius,* and *Vespasian*) *did not* strictly *succeed one another, but one reign'd in the time of another; so that their Years are not to be counted from their Succession one to another, but according to the exact course of time it self.* And by this it is plain, that *Dio* did not reckon *Vespasian*'s Reign from the time of his coming to *Rome*, nor from the Death of *Vitellius*, but from the time that he was proclaim'd Emperor by the Armies in the East, which was in *July*, whereas he came not to *Rome* till long after. And (*g*) *Josephus* reckons the same way, and therefore says, that *Jerusalem was taken by* Titus, *in the second Year of* Vespasian; for it was taken in the *September* Twelve-month following, *i. e.* about a Year and two or three Months after that the Eastern Armies had own'd him Emperor, and sworn to him as such. But to proceed, I add this Observation in the 3*d* Place; that as our Saviour could not come later, in Congruity with the Relation that he stood in, either to the *Roman Empire*, or to the *Jewish Nation*, as both of them were constituted at that time; so he could not have come later, in relation to the *World in general*, and that *Time* that is *allotted for its Duration*, down to the *Last* and *Concluding Period* thereof. I would

(*f*) Epit. Dionis Cassii. Edit. Henr. Steph. *pag.* 223. (*g*) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 47.

not

not be positive here, but I am still of the Mind I was, when I publish'd my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, with some more. I took Notice (*b*) there of the Ancient Jewish Tradition, called that of the *House of* Elias; *viz.* that, as there were *Two Thousand Years from the Creation to* Abraham, *without a written Directory of Religion; and Two Thousand from thence to Christ, under the Oeconomy of the Law; so there would be Two Thousand Years more under the Messiah:* which they express concisely thus; 2000 *Years Emptiness,* 2000 *Years the Law, and* 2000 *Years the Days of the Messiah.* Now, according to the *Usserian* Chronology, *Abraham* was born, *A. M.* 2008. going upon this Supposition, that *Abram* was *Terah*'s youngest Son. But tho I do grant that *Haran* was the eldest Son by far, as being born in the 70th Year of *Terah*'s Age; yet I see no Reason to make *Abram* the youngest of all the three; for as *Moses* names *Abram* first, *Ch.* 11. 29. so does *Laban* afterwards, *Ch.* 31. 53. which I do not think he would have done, had he own'd himself to be descended from the elder Brother. Nor do I see any Reason in what is said, that because *Terah* died in the 205th Year of his Age, *Gen.* 11. 32. and *Abram* is said to leave *Haran* after his Death, and to have been 75 Years old, when he did so, *Gen.* 12. 1, 4. we are obliged to conclude, that therefore *Abram* was born in the 130th Year of *Terah*'s Age: For tho it be positively said, *Ch.* 12. 4. that *Abram* was 75 Years old, when he left the Country or Town, which *Terah* had called *Haran*, to preserve the Memory of his eldest Son; yet there is nothing to determine, how long it was after *Terah*'s Death, that *Abram* did actually leave that Place. Nay, so far is it from this, that the contrary seems to be more probable, from the Silence of *Moses*: For when he had told us, *Ch.* 11. 32. *That* Terah *died in* Haran, *being* 205 *Years old,* he immediately adds, *Ch.* 12. 1. *Now the Lord had said unto* Abram, *Get thee out of thy Country,* &c. which

(*b*) *Page* 34.

he did indeed in Company of *Lot*, ver. 4. but when, is not ſaid; excepting that his Age is ſpecified, when he left *Haran*. I ſhould therefore gueſs, that *Abram* left not *Haran*, till ſeveral Years after his Father's Death. And perhaps he might have Work enough, even for ſeveral Years, to adjuſt Matters with his Brother *Nahor*, (who, if he was ſuch a Man as his Grand-ſon *Laban*, and even *Rebecka* too, *Laban*'s Siſter, was a cunning Man, as to the World) with Reſpect to the Inheritance of their Father *Terah*. For *Lot* being the eldeſt Brother's Son, and *Abram*, as I conjecture, the ſecond, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have their Share in Mony, Goods, and Cattle, ſeeing they were to leave *Nahor* the whole Inheritance, as to Houſes and Lands. So that, ſeeing we can only gueſs here, I ſhould think, that Providence did ſo order it, that *Abram* was born in the 122d Year of *Terah*, and ſo exactly, *A. M.* 2000. by which this illuſtrious Patriarch was born juſt 2000 Years before Chriſt. Let us ſuppoſe then that there were juſt 2000 Years before *Abram*'s Birth, and we find, according to the *Uſſerian* Chronology, that there were juſt 2000 Years more to Chriſt's Birth; the Central Year between thoſe being remarkable alſo for the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, which was finiſh'd, *A. M.* 3000. in the beginning of it, *viz.* in the Month *Bull*, which anſwers to our *October* and part of *November*. But it will be ſaid, if Chriſt was born, *A. M.* 4000, or 4001. and there are to be 2000 Years only under his Government, how can Chriſt be ſaid to be born in the Centre or Fulneſs of Time, with Reſpect to the World's Duration? I anſwer, (as I ſaid formerly in the Diſcourſe referred to) That I look upon the *Two Thouſand Years* immediately following Chriſt's Birth, not to be the whole of the *Laſt Times*, as the Jews call'd all that Time, that was to follow the Appearing of the *Meſſiah*; but only to contain the Time of the Struggle of Chriſt and his Kingdom with all manner of Enemies, until theſe be entirely conquer'd, and the *Millennium-Government* be erected in its ſtead. And what my Notion of the *Millennium* is, I have told the World in my

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(*i*) *Apocalyptical Diſcourſe.* However, ſeeing that Diſcourſe may not be in every Man's Hand, that may caſt his Eyes upon this, I ſhall give my Thoughts of the ſucceeding Periods of times again, after this manner: 1. As there were *Two Thouſand Years* from the *Creation* to the Birth of *Abram*; ſo I do conclude, (according to the particular Calculation made in that Apocalyptical Diſcourſe) that in or about the Year 2000 from Chriſt's Birth, the *Papal* and *Mahometan Antichriſt* ſhall be deſtroyed, and the glorious State of the Church begin; which is known by the Name of the *Millennary Reign.* And perhaps the *Iſraelitiſh Nation* may be in this a Type of the *Millennium*; that as from *Abraham*'s *Birth* to the going of *Iſrael* up out of *Egypt*, there were about 500 Years; ſo there may be about the like Number, from the *firſt Foundation* of that *Happy State* of the New Teſtament-Church, to the *Full Erection* thereof into a Body Politick, under the Law of Chriſt fully and perfectly ſettled. And, as *Solomon*'s *Temple* was the very Centre of the Continuance of the Abramitical Nation, and indeed its Glory; and yet ſuch, as juſt after its being finiſh'd, that People began to decline; firſt, by Reaſon of *Solomon*'s Apoſtacy, Idolatry, and Oppreſſing the People with Taxes, and then by the Revolt of the Ten Tribes from his Son and Family: So we may ſuppoſe, that when the Millennary Reign has come to its Perfection, *A. C.* 3000. there will quickly follow a Declenſion and Defection. 2. Whereas 1000 Years run out from the finiſhing of *Solomon*'s Temple, to the firſt Coming of our Saviour, it is no incongruous Conjecture to imagine, that there may be 1000 Years to run out alſo, from the *Completion* of the *Millennium*, to Chriſt's ſecond Coming to judge the World, or (as I conjectur'd formerly) to the Concluſion of thoſe Laſt and moſt Glorious *Aſſizes.* Now, ſeeing we read that after the Expiration of the Happy Millennary State, Men will begin generally to

(*i*) *See* Page 91, *&c.*

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Apoſtatize from Chriſt, and that ſo univerſally at length, as to gather themſelves together under the Character of *Gog and Magog*, from the four Corners of the World, *i.e.* from all the Quarters and Regions of the four Parts thereof, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Europe*, and *America*, (which vaſt Armies, after they have brought the Church to the laſt Extremity, are to be deſtroy'd, as *by Fire from Heaven*, *i. e.* by the Eminent Appearing of Chriſt the *Shechina* from Heaven, *Rev.* 20. 9.) We cannot but think that theſe Events will take up a long Tract of Time, and that that *Deſtruction of them by Fire from Heaven*, doth denote *the General Conflagration* of the World, mention'd, 2 *Pet.* 3. 10, *&c.* which will be followed with the general Reſurrection, and Chriſt's ſummoning all Men, and Devils too, before him unto Judgment. And certain it is, that Period of time, called *the Day of Judgment*, will be a very long one; ſeeing the Words and Actions of all Men (to paſs by the Judgment of Apoſtate Spirits) muſt be publickly diſcover'd, and laid open to the Satisfaction of every Man ſingly, and of all of them jointly, that *(k) God may be own'd to be clear and juſt when he judgeth, and ſo acquitted by the Sentence of Mens own Reaſon and Conſcience*; which I think is impoſſible to be done, in a Day or Year, nay in a Century of Years: For we muſt not have recourſe to the Abſolute Power of God here, no more than in the Government of Men in this World, but to his Ordinate Method and Rule of Procedure; by which we muſt ſuppoſe him neceſſarily to act to Men as Men, and according to the Faculties and Powers he has given them. And therefore ſeeing the Apoſtle *Peter*, 2 Ep. 3. ſays, *that* 1000 *Years and one Day are the ſame thing in divine Reckoning*; and ſeeing we are ſure that he ſpeaks this in reference, not only to the *ſeeming Delay of Chriſt's ſecond Coming*, as the Connexion of *ver.* 8. with *ver.* 9. ſhews; but alſo in Reference to *the Period of the Laſt Judgment* it ſelf, as the Connexion

(k) Pſal. 51. 4.

of

of the ſame, *ver.* 8. both with *ver.* 7. and with *ver.* 10, 11, 12, *&c.* ſhews us; therefore I am apt to believe, that the Period of the Laſt Judgment will be that of 1000 Years. And if ſo, the intermediate Period may take in 1000 Years too. And thus there will be 4000 Years from Chriſt's firſt Coming to his ſecond Coming. For *firſt* there will be *Two Thouſand* under a *State of Warfare*, *i. e.* with the *Jewiſh Religion* and *Nation* firſt; with the *Heatheniſh Roman Empire*, and its *Idolatry*, and *Superſtition*, next; and with the *Popiſh* and *Mahometan* Errors and Uſurpations in the third Place. All which being ſubdued, the happy *Millennary* Period, (which is the *3d Period*, if we compute by Millennaries of Years) ſucceeds, wherein all Nations and Princes will yield themſelves willing Subjects to Chriſt and Chriſtianity. But this long Peace and Proſperity will at laſt end in a general Defection. So that the *Fourth Period* of 1000 Years more, wherein Satan is to get looſe, in order to play a new Game, will be a new State of Trial to the Church of God, and proceed to that Height, as to threaten a total Extirpation of Chriſtianity and Chriſtians, which is repreſented by *John*, under the Emblem of *beſieging the Camp of the Saints, and the beloved City*, i. e. *Jeruſalem*, or the Church, *Rev.* 20. 9. And then, in the nick of Extremity, comes the deciſive Blow from Heaven; upon which the Reſurrection and final Judgment come to commence and take place. Now the Trial of the Church, during the laſt Thouſand Years, will, I believe, neither be *Idolatry* nor *Superſtition* of any ſort, but open and bare-fac'd *Atheiſm*, or rather *Infidelity*, which ſome call *Deiſm*; *i. e.* an open Rejection of the Bible and Chriſtianity, and all Revealed Religion; for ſo *Peter* tells us, 2 Epiſt. 3. 3, 4, 5. that the Church will be undermin'd and run down, by a Generation of *Scoffers, who will proudly and arrogantly, with Scoffs and Jeſts, ask, When do you expect your Jeſus?* &c. And all this Infidelity will be promoted and defended merely to patronize a lawleſs and wicked Courſe of Living: For *Peter* calls them *Scoffers*, that ſhall *walk after their own Luſts*, and ſuch as

are,

are, from Designs of this kind, resolvedly, or, as he speaks, *willingly ignorant* of the Evidences and Proofs that God has given Men, in order of their being assur'd of the Verity and Divinity of Christ, and his Reveal'd Religion. And our Lord himself has told the same thing, when he assures us, that when he shall come the second time, *he will not find Faith on the Earth*, i. e. he will hardly find any Faith or Profession of Revealed Religion, *Luke* 18. 8. And he tells us further, that the State of Mankind will, at that time, be equally degenerate, with respect to Life and Morals, as with respect to the Belief of Revealed Religion, and that it will be just so then, as it was with the *Ante-Diluvians*, amongst whom there was hardly left any more than one Religious Man and Family. For thus he speaks, *Mat.* 24. 37, 38, 39. *As the Days of* Noah *were, so shall the Coming of the Son of Man be. For, as in the Days that were before the Flood, they were eating, and drinking, marrying and giving in Marriage, (i. e.* dissolv'd in Luxury and Wickedness, making poor *Noah, and his Ship built on dry Land,* the Subjects of their Scoffs and Sonnets, in the midst of their Cups and Debaucheries,*) until the day that* Noah *entred into the Ark; and knew not until the Flood came, and took them all away: so shall also the Coming of the Son of Man be; (i. e.* his second Coming will be the Subject of their Mirth and Derision; and as surprizing, and therefore as terrible to such Infidels, Sots, and Debauchees, as the Flood was to the former; nay, and much more so.) Now after all this, have I not Reason to think it probable at least, that the *First Days* or *Times, i. e.* those that preceded Christ's first Coming; and the later Days or Times, that follow his *First Coming*, and end at his *Second Coming*, (for into these two Great and General Periods the Scripture divides the whole Duration of Mankind in this World:) I say, have I not Reason to reckon them to be equal, as to Extent? As therefore the World was made in *Six Days*, and then followed the *Sabbath*, or Day of Rest; so the World, in a proper State of Trial and Probation, will probably continue till *Six Thousand* Years be expired, (a Thousand Years answering to a Day,

Day, according to *Peter*) and then will the *Sabatical Period* of the *Millennium* come. After which, and the eminent Discoveries given then, it seems consonant to Divine Procedure, to enter Men into a new State of Trial again. But this being entertain'd so ill, God will be so provok'd, towards the Expiration of another thousand Years, as to cut Men short of their Hopes of extending Posterity further. And thus the Day of Judgment will be hastened. For as the *Jewish Oeconomy*, (as well as the *Ante-Diluvian one*) came to an end only, through the Mismanagement of themselves: So will it be with those Men, that live after the *Millennium*.

And here, I cannot but desire the Reader to compare two other Expressions of Scripture, with these two, concerning *the Fulness of time*, or *of the times*, which I am discoursing of. The *1st* is, *Heb.* 1. 2. where the Apostle says, that Christ appeared so as to speak to Men, *in these last Days*. For tho he was born in the Conclusion of the *first Days*, or Old Testament-Times; yet all his Publick Appearance was in the *last Days*, *i.e.* after the first Millennary was begun. The *2d* is, *Heb.* 9. 26. where the Apostle says, That Christ's Appearance was ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, which we corruptly render, *in the end of the World*, but which ought to be rendred, in the *Consummation of time*, or in its *Perfection*, or in its full *Maturity*; for so the Word is commonly used by the best Authors. So that it does indeed denote the central Part of Time, or the full Completion thereof; in the same Sense, which I have given already, and am about to clear up further.

And now I hope I have said enough to shew, that according to the Scheme which God had laid down as to the Duration and Government of the World, our Lord could not have come either sooner or later than he did. To which let me add this one *Observation* further; That, seeing we find that before *Christ's second Coming*, Infidelity will generally prevail, and the Bulk of Men degenerate into wicked *Scoffers*; it was necessary,

ry, that Christ should come no sooner than he did. For had he come a thousand, or two or three thousand Years sonner; those that may now perhaps think he came too late, would have been apt to clamour at his coming too soon. What would Men not have said, upon this Head, against Christianity, had Christ been born before the Days of *Cyrus* the Great? Which all the Gentile Authors look upon as the fabulous Age or Time of the World; as indeed it was to them, for want of History. But had he come, before *Moses* his time, the Clamours and Cavils would have risen to a much greater Height. So that even upon this Account, that all just occasion might be taken away from Scepticism, in a point of this Consequence; we may see and admire the Wisdom of God, in ordering the time of Christ's Birth so, that it is as easy, if not more easy to deny that such a Man as *Augustus* liv'd in the World, than to deny that *Christ* was born at that time and in that Age. So that in this respect also, Christ may justly be said to be born in *the Fulness of Time.*

But, 3*dly*. I proceed to another *Observation*, with respect to the Congruity of that time wherein Christ was born, which denotes it yet further to be indeed *the Fulness of time*; *viz.* that Christ's Birth answers exactly to the Time, that was mark'd out for it, in the ancient Prophesies, that gave an Account thereof.

Could I satisfy my self here, as abundance of *System-makers* and *Commentators* do, I should quickly ease my self, and dismiss the Reader, by saying, that this was *the Fulness of time*, in relation to *the Decree and Appointment of God.* A true Assertion no doubt: But such a one as is altogether impertinent here, and nothing to the purpose. For do not all things fall out, according to God's Determination; and consequently, in relation to that, *in the Fulness of time?* Were this to explain the point; *the Fulness of time* must be all time or every point of time? For thus both the beginning and the end of time, nay and every Period of it, are *the Fulness of time.* So that we should, at last, come to this

this Suppoſition, that the Spirit of God did, by this Expreſſion, ſay nothing at all, in relation to Chriſt's Death, that was peculiar or proper, or that was indeed Senſe.

As therefore I have taken ſome pains already to ſhew the Emphaſis of this Expreſſion, and the Wiſdom of God therein; that we may ſee, not only what a Relation *Chriſt himſelf* bears to the *Syſtem* of the World, conſidered as to his *Perſon* and *Office*; but what relation alſo the *time* of his *appearing* bears to the *Flux* or *Courſe* of of the *World's Duration:* So I ſhall obſerve further, how exactly this time agrees, with the Scheme of Divine Wiſdom laid down this way; by conſidering how exactly Chriſt's Birth, Appearance among Men, and Sufferings, did fall in with the Predictions that were publickly given out, this way, and for this end, of old. For this will not only be of uſe to convince Jews and Infidels, if they will impartially conſider Matters; but to ſtrengthen and confirm us likewiſe in the Faith; both with relation to the Truth of Scripture-Revelation in general, and of Chriſt's being the true and only Meſſiah in particular.

And here I ſhall confine my ſelf to *three Propheſies*, tho I confeſs the moſt material and expreſs ones to this Purpoſe, *viz. Jacob's Propheſy*, concerning *Chriſt's coming*, during the *Continuance of the Jewiſh Nation*, Gen. 49. 10. *Haggai's Propheſy*, of *Chriſt's coming*, during the Continuance of the *Second Temple*, *Chap.* 2. 7, 8, 9. and *Daniel's Prophetical Account* of the *preciſe time of his Suffering*, according to the *Period of* 70 *Weeks of Years*, *Chap.* 9. 24, 25.

And, (1.) I begin with the Propheſy of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49.10. which our Verſion renders thus; *The Scepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be.* The literal Verſion of *Arius Montanus*, repreſents the Hebrew thus: *The Rod ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come, and the Nations yield Obedience to him.* The *Sept.*

Verſion

Version gives this Sense: *A Prince shall not cease from* Judah, *nor a General from between his Feet, until those things come to pass that are laid up in store for him.* The *Samaritan* Text runs thus: *The Scepter shall not be taken from* Judah, *nor a General from his Standards, until the peaceable One* (*i. e.* he that is *so* by way of Eminency, or the Prince of Peace) *shall come, and to him shall the Nations be gathered together.* The *Syriac* Version renders the Words after this manner: *The Scepter shall not depart from* Judah, *nor an Interpreter from between his Feet, until he come whose Right it is, and the Gentiles shall wait for him.* The *Arabic* renders it, after this Sort: *The Rod shall not go over from* Judah, *nor a Legislator from between his Feet, until he come, whose even he himself is,* (*i. e.* under whose Government even *Judah* himself is, with all his Posterity) *and to whom the Nations shall be gather'd together.* The *Vulgar Latin* runs thus: *The Scepter shall not be taken away from* Judah, *nor a General from his Thigh, until he come who is to be sent, and he shall be the Expectation of the Gentiles.* Having thus set before the Reader, the various Readings or Senses of this, according to all the most ancient and famous Versions; I cannot but add the three Jewish Paraphrases of the same Text. That of *Onkelos* runs thus: *The Prince shall not be taken from* Judah, *nor the Scribe from his Sons Sons, even for ever; until the Messiah come, whose is the Kingdom, and to whom the Nations shall become obedient.* The *Jerusalem Targum*, gives us the Sense after this manner: *Kings shall not cease from the Family of* Judah, *nor skilful Doctors of the Law, from his Childrens Children, until that Time wherein the King Messiah shall come, unto whom all the Kingdoms of the World shall at length come to be subject.* The *Targum* of *Jonathan B. Uziel* gives the words thus: *Kings and Governours shall not cease from the Tribe of* Judah, *nor Scribes to explain the Law from his Seed, until that time, that the King Messiah, the youngest of his Sons, shall come, and because of him the People shall be dissolved.*

I shall not trouble the Reader, by a nice or critical Comparing of these several Versions and Paraphrases;

phraſes; for this would carry me too far. Nor ſhall I ſo much as inquire into the proper meaning of *Shiloh*; whether it ſignify ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *him for whom is laid up, viz.* the Scepter and Government; or whether it do rather denote *the ſent*, or *the to be ſent*, *i. e.* the Perſon to be ſent from God into the World; or whether it do denote *the Pacifick* Perſon, or Original or Prince of Peace, as if the Word came from *Shalam*, to render quiet, or to bring in Peace, (for which conſider *Pſal.* 122. 6.) Or, whether the Senſe be, as much as this, *the Saviour*, or the Procurer of Salvation, as if the Word came from *Shalah*, he ſav'd, or was made ſafe, or did bring in Safety, (as the Word ſignifies, *Job* 3. 26.) Or whether laſtly, it do denote, *to be happy*, or *to make happy* or proſperous (for which conſider, *Pſal.* 30. 6. *Jer.* 12. 1. *Lam.* 1. 5.) For let the word ſignify any, or all theſe things (as I am inclin'd to think) ſtill there is enough, that all Interpreters are agreed in, that will ſerve my purpoſe here. For all Interpreters, ancient and modern, agree in theſe three main Points here. 1. That *Shiloh* denotes the *Meſſiah*; 2. That the *Tribe of* Judah ſhould be continued in a *National* and *Church-State*, govern'd by *particular Rulers* of their own, and by *Doctors of their Law*, that ſhould be *Jews* by *Deſcent*, as well as *Profeſſion*, until that Time, wherein the *Meſſiah* ſhould appear; and, 3. That after the Coming of the *Meſſiah*, an end ſhould be put to their Government, and that yet the People or Gentile Nations ſhould ſubmit themſelves to him.

All therefore, that is the Subject of Controverſy here, is only the Truth of the ſecond Point. For, ſeeing *Herod* the Great was an Uſurper, and, in a proper Senſe, an *Alien*, and not a *Jew*, far leſs deſcended of the Family of *David*; in him certainly the *Scepter* was departed from *Judah*, long before Chriſt was born. And therefore, it is *query'd*, How it is conſiſtent with Truth, that Chriſt came before the Scepter departed from *Judah*; ſeeing he was born long after *Herod* began his Reign? *I anſwer*, That were I to follow the Verſion of

Tremellius, an eaſy Solution might be given to this, by underſtanding the Hebrew Word *Shebet*, to ſignify, in this place, not a *Rod* or *Scepter*, and therefore not a *Ruler* or *Prince*, figuratively denoted by that Badg of Authority; but the *Family* or *Tribe*. For then the Senſe would be this, *The Tribe* ſhall not ceaſe from *Judah*, or *Judah ſhall not ceaſe to be a Tribe or Nation, govern'd by its own Legiſlators and Laws, until the Meſſiah come, unto whom, upon the Jews rejection of him, ſhall the Gentiles be called and gathered in.* And certain it is, that *Shebet* is frequently taken in this Senſe, to denote a Family, Nation or Tribe, as any Perſon may be ſatisfied that will caſt up the Hebrew Lexicons, but eſpecially Concordances. So that I ſhould readily fall in with this Interpretation, were it not for the Deference I pay to the ancient Verſions and Paraphraſes which I have quoted; who do all concur in the other Meaning of the Word. And therefore I muſt ſee, how the Difficulty mentioned can be ſurmounted, even upon the Suppoſition, that this is the only Meaning of the Word *Shebet*. The Common Anſwer is, that *Judæa* was not made a *Roman Province* properly, till towards the End of the Reign of *Auguſtus*; for that tho both *Pompey*, *Soſius* and *Anthony* ſubdued them, yet they left them under their own Rulers and Laws, and that, tho *Herod* was no Jew properly, but a Foreigner, yet ſince he became a Jew, in point of Religion, and ſuffered the Jews to be ruled by their own Judicial or Civil Laws, as well as Eccleſiaſtical; Therefore *Judæa* might well be ſaid to be ruled by their own Princes, all the time of *Herod*, and for ſome time after, until *Auguſtus* did tax *Judæa*, which was that very Year that Chriſt was born, as we ſee *Luke* 2. 1, 2, *&c.* eſpecially ſeeing, that a few Years after this, *viz.* upon the Death of *Archelaus*, *Auguſtus* order'd that none ſhould rule *Judæa* afterwards as *King*, but that it ſhould be govern'd by *Roman Deputies* or *Proconſuls*, to be ſent thither from time to time; after which the Jews learned to ſay, *We have no King but* Cæſar.

I confeſs this is a very plauſible Anſwer. But how ſpecioufly ſoever it be ſet out by Learned Men, I look upon it to be rather an Evaſion, than any Solution of the Difficulty. For the *Objection* ſuppoſeth, *that the Jews were to have natural-born Princes and Law-givers to rule them, until the coming of the Meſſiah.* So that let the Jews have been never ſo free and independent a Nation during *Herod*'s Reign, ſtill the Objection remains in full Force, in caſe he himſelf was either an *Alien* or *Uſurper.* And it is very certain, that *Herod* was both. For he was an *Idumæan* by Birth, and forc'd upon the *Jews* by the *Romans,* to the Prejudice not only of *David*'s Family, but even of that of *Hyrcanus* too, that had reign'd for ſome time, and was a Jew by Birth and Deſcent. Therefore we muſt not, we cannot deny, but that the *Scepter* and *Regal Dignity* was departed from the Poſterity of *Judah,* in this Senſe, when *Herod* was impos'd upon them by *M. Anthony* and *Auguſtus,* who obtain'd a Decree of the Roman Senate for this end, and ſet him over the Jews, not by virtue of their Call or Choice, but by a Hoſtile Invaſion, and Military Force.

To anſwer the Difficulty therefore, we muſt take a more narrow View of the Text. And *firſt,* let us conſider the Senſe of the Phraſe, *from between his Feet.* This I do readily own, with the Current of Interpreters, to denote proper and natural Poſterity or Deſcendants. The Phraſe is alluſive to the Cuſtom of Parents, between whoſe Feet Children, when young, do uſually ſtand. Thus *Joſeph brought forth his two Sons from between his Feet,* to have them bleſs'd by *Jacob,* Gen. 4. 11. See alſo, *Deut.* 28. 57. But now let us conſider, in the next Place, to whom this Character is affixed. The vulgar Notion, that has hitherto obtain'd, is, that it is affix'd to the *Civil Princes,* that were to rule them, as well as to the *Doctors of their Law.* As if the Words had run thus; *Princes and Doctors that come from between the Feet of* Judah, *ſhall not ceaſe till* Shiloh *come.* And had the Words run thus, then I do readily confeſs, that they would neceſſarily have afforded us this Senſe; *Judah ſhall not be under the Government, either*

of Princes or Doctors, that shall be Aliens or Foreigners, but of such as shall be his own natural Offspring, until the time of the Messiah. But, so far is it from this, that the Text, in the Original, will not so much as admit of this Construction; and consequently can hardly be supposed to carry any such Sense along with it. For it does not speak of the *Persons* of *Civil Rulers*, as it does of the *Persons* that were to *expound their Law*; but uses the Word *Shebet*, that signifies only a *Rod* or *Scepter*. By which Precaution, though we are obliged to conclude, that the Jews should never want those of their own Nation to be Expositors of their Law; yet, we are so far from being oblig'd to interpret the *first Clause* so, that relates to *Civil Rulers*, that the very contrary seems to be insinuated, *viz. that their King, or Civil Ruler, should not be a Jew, but an Alien, when the Messiah should come.* It is true, it is asserted, that the *Scepter* should not depart from *Judah*, as from the other Tribes, till the *Messiah* should come: But all this is no more than to say, that whereas all the other Tribes should be ruin'd and scatter'd long before the Coming of Christ; yet *Judah* should have this Privilege, peculiar to himself, that his Posterity should be continued in a national State, under a Regular Administration of Princes of their own, (whether Natives or Aliens) that should rule them, as a national and establish'd People: And this is all that the *first Clause* asserts. But the *Second* superadds more. For, it does not only say, that the Jews should have *Doctors of their Law*, as well as *Civil Princes*; but gives us this further Notion, that these *Doctors* should be *natural-born Jews.*

Now, this being to me the true Sense of the Text, I cannot but desire the Reader to observe and admire the nice ballancing of these Words; wherein I do plainly see, as through a Ray of Cœlestial Light, with what Wisdom these very Words, that *Jacob* utter'd, and *Moses* has preserv'd to us, are chosen and connected.

And sure I am, the Wisdom is most admirable and surprizing, in adjusting the time of Christ's Coming, according to that Sense of the Text which I have given; which,

which, I am bold to say, is as *solid* as *new*. For, 1. Had Christ been born before *Herod* began his Reign, the first Clause of the Text would not have had that Emphasis it seems to carry along with it, as I have already observ'd in explaining it; seeing *Hircanus* and *Antigonus*, his Predecessors, were *Jews* by Nation. 2. Had Christ come in the beginning of *Herod's Reign*, he must have died likewise before the end of it, seeing he reign'd 37 Years from his first obtaining the Kingdom at *Rome*, and 34 Years from the Slaughter of *Antigonus*; and then the Words would have had no Emphasis at all, when they say, That the *Scepter* should not depart from *Judah*, till the *Messiah* come; when we should be oblig'd to interpret them, not in relation to his Birth, but his Death; the meaning being then, *the Scepter shall not depart from* Judah, *till the Messiah die and go out of the World*. Besides, that had *Christ* suffer'd in the Reign of *Herod*, the *Roman Government* would have had no Hand in his Death, which yet must be according to the Scheme God had laid down, that he might suffer jointly by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. 3. Had Christ been born never so few Days after *Herod's* Death, the Prophesy had been not only without any Emphasis, but false as to the *first Clause* of it. For after *Herod's* Death, *the Scepter was taken from* Judah. It is true, *Herod* had a Grant from *Augustus* to nominate his Successor; but it is as true, that the Person nominated was not to be own'd *King*, until *Augustus* had approved of it. And therefore (*k*) *Josephus* tells us, that *Archelaus*, who was nominated King of *Judæa* by *Herod's* Will, was advised by his Friends to abstain from the Title of *King*, seeing that depended intirely upon the Will of *Cæsar*; which he agreed to with that Niceness, that he refus'd to comply with the Desire of the *Army*, who offer'd to *Crown him King*, as his *Father* had been. And when afterwards he and his Brother *Antipas* pleaded their several Pretensions to that Dignity before *Au-*

(*k*) Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 10.

guſtus, the Reſult was this, (*l*) that *Auguſtus* determin'd, that *Archelaus* ſhould ſucceed to the half of *Herod*'s Government, under the Name of *Ethnarch* or *Governour*, but that he ſhould never pretend to be *King*, or aſſume that *Title*; and that the other half of his Father's Dominions ſhould be divided between his two Brothers, *Philip* and *Antipas*. (*m*) So that, in propriety of Speech,

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(*l*) *See* Joſ. Antiq. l. 17. c. 13. (*m*) *In order to ſet things relating to the* Herods, *in a clear Light, it is fit that I ſhould preſent the Reader with the Sum of their Hiſtory; which I ſhall give thus* Herod the Great *had* ſix Sons *that came to Mens Eſtate*, viz. Ariſtobulus, Alexander, Antipater, Archelaus, Antipas, *and* Philip. *Of theſe the* Three Firſt *were put to Death, by his own Order, before his Death.* Joſeph. Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 17, 21. *and the* other Three, *as I have ſaid, ſurvived their Father, and contended before* Auguſtus *for their Father's Authority and Dominion.* Archelaus, *the elder Brother, having govern'd* Judæa *for nine Years, the not as King, but as Deputy only, is, after nine Years, baniſh'd to* Vienna, *where he dies.* Joſeph. Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 6. *In his ſtead* Pontius Pilate *is ſent Governour into* Judæa, *who was a* Roman; *in whoſe Days our Saviour was crucified: See* Joſ. Bell. Jud. Lib 2. Chap. 8. Antipas, *who is commonly called* Herod, *and his Brother* Philip *being continued in the Government of their diſtinct* Tetrarchies, *according to the firſt Order of* Auguſtus; Antipas *being Governour of* Galilee, *and* Philip *of the adjacent Country, called then* Trachonitides *and* Auranites; Judæa, Idumæa, *and* Samaria, *which had formerly been aſſigned to* Archelaus, *being now committed to* Pilate. *And hence it is eaſy to underſtand, that it was* Herod Antipas, *who killed* John *the* Baptiſt, *and to whom* Pilate *ſent* Chriſt. *But, during his Government, it happen'd, that* Herod Agrippa, *the Son of* Ariſtobulus, *who had been impriſon'd by* Tiberius, *had ſo got into the Favour of* Caius, *that he was by him declared Succeſſor to* Philip, *who happened to die about this time. And was honour'd alſo by him with the Title of* King; *not of* Judæa, *but of that Diſtrict or Territory, which had formerly belong'd to his Uncle* Philip. *And not only ſo, but he did alſo give him* Galilee, *baniſhing* Antipas *from thence into* Spain, *where he died.* Joſ Bel Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. *Nay, beſides all this,* Claudius Cæſar *gave him Dominion over all* Judæa *and* Samaria, *which had formerly belong'd to* Archelaus. *So that all the Dominion of* Herod the Great *did at length return to him, for three Years time, if we may believe* Joſephus, Antiq. Jud. Lib. 19. Cap. 7. *And this is that* Herod, *who affecting to be own'd to be the* Meſſiah *or* Shechinah, *or, at leaſt affecting (by a vain Attempt of imitating him) to appear like him, was ſtruck immediately by Chriſt's Order, by an Angel, as we read,* Acts, *ch.* 12. *and* Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 19. Cap. 7. *as I obſerv'd in the* 2d Book *of* Chriſtology, *Ch.* 7. *Pag.* 300. *To which Obſervation,*

Speech, none ever wore a *Crown*, or ſway'd a *Scepter* in *Judæa*, after *Herod* the *Great*'s Death; tho ſome of his Succeſſors obtain'd that Name and Title afterwards; unleſs we make *Herod Agrippa* an Exception to this Rule. And as for *Archelaus*, he had not govern'd ten Years compleat, from *Herod's* Death, until he was recall'd to *Rome*, and baniſh'd to *Vienna* in *France*, where he ended

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Obſervation, let me add this, That the Meſſiah being now come, it was High Treaſon againſt him, who was the true King of the Jews, (according to that faithful Witneſs, which Chriſt witneſſed before Pilate) *for any Man, but eſpecially a Jew, to aſſume the Title of King of* Judæa. Herod Agrippa *therefore, who had killed the Apoſtle* James, *and attempted to kill* Peter, *having ſufficient Advantages to know that Chriſt was the* Meſſiah, *was ſo much the more guilty, in uſurping this Title and Office, which appertain'd to none other, according to* Jacob's *Prediction, now that Chriſt the* Shiloh *of God was come. Hence our Lord had juſt Reaſon to puniſh him in that publick and remarkable way, that the Jews might ſee, that their ancient* Shechinah *acted ſtill as their King; and ſo might be led to think of Chriſt, whom the Chriſtians own'd as* Meſſiah. *So, that tho this* Herod *was indeed conſtituted King of* Judæa *by the Roman Emperor; yet ſeeing this was for three Years only, and ſeeing he was declar'd, by this exemplary Puniſhment, to have been a mere Uſurper, therefore I had Reaſon to ſay,* That none was properly *King* of *Judæa, after* Herod *the* Great, unleſs *Herod Agrippa* be made an Exception to this Rule. *And how, and in what Senſe he may be reckon'd an Exception, I have now ſaid. If any ſay, but was not his Son* Herod Agrippa *as much King as his Father, ſeeing he is called ſo conſtantly, both by* Paul *and* Feſtus, *Acts*, ch. 25. *and* ch. 26. *as he is alſo conſtantly ſpoken of under this Title by* Joſephus? *I anſwer, not at all. For, tho this younger* Herod Agrippa, *(who is ſimply called* Agrippa *in the Book of the* Acts, *as his Father is ſimply named* Herod, *for Diſtinction's Sake) is ſaid, by* Joſephus, *to have been conſtituted King over his Father's Dominions, by* Claudius Cæſar. Bel. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. *Yet when this Author explains this* General Aſſertion, *by giving us a more particular Account of this matter; he tells us, that* Agrippa, *(who, it ſeems, came not from* Rome *to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom till long after* Claudius's *Death) was abridg'd of this Dominion by* Nero; *who allowed him indeed to govern all the other Dominions that belong'd to* Herod *the* Great, *but ſuffer'd him not to have any immediate Authority in* Judæa *it ſelf.* Bel. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. *So, that tho he was King of* Galilee, *and ſome other Countries, he was not properly King of* Judæa. *Indeed he was intitled to it for a while, during the laſt Year or Years of* Claudius's *Reign. But having never left* Rome *all the time that he enjoyed this Title, he was conſequently never inveſted or inaugurated as ſuch by the Jews. Nay, which is*

yet

his Days. After whom *Judæa* was never truſted to a *Jew*, but to a *Roman Governour*.

From all theſe Obſervations, have we not Reaſon to admire the punctual and critical Accompliſhment of this Prophecy; eſpecially if we ſuppoſe that Chriſt was born

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Yet more conſiderable to my purpoſe; we are told by Joſephus, *That* Claudius *being diſſwaded by his Friends from intruſting* Judæa *to ſo young a Man, did indeed give* Agrippa *the Title of King of* Judæa, *but nothing of Authority or Power with it; this being intruſted into the hands of* Cuſpius Fadus, *with the Title of Preſident of* Judæa. L. Antiq. Jud. l. 19. c. ult. *Upon which accounts, and* Nero's *taking* Judæa *wholly from him, and placing* Felix *Governour there in his ſtead, and after him* Feſtus (*of both of which the* Acts *make mention, as well as* Joſephus) *I ſee not how he can, in any Propriety either of Speech or Senſe, be reckon'd King of the Jews; ſeeing he never ruled them actually as his Father did; who yet was not properly King of the Jews neither, as I have ſaid. And it ought to be remembred, that if we ſhould grant that both the* Agrippa's *were indeed ſucceſſive Kings of* Judæa; *yet it muſt be own'd that they were titular ones only, that never had Power or Authority lodg'd in them, as* Herod the Great *had. And this is plain from the Account which* Joſephus *gives us,* Bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 11. *That there was conſtantly a ſtrong Guard of* Roman Soldiers *in* Jeruſalem, *and that when the Jews came thither to the Paſſover, and upon other Feſtival Occaſions, the* Roman *Guards were ever in Arms round the* Porch *and Avenues of the Temple,* to prevent, *ſays he,* any Tumult, or any thing that might occaſion the Jews to draw to a Head. *And then he proceeds, to relate a particular Tumult, and how the Romans treated the Jews as Rebels on this Occaſion, both in killing a great many of the Commonalty upon the Spot, and in remitting ſo many of their Princes and great Men to* Rome; *where their then titular King* Agrippa. *did indeed plead their Cauſe, all he could, but could hardly obtain ſo much as the Mitigation of their Puniſhment. Nay, ſo little was the Power of the former* Herod Agrippa, *that* Joſephus *tells us, that when ſome petty neighbouring Princes, who were juſt ſuch Kings as himſelf, came to pay him a Viſit,* Marſus *the* Roman Proconſul *of* Syria, *ſuſpecting this Congreſs of titular Kings, commanded them immediately to ſeparate and go every Man to his own home; which Orders they durſt not contradict; tho* Herod *took it ſo to Heart, as never to be eaſy in his mind afterwards. By all which (and much more might be ſaid) it is plain, that neither the one nor other of the* Agrippa's *were any more, than bare Titular Kings of* Judæa, *and that for a little while only, without any real Authority or Power, in the leaſt. So much I thought it proper to ſay, upon this head, both to clear up this part of the Jewiſh Hiſtory, and to prevent People from imagining that the Poſterity of* Herod, *at leaſt ſome of them, were as properly Kings of* Judæa *as he was: For unleſs we underſtand this Piece of Hiſtory well, we may eaſily be drawn aſide*

to

born but about a Month before *Herod*'s Death, as (*n*) Mr. *Whiſton* ſays; who thinks it probable, that this happen'd exactly that Day Month, that preceded his Death. And though I differ a little in this from him, as I ſhall ſhew afterwards; yet I obſerve here, that had Chriſt's Birth been deferr'd much longer, *the Scepter had been departed from* Judah, before he came. And indeed, a Month's time before his Death, was full ſhort enough, in order to fulfil the Propheſie; becauſe the Publication of Chriſt's Birth to the Country People by the Shepherds, and to *Herod* and the Court by the Eaſtern Sages; together with the Conſultation of the Sanhedrim on this Head, and their Opinion given, and the Slaughter of the Infants occaſion'd this way, as well as the Flight of *Joſeph* into *Egypt*, were all to fall within this Month, according to Mr. *Whiſton*. And yet he thinks that all theſe might have happen'd within that time. But, tho I do think, that the Interval was much greater, yet I cannot but obſerve, that never were there ſo many concurring Circumſtances, ſo memorable, as then, in order to point out the Wiſdom and Veracity of God, in Chriſt's Coming juſt when he did. And amongſt others, is it not memorable, that *Herod*, when he caus'd murder the Infants, did not ſpare even

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to imagine, from the Ambiguity of the Word King, *that the* Agrippa's *were as properly Kings of* Judæa, *as* Herod the Great *had been. I ſhall only take occaſion to obſerve one thing further, that of all the Herodian Family, the Young* Agrippa *ſeems to have been, by far, the moſt worthy Perſon. For of all the reſt, excepting* Philip *only, it is hard to ſay, who was the worſt Man. For, excepting his inceſtuous Marriage with his Siſter* Berenice, *(which he allow'd himſelf in, from the Licentiouſneſs of the Romans) he ſeems to have been a Perſon of Great Excellency, from the Account which* Joſephus *gives, but eſpecially from* Luke's *Relation of his Conduct in the Affair of* Paul, Acts 25. *and of* Paul's *Commendation of him,* Acts 26. 1, 2, 3, &c. *And indeed, as he was almoſt perſwaded to be a Chriſtian, by* Paul, *as he ſays himſelf,* ver. 28. *So I know not, but that he might continue ſo ever after. However, ſuch an account of his Wiſdom, Prudence and Love to his Native Country, and Veneration for God and his Religion, may be ſeen in* Joſephus, *as is rare to be found in Princes. See* Bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 15, & 16. (*n*) Chron. p. 50, &c.

his

his *own Son*, leſt in him the Prophecy might take Place, and ſo the Order of the Succeſſion, (which he was then ſettling in his laſt Will) come to be broken: This (*o*) *Macrobius* has aſſur'd us of, telling us, "That when "*Auguſtus* heard, that among the Infants, under two "Years of Age, which in *Syria Herod* the *King* of the "*Jews*, had order'd to be kill'd, his own Son was ſlain "likewiſe; he ſaid, *'Tis better to be* Herod's *Swine than* "*his Son.* But by the Account that *Joſephus* gives us of *Herod*'s Death, and his Conduct a little before it, it would appear that he was in a Fury, that carried along with it a conſiderable Degree of Madneſs. For what could it be elſe that mov'd him, not only to kill the Infants at *Bethlehem*, but his own Child? What made him attempt to murder his Son *Archelaus*, and ſettle all upon *Antipas*; and then change his Mind again ſo ſuddenly, and declare *Archelaus* his Succeſſor, as to the Kingdom of *Judæa*? Nay, what made him attempt to (*p*) murder himſelf, upon a Meſſage from *Auguſtus* that was grateful and pleaſing to him? But enough of this. To proceed then,

(2.) The *next* Propheſy, which relates to the *Time* of *Chriſt*'s *Coming*, is that of *Haggai*, Chap. 2. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, yet once more, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land; and I will ſhake all Nations; and the Deſire of all Nations ſhall come; and I will fill this Houſe with Glory, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. The Silver is mine, the Gold is mine, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. The Glory of this latter Houſe ſhall be greater than that of the former, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. And in this Place will I give Peace.*

Not to ſpend time in Criticiſms upon theſe Words, I ſhall confine my ſelf to a material Conſideration of what they do principally denote and point at. And in order to this, I premiſe theſe three things as preliminary.

(*o*) Saturnal. l. 2. c. 4. (*p*) *See* Joſeph. l. 17. c. 9.

1. That

1. That this Propheſy was occaſion'd, by Reaſon of the vaſt Diſparity that was between this ſecond Temple and the Firſt. For, as the Ancient Men, that had ſeen *Solomon's Temple*, wept with a loud Voice, at the ſame time that the young Men rejoiced, when the Foundations of the ſecond Temple were laid, *Ezr.* 3. 12, 13. So, it ſeems, that when *Zerubbabel* had finiſhed his Temple, the Ancients of the People, who had ſeen the former Temple, did not ceaſe ſecretly to vilify it, to the Diſcouragement of *Zerubbabel* the Governour, and *Joſhua* the Son of *Joſedech* the High-Prieſt. Therefore is this Prophet ſent to them with this encouraging Prophecy; wherein he tells them and the Ancients, That, if indeed they did meaſure the Excellency of the Two Temples, by material Riches and external Splendor, the Firſt Temple did vaſtly exceed the Second; *in compariſon of which, this was as nothing*, ver. 3. But, that notwithſtanding this, God would honour this Temple above the former, and make it exceed it in Glory, another way; as the Words I have cited aſſure us. And therefore, it is certain, that this muſt denote the Days of the Meſſiah, and the Introduction of Chriſtianity into the World, in the room and ſtead of the Temporal Oeconomy of the Jews.

2. When therefore we read of a General Concuſſion of Nature, we muſt underſtand the Erection of Chriſtianity, and the Subverſion of the Nation, City, Temple, and Law of the Jews; for ſo the Apoſtle explains the Words, *Heb.* 12. 26.

3. Therefore by *the Deſire of all Nations*, as I have formerly obſerv'd, we can underſtand nothing to be meant, but *Chriſt himſelf, and that happy Conſtitution of Affairs which he was to bring in.*

Theſe things being premiſed, I ſee not how it is poſſible to underſtand the Words otherwiſe, than according to the Import of this Paraphraſe of them, (I mean as to the Sum thereof) which I do here ſubjoin; not ſo much according to the Words, as according to the Scope and Senſe.

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" O *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua*, The Lord of Hosts sends " this Message to you, and to all the rest of the Peo- " ple, that are returned out of Captivity. The Tem- " ple is now finish'd, which is matter of great Joy to " you, tho, at the same time, it must be own'd, that " it falls vastly short of the former, both as to *Riches* " and *Glory*. But be not discourag'd at this: For, as " to *Riches*, remember, that all *the Silver and Gold* in " the World is God's; (see *ver.* 8.) And, as to the " more proper *Glory* of the Temple, the visible Presence " of the *Shechinah* in light and bright Clouds; what " though that be wanting also, together with those " Pieces of sacred Antiquity, which your Nation has " hitherto set such a Value upon; *viz.* The *Ark*, the " *Two Tables of Stone*, whereon God himself had written " the Ten Commands, the *Pot of Manna*, *Aaron's Rod* " that budded, and the *Autograph* of the *Law of Moses*. " These indeed may seem to be great Defects in this " Temple; besides that the *Pectoral* of the High-Priest " is wanting also, and consequently the *Urim* and " *Thummim*, the Great Oracle of Old. Nay, what if " the *Spirit of Prophecy* be taken away also, in a little " time? Well, let all these things be so: yet, thus saith " the Lord of Hosts; As I did so lately shake both " your Temple and City out of its Place, and with " these *your Heaven and Earth*, i. e. your Religious and " Civil Constitution; so will I do again in a little time, " in order to bring in a better and more spiritual Dis- " pensation. It is enough to you, that I do substan- " tially make good *the Word that I covenanted with you*, " *when I brought your Fathers out of Egypt: for* accord- " ly *my Spirit*, i. e. my spiritual Presence *remaineth among* " *you*; and therefore *fear ye not*; (see *ver.* 5.) For, so " much is your State better than that of your Fathers, " under the old Temple; as it is more freed from those " external Symbols, that they were apt to idolize and " put in my room. And besides, by the want of these " your State will be more adapted unto that rational " and heavenly Kingdom, that the *Messiah*, (who is *the*

" rational

" rational *Desire of all Nations*) will bring in, a few " Ages hence: He is the *true Glory* of the Temple; and " *this Temple shall therefore exceed the Glory of the first Tem-* " *ple*, because it shall last till he himself come, *with* " *whose Presence it shall be honour'd.* And thus *will I fill* " *this House with Glory*, i. e. with the *Shechinah* made " Man, visibly appearing in it, and teaching therein " the Doctrine of Salvation and Peace: So, that *in* " *this Place will I give Peace*, (*says the Lord of Hosts*,) " *i. e.* in this Place shall *the Prince of Peace* appear, and " in this Place shall he give forth *the Gospel of Peace* to " Men.

Object. But, how can this be true, when (*p*) *Josephus* tells us expressly and particularly, that *Herod* pull'd this Temple down to the very Foundations, and built up another, much more glorious and magnificent? For, this being before Christ's Birth, it is certain that he never saw the second Temple, but the Third.

Answ. It is very true, that *Josephus* writes so. But it is as certain, that he either was deceived himself, by some lying *Herodian*, that had a mind to magnify the memory of *Herod*; or that he wrote what he knew to be false, to flatter and please some of the Posterity of *Herod*, and to endear them to the Jews of the Dispersion, by telling this Story. For that *Herod* never built the Temple from the Foundations, I am able to prove: Tho I grant, that he did repair it, and add some Ornaments to it, in order to please the People, and this way to secure his usurped Power and Authority over that Nation. Now, in order to shew the falsity of what *Josephus* says, I need only alledge his own Words, in the same place where he speaks of *Herod*'s building the Temple from the Foundations. For he says, that from the Beginning of that Work, to its full Completion, there were just 9 Years and an half; the Bulk of the general Fabrick is self, having taken up 8 Years; and

(*p*) Antiq. Lib. 15. cap. 15.

the

the holieſt Place, being finiſh'd by the Prieſts, in a Year and an half afterwards. This could not therefore be the Building of the Temple, which was in our Saviour's Days, but only the repairing of it; ſeeing we are told, *John* 2.21. *That the Building of it had taken up no leſs than* 46 *Years*. I know very well, that abundance of Interpreters, and even Dr. *Whitby*, do underſtand theſe words, in relation to *Herod*'s Temple, as if the meaning were, that it was now 46 Years ſince *Herod* began to build the Temple. For, ſay they, *Herod*, according to *Joſephus*, began to build the Temple, in the 18*th* Year of his Reign, in the 35*th* Year of which Chriſt was born, who was now entring upon his 30*th* Year; ſo that between the 18*th* Year of *Herod*, and this 30*th* Year of Chriſt, there were 46 Years compleat. But the Words are not, *It is now forty and ſix Years ſince the Temple began to be built*, but *forty and ſix Years was this Temple in Building*, as our Verſion juſtly renders the place. Nor was it poſſible that the Jews could mean any thing elſe, with reference to Chriſt's ſaying, That *he would build up the Temple* again, when deſtroy'd, *in three Days*. What! ſay the Jews, *Wilt thou built that in three Days, which coſt* 46 *Years a building*? And, in this Objection, had their Suppoſition been good, they ſpoke Senſe. But I am ſure it would have been very impertinent in them, to have ſpoken, not of the building of their Temple, but of its Duration from the time of its being begun to be built; when this could have had no relation to Chriſt's Words; who did not ſo much as inſinuate any thing in relation to the Duration of that Temple, after it ſhould be reared up, which he was to raiſe up in three Days.

We are oblig'd therefore to ſuppoſe, that they ſpoke of the *Temple* of *Zerubbabel*, which might very probably be 46 Years in building. For, it was begun to be built, in the 1*ſt* Year of the Reign of *Cyrus*, as we ſee *Ezr.* 1. 1, 2, 5. From which time it went on, till interrupted by *Artaxerxes*; and did not revive again until the Reign of *Darius* the Firſt. When therefore the Builders them-

themſelves ſaid in the 2*d* Year of that King's Reign, *Ch.* 4. 24. (as their Words are repreſented by *Tatnai* and his Companions to that Prince, *Chap.* 5. 16.) *ſince that time, even until now,* (*i. e.* from the 1*ſt* Year of *Cyrus,* to the 2*d* Year of *Darius*) *hath it* (*i.e.* the Temple) *been in Building, and yet it is not finiſhed*; we muſt underſtand, that they were cautious of mentioning the Edict of *Artaxerxes*, leſt it might have been improved againſt them; and therefore they wiſely refer themſelves to the Edict of *Cyrus.* But upon the encouraging Manifeſto of *Darius,* in favour of this Work, purſuant to that of *Cyrus,* the Work went on ſo faſt afterwards, that we are told, *Chap.* 6. 15. *that the Houſe was finiſhed in the* 6th *Year of the Reign of* Darius *the King.* But tho the *Shell* of the *Temple* was then finiſh'd; yet it does not appear, that it was wholly brought to Perfection till long afterwards; inſomuch, that *Ataxerxes* is repreſented, as giving the laſt and finiſhing Stroke to this Work. And therefore tho it is ſaid, in the place juſt now cited, that it was finiſh'd in the *6th* Year of *Darius*; we read in the Words immediately preceding, *ver.* 14. That *the Elders of the Jews built and proſpered* ——— *according to the Commandment of the God of* Iſrael, *and according to the* ſucceſſive *Decrees of* Cyrus, *and* Darius, *and* Artaxerxes, *Kings of* Perſia. Now the order of the Names of theſe Kings, but eſpecially the Truth of Hiſtory, obliges us to conclude, that this *Artaxerxes,* that is mention'd after *Darius,* was not that *Artaxerxes* who was his Predeceſſor, but he that was his Succeſſor. For the former was ſo far from giving forth any Decree for the building the Temple, that he gave one forth, to put a ſtop to its being built; which took ſuch effect, that we are told, *That the Work ceaſed all his time, and was not renewed until the ſecond Year of* Darius, *Chap.* 4. 6, 24. But this latter *Artaxerxes* exceeded all his Predeceſſors, in favouring and incouraging the Jews For, 1*ſt.* In the *ſeventh Year* of his Reign, he ſent *Ezra* with an ample Commiſſion, to finiſh the Work of the Temple, as we ſee, *Ch.* 7. 1, *&c.* 2*dly.* In his 20*th Year,* he ſent *Nehemiah,* with as ample Orders

to

to repair and fortify *Jeruſalem*, *Neh.* 2. 1, 9, *&c.* Concerning which, none of the preceding Kings had given any Order in the leaſt; having limitted the Jews to the Building of their Temple, and what related to the Worſhip thereof. *3dly.* In his 32*d Year*, he ſent *Nehemiah* again, to eſtabliſh and perfect the things which he had begun, *Neh.* 13. 6. But we have nothing at this time to do, as to the *ſecond* or *third* of theſe *Orders* of *Artaxerxes*, becauſe they did not ſo properly belong to the *Temple*, as to the City. But, as for the *firſt Order*, we are ſure it related to the Work of the Temple principally, if not altogether. For *Ezra* was not only ſent with Gold and Silver, to buy Sacrifices for the Temple, *Chap.* 7. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. but with Veſſels for the Temple it ſelf, *ver.* 19, 20, *&c.* And that theſe and the reſt of the Money, which he had Authority to demand of the King's Treaſurers, *ver.* 21, 22. did relate to the *Temple*, is plain both from the King's own Words, *ver.* 23. where he ſays, that all *was to be done, in relation to the Houſe of the God of Heaven*, &c. and alſo from thoſe of *Ezra* himſelf that follow, *ver.* 27. *Bleſſed be the Lord God of our Fathers, which hath put ſuch a thing as this in the King's Heart, to beautify the Houſe of the Lord, which is in* Jeruſalem. As therefore in the *6th* Year of *Darius*, the *Shell* or *external Part* of the Temple was finiſh'd, ſo it was not till the Days of *Artaxerxes*, that it was *beautified*, as *Ezra*'s Word is, *i. e.* finiſh'd within, as to thoſe Ornaments and Utenſils, that were proper for it. And therefore, till then, it cannot be ſaid, in a proper and full Senſe, to have been finiſh'd.

Theſe Matters of Fact being thus adjuſted, we ſhall find, as near as a thing of this Nature can be trac'd, that the Temple of *Zerubbabel* was juſt 46 Years in building. For, according to the *Aſtronomical Canon* of *Ptolomy*, (which is the beſt, if not only general Rule, we have to go by, as to the Reigns of the *Perſian Monarchs*) *Cyrus* reigned 9 Years, his Son *Cambyſes* or *Artaxerxes* 8 Years, *Darius* 36, and *Artaxerxes* his Succeſſor 41. Now the Work of the Temple being ob-

obſtructed in the Beginning of the Reign of *Cambyſes*, and not renewed until the 2*d* Year of *Darius*, becauſe the Death of *Cambyſes*, in all probability, was not heard of at *Jeruſalem* ſooner; we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that it was not until the 2*d* Year of *Cambyſes* that the Work of the *Temple* was obſtructed; for it was not until firſt an Accuſation was ſent to him againſt the Jews, nor until Search had been made into the Records, whether the Ground of the Accuſation was relevant; nor yet before the King's Order, after this was ſent to the Governours of the Neighbouring Provinces, and by them remitted to *Jeruſalem*. So that we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that the Work of the Temple was interrupted exactly 8 Years, or thereabouts, *viz.* from the 2*d* Year of *Cambyſes*, to the 2*d* Year of *Darius*. If then, the Temple was begun to be built in the 1*ſt* Year of *Cyrus*, and if he reigned 9 Years, *Cambyſes* 8, and *Darius* 36; and if we are oblig'd to caſt off 8 Years, wherein the Work of the Temple was wholly laid aſide. We are alſo obliged to conclude, that 45 Years did run out from the Edict of *Cyrus*, to the Death of *Darius*, and the beginning of *Artaxerxes* his Reign. But, there is another Conſideration, that I muſt take notice of here, *viz.* that the *Scripture* follows another *Epocha* of the Years of *Cyrus* his Reign, than either *Ptolomy*, or any of thoſe Authors he founded upon, ever did. For, whereas all other Authors date the Reign of *Cyrus*, from the taking of *Babylon*, over-looking his Uncle *Darius* the *Mede*, whom *Xenophon* calls *Cyaxares*, and tho even *Xenophon* himſelf owns that he gave his Unkle the Chief Title and Dignity, whilſt he liv'd; the Scripture does not date *Cyrus* his Reign ſooner than his Uncle's Death. Now tho *Ptolomy* reckons *Cyrus* to have reigned 9 Years from the taking of *Babylon*, yet (*q*) *Xenophon* reckons that he reign'd but *ſeven* Years. However let it be

(*q*) *In κύρ. παιδ.* Lib. 8. Pag. 138. Lin. 12. Edit. 2. Henr. Steph. 1581.

the one or the other, the Scripture does not reckon his Reign sooner, than from the Death of his Uncle. Now whether *Zenophon* or *Ptolomy*, be most to be depended upon, I shall not pretend to determine; but it seems to be probable, at least, to me, that *Cyrus* survived his Uncle but 3 Years, by comparing, *Dan.* 10. *ver.* 1. with *ver.* 13, and 20. For, as there *Daniel* sets himself to Fasting and Praying, in the 3d Year of *Cyrus*, ver. 1. So I cannot understand, that any other thing gave Rise to it, than the foreseen Interruption of the building of the Temple, which was not till the Death of *Cyrus*. Now the Angel tells him, that *the Prince of the Kingdom of* Persia *withstood him*, ver. 13. *i. e.* withstood the Work of the Temple; but that he *would go forth and fight with the Prince of* Persia, and that by this Obstruction which *Cambyses* should give to the Work of God, a Foundation should be laid of ripening *the King of* Grecia, to be an Over-match for that of *Persia*, in due time, *ver.* 20. Of which more is said in the 8th and 11th Chapters. Who then can be supposed to come under the Character of the *wicked Prince of* Persia, but *Cambyses*, who oppos'd God, and suppress'd his Temple-Work all his days. Therefore by laying these things together, I conclude, that *Cyrus* died in the 3d Year of his Reign, according to the Scripture *Epocha* in this Case. And if so, then the Jews had but *Three Years* to build the Temple in, from the beginning of *Cyrus*'s Reign, to that time, wherein *Cambyses* put a Stop to them. So that, by cutting off 6 Years from the supposed 9 Years of *Cyrus*'s Reign, we must be obliged to reduce the 45 Years, which we mention'd before, to 39. Now we are assured from *Ezra*'s Account, *Chap.* 7. 7, 8. That *Artaxerxes*'s Order to compleat and beautify the Temple, and to perfect what related to his Worship, came out exactly in the 7th Year of his Reign; so that if we lay all things together, we come to see (as far as can be expected in a matter of this Intricacy) that the Temple was just 46 Years in building. For, if to the *three Years* of *Cyrus*, we add the *first Year* of *Cambyses*, (wherein, I suppos'd before, that they

they ſtill went on with their Work,) and all the Years of the Reign of *Darius*, excepting the *firſt*, i. e. *thirty five Years*, and then add to all theſe the *firſt ſeven Years* of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, who, in his *ſeventh Year*, gave the finiſhing Stroke to the Temple-Work; I ſay, if we lay all theſe things together, we find, that the Jewiſh Computation of the time, that this Temple took to be built in, was exactly 46 Years; for this is the Total Sum of 3, 1, 35, and 7, when added together.

I hope the Reader will pardon my nice Inquiry into this matter; ſeeing beſides that this lets in ſome further Light into that part of *Chronology*, than I think was ever before; it is alſo ſufficient to put an end to all further Controverſy, as to what Temple the Jews ſpoke of, *John* 2. 21. And this being gain'd, we ſee the Miſtake or Error of *Joſephus*, in aſſerting that *Herod* pull'd down all the *Second Temple*, and built another from the Foundation; ſo that I hope no Doubt will remain after this, but that *Zerubbabel*'s Temple was that which was ſtanding in our Saviour's time, and that which was afterwards deſtroy'd by the Romans, *Herod* having only repair'd it, by amending its Cracks and Breaches, and by beautifying and adorning it, *&c.*

And thus I have gain'd two memorable Points, in relation to the eſſential Characters of that peculiar time, wherein the *Meſſiah* was to appear; *viz.* that he was to appear *before the Scepter departed from* Judah, and *while the ſecond Temple ſtood.* And now, that both theſe are gone, and have been ſo for many Ages, one cannot ſufficiently admire the Obſtinacy of the Jews, in rejecting the true *Meſſiah.*

(3.) I proceed now to the Third Prophecy, which is that of *Daniel*, Chap. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27. *Seventy Weeks are determin'd upon thy People, and upon thy holy City, to finiſh Tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the Viſion and Prophecy, and to anoint the moſt Holy. Know therefore and underſtand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and to build* Je-

ruſalem, *unto the Meſſiah the Prince, ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and 62 Weeks, (the Street ſhall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous times.) And after 62 Weeks ſhall the Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf. And the People of the Prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof ſhall be with a Flood: And unto the end of the War Deſolations are determined. And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many, for One Week. And, in the midſt of the Week, he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe: and for the over-ſpreading of Abominations he ſhall make it deſolate; even until the Conſummation, and that determined, ſhall be poured on the deſolate.*

As *Jacob*'s and *Haggai*'s Prophecies give us the *exact Characters* of the *Time* of *Chriſt's Birth* and *Appearing* among Men; ſo this ſpecifies the *Time* of *his Death*. And if the two former be ſo conſiderable, ſurely this laſt is much more ſo. And therefore I cannot but again ſay, that one cannot enough wonder at the Stupidity of the Jews, in continuing to aſſert, that Chriſt was not the promiſed *Meſſiah*. For, though we ſhould not be able, by reaſon of the Defect of Hiſtory, to adjuſt the Years of the *Perſian Monarchs*, and of *Alexander*, and the times that followed to the Reign of *Auguſtus*; yet the Jews muſt allow, that Chriſt ſuffered about 490 Years, after the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, in the days of *Nehemias* and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.

And now that I have mentioned this Monarch, certain it is, that the 70 Weeks cannot be dated ſooner than the 20th Year of his Reign, mention'd, *Nehem.* 2. 1—10. For the Edict of *Cyrus* related only to the building the Temple, 2 *Chron.* 36. 22, 23. *Ezr.* 1. 1, *&c.* and 5. 13. Nor was that of *Darius Hyſtaſpes* any more than a Renovation of that firſt Edict, *Ezr.* 6. 1, 2, *&c.* As neither went the firſt Edict of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, which was in his 7th Year, any further, *Ezr.* 7. 1, 6, 7, 8, 11, *&c.* But when we have found the beginning of theſe Weeks of Years, we are ſtill at a Loſs to find what Year of the World the 20th of *Artaxerxes* was. *Uſher* places it, *A. M.* 3550, in the 4259th Year of the *Julian*

Julian Period; *Whiſton* ten Years later, *viz. A. P. J.* 4269. and (*r*) *Lydiat* (who took a great deal of Pains to adjuſt this Epocha, and did certainly diſcover the Miſtake of 6 Years in thoſe that went before him) places it, *A. M.* 3553½. Now which of theſe great Chronologers ſhall we follow? For my own part, though it were Preſumption in me to compare my ſelf with any of them; yet I muſt be ſo bold as to ſay, in the preſent Caſe, that all of them, (and therefore all others much more) have ſhot wide of the Mark.

To evince this, I ſhall lay down theſe three Poſtulata. 1. That the 70 Weeks in *Daniel* are Weeks, not of Days, but of Years. This is what all Chronologers agree in; ſo that I have no Difficulty at all upon this Head. And it is well obſerv'd by (*s*) Mr. *Whiſton*, that theſe 70 Weeks have an Alluſion to the 70 Years of Captivity. 2. That the *Prophetical Years* of *Daniel* are to be reckon'd according to the moſt Ancient Standard of 360 Days to a Year, as fully appears by St. *John*'s Explication of the Stile of *Daniel* in the *Revelation*, Ch. 11. 2, 3. and Ch. 12. 6, 14. where 3 Years and an half are the very ſame with 42 Months, and 1260 Days. This (*t*) Mr. *Whiſton* alſo lays down as certain: Wherein I am very glad to have his Approbation as to what (*u*) I had demonſtrated before his Book appeared. For, tho I do not ſay, that Mr. *Whiſton* had this from me or any Man, but from his own Thoughts; yet ſeeing my Apocalyptical Diſcourſe bears Date from *Jan.* 1. 170⅞. and was publiſh'd not many Days after, whereas Mr. *Whiſton*'s did not appear till, at leaſt, a Year after that time. I neither do him nor any Man any Prejudice, when I ſay, that I was the firſt that clear'd up this Point, ſo far as I could ever yet learn. 3. That *Jeſus Chriſt* was born in the Year 4000 from the Creation of the World, and very probably in

(*r*) *See his* Can. Chron. 8. pag. 55, 56, &c. (*s*) Harmony of the Goſpels, *p.* 199. (*t*) Ibid. (*u*) *See my Diſcourſe concerning the* Riſe and Fall of the Papacy, *p.* 19, &c.

the beginning of the Year, reckoning it from the Autumnal Equinox.

Now the *First* of these Postulata being granted by all, the *Second* being demonstrated by my self; all I have to do is, to prove the *Third*; seeing herein I differ from Mr. *Whiston*, a whole Year, and from others much more. And truly here I should have an unweildy Task, were I under any Necessity of Criticalness or Exactness; for I must then publish a whole Volume of *Chronology*, or, at least, a compendious Summary of it, as Mr. *Whiston* has done. The Difference of a Year is no such great matter, as to oblige me to tire either the Reader or my self. All therefore that I shall do here, shall be to lay before the Reader the Scheme I go upon, as to this Point in the general. And, 1. I think it was equally convenient, that the whole of the *First Days*, or *First Times*, (as the Scripture-Phrase is) should not be gone before the *Messiah* came; as it was convenient, that the *Scepter* should not depart from *Judah* before his Coming. And as I shall make it highly probable that Christ was born, at least, a Year before *Herod*'s Death; so I think it no small Congruity, and to look like Divine Wisdom, that Christ should be born also about a Year before the Old Testament Times did expire: for, upon this Supposition, the *First Times*, and *the Scepter of* Judah, expired together. 2. By this Account, Christ will be found to have liv'd exactly 33 Years and an half in all, to have spent 3 Years and an half in his publick Ministry, and so to have died exactly in the Centre of the 70th and last of *Daniel*'s Weeks, that Year being the Current of the Christian Æra: All which are Congruities that make this Calculation preferable to all others. 3. And by this the vulgar Christian Æra of *Dionysius*, as to its beginning, will be found to be more exact than has been imagin'd hitherto; which Consideration will facilitate our Reckoning afterwards.

Having therefore laid down *this*, as well as the *other Postulata*, as highly probable to me, to say no more; let us now proceed to reckon the 70 Weeks, or 490 Years

Years of this famous Prophecy. And here let me begin with the *laſt*; for I find no other certain way to adjuſt the Years of the *Perſian Monarchs* in particular, eſpecially as to the broken Years, that are precariouſly run upon by moſt; to adjuſt their Numbers of Years to their ſeveral Schemes and Deſigns. For the Heathen Accounts are various and uncertain; nor have we any Scriptural Account from *Nehemiah* to *Chriſt*, except that of the *Maccabees* be reckon'd ſo; which treats only of a part of that Period of Time, with very little notice of Times or Years. And, as for *Joſephus*, tho he be exact enough as to the laſt Times of the Jews, down from *Pompey* and *Julius Cæſar*, yet we cannot equally depend upon him before that, as to the Period between the Captivity and that time, eſpecially as to the Years of the *Kings* of *Perſia*, (*w*) as he himſelf does materially own.

And therefore the only certain way of reckoning here, is to go backwards from our *Saviour*'s Time to the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not to count downwards from thence to *Chriſt*. For though both Reckonings may be equally difficult, were we to ſeek out the particular Year, when each of the *Perſian* and *Grecian Princes* began their Reigns; yet we ſhall eaſily this way attain to fix the beginning of the 70 Weeks in general, by knowing when they ended.

For this end let us, in the *firſt Place*, take a view of the Account of the 70 Weeks, as it is repreſented to *Daniel* by the Angel *Gabriel*. Where let us obſerve, that he divides the ſeventy Weeks into three very odd and different Parts or Sections, and not at all proportionable ones, if time only be regarded. For he divides them into 7, 62, and 1.

Firſt then, we have 7 Weeks of Years, which make 49 Years.

(*w*) Contra Apion. L. 1. *From the Death of* Moſes *down to* Artaxerxes (Longimanus) *King of* Perſia, *the Prophets writ the Times and Series of things done, in* 13 *Books. But from* Artaxerxes *to our time, tho we have indeed an account of things, yet not with the ſame Faithfulneſs, becauſe there was no certain Succeſſion of Prophets afterwards.*

Secondly, We have 62 Weeks, or 434 Years, which end with the time that was to precede the publick Appearance of Christ.

Thirdly, We have one Week, and the last of the seventy, *i. e.* 7 Years; in the midst of which the Messiah was to be cut off.

Now, these being the Divisions or Parts of the 70 Weeks, as given by the Angel, let us now in the *next* Place, inquire when they began. That this was the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, none doubts. But the Question is, with what Current Year of the World's Duration, was that coincident? To answer this, I say, as before, that we must count upwards first, in order to come down again.

If then Christ was born in the beginning of *A. M.* 4000; and if Christ was about 30 Years of Age, when he was baptized by *John*, as *Luke* assures us, *Luke* 3. 23. *viz.* when he was 29 Years old, and just entring upon his 30th Year, as Dr. *Whitby* understands the Words. And if, lastly, as all do agree, Christ entred upon his publick Ministry not very long after that publick Appearance of his; and that from thence we are to compute the 3 Years and half Year of his Ministry to his Crucifixion; by which we are led to this Conclusion, that Christ suffer'd when he was 33 Years and a half old, which was *A. Æra Christ.* 33. in the midst of that Year. According to which, adding 3 Years and an half more, we are necessarily led to the beginning of the Year 37, from our Saviour's Birth, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 4037. as the Year wherein the 70 Weeks of *Daniel* run out: I say, laying all these things together, we may easily reckon upwards from thence, so as to find with what Year of the World the 20th of *Artaxerxes* did coincide, and consequently when the 490 Years of *Daniel* began. For, if they end in *A. M.* 4037. the Year 3547 must be the first.

I can foresee nothing that can be objected against this Calculation; unless it should be said, that we ought to adjust these Years to the *Julian Period*, as is common, and

and caſt them into *Julian Years*, as (x) Mr. *Whiſton* has done. But I confeſs that I underſtand not, upon what Reaſon Mr. *Whiſton* (as well as others) follows that Calculation, in this Caſe. To adjuſt the *Julian* Years and *Prophetical*, according to the *Julian Period*, for Speculations ſake, and for a general uſe, is one thing; but to reckon the 490 Years of *Daniel* ſo, as to curtail the total Sum, in order to the finding out the Birth or Death of our Saviour, (not by the Years that the Angel calculated by, but by others introduced ſince) is quite another thing. If then 69 times 7 Years, or 483 Years of 360 Days a piece, are juſt 476 *Julian* Years, and 21 Days, (as Mr. *Whiſton* computes) muſt we therefore reckon the Angels Meaning to be this; that the 69 Weeks are to be ſo reckon'd, as to contain only 476 Years or thereabouts? ſince the confining the Years to ſeptenary Numbers, or Weeks of Years, directs us to reckon 483 Years to the 69 Weeks, and 490 Years to the whole 70 Weeks. Which is ſo certain, that Mr. *Whiſton* grants this in the Page immediately preceding; tho he calculates ſo here, as makes me think that he had forgot it again: which yet is no Reflection upon his peculiar Exactneſs in other Reſpects; for it is rather a Wonder that he did not miſs in ſo many other things, than that he did ſo once. However (to ſpeak to this only) I ſay, that if the *Julian Years* had obtain'd down from *Daniel*'s time to our *Saviour*'s, there had been the ſame Reaſon to adjuſt theſe Prophetical Years in this Caſe, as there was in mine, when I wrote my *Apocalyptical Diſcourſe*, when I was concern'd to adjuſt *John*'s *Prophetical Years* with the *Julian ones*; according to which Hiſtorians, ſince Chriſt's Coming, have reckon'd Time. But, ſeeing we have no certain Rule to go by, in adjuſting the times preceding Chriſt, as far as the Hiſtory or Prophecy of the Old Teſtament goes, unleſs we reckon by their Account of Years; and ſeeing all the Years, by which *Moſes* and other Scriptural Authors do reckon, are Years of 360

(x) Page 200.

Days

Days a piece, (of which I wonder that (*y*) Mr. *Whiſton* or any Man ſhould doubt:) I ſay, theſe things being conſidered, I reckon it certain, that we muſt account all the Years from the Creation to our Saviour, and particularly this laſt Period of 490 Years, to be prophetical or Judaical ones of 360 Days. I cannot therefore ſee, why Mr. *Whiſton* ſhould calculate the 490 Years, as he has done, unleſs it ſhould be from the Veneration he profeſſes elſewhere to have for the *Aſtronomical Canon of Ptolomy*. But, tho I ſhall be far from detracting from that, as uſeful; yet, if we can find out times, by the more ſure word of Prophecy, without any ſuch help; I ſee not, why we ſhould go any further, in order do adjuſt our Calculations. And I think, in this caſe the 490 Years need no other Rule than themſelves, if once we know either the Year of Chriſt's Birth or Death.

Now theſe things being premis'd, I muſt again ſay, that if the 490 Years ended, *A. C.* 37. And if *A. C.* 37. was *A. M.* 4037. then it follows of courſe that the 20*th* Year of *Artaxerxes*, when the 49 Years began, was *A. M.* 3547. And this being gain'd; let us conſider, what may be look'd upon as the *Rationale* of this Diviſion of the 490 Years into ſuch unequal Parts and Sections, as 7, 62 and 1.

As to the 1*ſt* Section, *viz.* that of 7 Weeks or 49 Years, the Defect of Hiſtory makes it difficult, ſo much as to conjecture, what the reaſon may be; unleſs it be to mark out the Perfection of the Number 7, and particularly here, as it is the Fundamental Number both of the 70 Years (which was the Period of the Captivity) and of 70 times 7 Years, or 70 Weeks of Years, (which was to be the Period, that reach'd down to the Redemption of the World; and, during which, the Captivity of the World in general, under Sin, Satan and Ignorance, was to continue.) And he that is aquainted with the Myſteries that the Ancients plac'd in Numbers, and that even the Sacred Oracles ſeem to have

(*y*) *See* Page 15, &c.

run

run much upon these, will not think this Observation altogether precarious. But I presume to conjecture further, that it was not before the *Year* of the World, 3596, which was the *last* of the 49 Years, that the Jews came to be fully and intirely fixed in their own Country, and that therefore the Holy Spirit would mark out these 49 Years compleat, as *a Jubilee Period*, which made up the *last part* of a *Centenary Revolution*, which began with the miraculous Delivery of *Israel* from *Haman*'s Conspiracy, which was in the Year of the World 3496, (as *Usher* reckons) exactly a hundred Years before.

Now, as for the 2*d* Section of the 70 Weeks, *viz.* that of 62 Weeks, or 434 Years, it is easy to see, that they begin after the Year 3596, and reach down to the Year 4030; which was the Year of Christ's Baptism, and his entring upon his Publick Ministry. And therefore that Period of 434 Years, takes in all the time of the Jewish Nation, from its full Settlement and begun Corruption, by reason of long Peace and Prosperity, which was towards the End of the Reign of *Darius Ochus*; down through the Reigns of the remaining *Persian Monarchs*, viz. *Artaxerxes Minemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, and *Darius Codomanus*; and then thro' the times of the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* and his Successors, especially those of the *Selucian* and *Lagian* Families, with whom they had very various Struggles and Successes; and lastly, thro' the times of the *Romans*, particularly *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

The whole 69 Weeks then, or 483 Years, beginning with *A. M.* 3547, and ending with *A. M.* 4030. If we cut off the 4 last Weeks, *i. e.* 28 compleat Years, and cast up the remaining 65 Weeks only, we shall find that our Saviour was born toward the end of the 65*th* Week, *i. e. A. M.* 4000, and to this again, if we add the 4 last Weeks of this 2*d* Section, or 28 compleat Years, and take in the preceeding Year, in the beginning of which Christ was born, we are brought down again to the Year 4030, and the beginning of it, as the time of our Saviour's first Entry upon his Ministerial Work on Earth. There-

Therefore, 3*dly*. We muſt conclude, that the 70*th* and laſt Week of Years, began with Chriſt's Publick Appearance, *A. M.* 4030, and the 30*th* Year of Chriſt's Life, and ended with his 37*th* Year, begun, *i. e. A. M.* 4037, reckoning the beginning of both from the *Autumnal Equinox*.

And ſeeing Chriſt's Publick Miniſtry, from his Baptiſm to his Crucifixion, took in 3 Years and an half, according to the beſt Accounts, as almoſt all are agreed; we muſt ſuppoſe, that Chriſt's Death was, as near as could be, in the middle of the 70*th* Week, *i. e.* when Chriſt had compleated his 32*d* Year of Age, and was going in his 33*d* Year, and therefore this muſt be in the midſt of the Year of the World 4033. For, if Chriſt was born in the beginning of *A. M.* 4000, and was entring upon his 30*th* Year in the beginning of 4030, and ſuffer'd 3 Years and about an half afterwards; He muſt have ſuffer'd about the middle of 4033, reckoning its beginning from the *Autumnal Equinox*. And here I cannot but admire, upon what Foundation Mr. *Whiſton* reckons that Chriſt dyed, not in the midſt of the 70*th* Week, but in the 1*ſt* Year thereof; when the Hebrew Text, and all Copies ſay expreſly that the *Meſſiah* was to be cut off, in the *midſt* of that Week.

The other half therefore of the laſt of the 70 Weeks, muſt end with the beginning of *A. M.* 4037. or with *A.* 37. of the true Chriſtian *Æra*. And, as in the former part of this Week of Years, Chriſt had confirmed the Covenant, by his Diſcourſes, Miracles, Life and Death; ſo in this latter part of it, he confirm'd the ſame Covenant, or new Conſtitution, by his Reſurrection, Converſe on Earth for 40 Days, Aſcention to Heaven in the Sight of his Apoſtles, Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt on the Day of Pentecoſt, Miracles wrought by the Apoſtles, Converſion of Thouſands to the Faith, Martyrdom of *Stephen*, the begun Manifeſtation and Proclamation of the Goſpel, beyond the Limits of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, by the preaching of *Philip* firſt, and

Peter

Peter and *John* afterwards in *Samaria*, by the Baptiſm of the *Ethiopian Eunuch*, and by the Converſion of *Saul*, who was the Choſen Veſſel to carry on the Goſpel among the Gentiles. And with this commenced the Year 37, in which the 490 Years of *Daniel* run out. After which Foundation laid, in that laſt remarkable Week of Years, the greateſt that ever was in the World, the Superſtructure began to be rear'd up, from thence, in *Peter*'s preaching to *Cornelius*, in the *Abrogation* of the *Ceremonial Law*, by the Sentence of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts and Brethren met together upon this Head, in the Succeſs of the Goſpel among the Gentiles, by the Miniſtry of *Barnabas* and *Paul* firſt, with many more, and of others afterwards; and laſtly, in the *Subverſion* and Ruin of the *Conſtitution* of the Jews, both in Church and State, in the Year 70 from Chriſt's Birth, that is in the ſpace of 33 Years, which is the very ſame number of Years with thoſe that Chriſt liv'd on Earth; his time of Conqueſt and Triumph over his Enemies the Jews, being thus the very ſame with that of his Humiliation on Earth: A *Congruity* that deſerves to be particularly conſider'd. And thus we ſee, how exactly Chriſt came and appeared, and ſuffered in *the fulneſs of time*, with reſpect to this exact and memorable Propheſy.

And here, before I leave this Head, I cannot but return God thanks, that has caſt my Lot in an Age of ſo much Light, even in this reſpect, and I think we ought to have a grateful Remembrance of all thoſe worthy Perſons, by whoſe ſucceſſive Labours and Pains, the Account of time is, at laſt, come to ſo great an Exactneſs and degree of Certainty.

I quarrel not with the excellent *Brian Walton* and the learned *Iſaac Voſſius*, who reckon that the preſent Septuagint Verſion ought to be prefer'd before the Hebrew Text, in the Calculation of the Years of the World, by which they ſuppoſe the Flood to have happened many hundred of Years, after the time that the Hebrew Text ſays it came. Their Veneration for the Fathers, and particularly

cularly for the elaborate *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, might thus miſlead them. And I do leſs quarrel with the Fathers, who not underſtanding the Hebrew, and acting from a Veneration for the Greek Copy (which even the Apoſtles did follow, if not in all, yet many things) did conclude the Account of Times, which they found there, to be altogether ſacred. But the ſucceſſive Labours of thoſe learned Men, that have vindicated, as well as follow'd the Hebrew Text, have at length cleared up the Truth, even above what could have been expected by thoſe that liv'd above two Ages ago. And here let me preſent the Reader, with a ſhort Synopſis of thoſe, to whom we are thus oblig'd, and the Sum of their Calculations, with reſpect to the Nativity-Year of our Bleſſed Saviour.

Beroaldus, *Broughton*, and *David Pareus*, reckon'd that Chriſt was born *A. M.* 3928. From whom *William Nisbet* differs little, in his *Golden Chain of Time*, *&c.* who argues that Chriſt died *A. M.* 3960, being juſt 33 Years of Age.

Jerom reckon'd that he was born, *A. M.* 3941.

Robert Baillie reckon'd it to be *A. M.* 3945.

Joh. Henr. Alſtedius reckons that Chriſt was born, *A. M.* 3947.

Joſeph Scaliger, *Helvicus*, *Calviſius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Nic. Mulerius*, *&c.* reckon to Chriſt's Birth 3949 Years.

Beda, and ſome others that follow him, 3952.

Ph. Melancton reckons 3961 Years.

Henr. Wolfius and *Phil. Lansbergius*, 3958.

Gerh. Mercator, 3966.

Henr. Buntingius, 3967.

Abr. Bucholzerus, 3970.

Theod. Bibliander, 3979.

Dion. Petavius, 3983.

Henr. Harvillæus and *Jac. Cappellus*, 4000.

Will. Whiſton, (and before him *Gordonus*) 4003 Years.

James Uſher and *Fred. Spanheim Fil.* 4004 Years or thereabouts; *Spanheim* reckoning 3 Years and 9 Months difference between the *Dionyſian* and the *true Æra*, ſo that

that there are not 7 Months difference between *Spanheim* and *Whiſton*.

Monſ. Bern. Lamy differs not much from *Uſher*. See *pag.* 47 and 90.

Thomas Lidiat reckons that Chriſt was born *A. M.* 4007.

Aug. Tornelllus, Jac. Salianus, Henr. Spondanus, Phil. Labbeus, reckon that Chriſt was born 4051, or 4053, or 4054; for they differ ſo far one from another.

And laſtly, *Gilb. Genebrardus* (for I think it needleſs to inquire after other more obſcure Authors and their Notions this way) reckons, that Chriſt was born, *A. M.* 4089.

Of all theſe Opinions, that of *Harvillæus* and *Capellus* ſeems to be the moſt probable to me; And Mr. *Whiſton*'s, Dr. *Uſher*'s, *Spanheim*'s, *Lamy*'s and *Lydiat*'s, to come next to it. Nor does Cardinal *Noris* differ ſo much from *Harvillæus* and *Capellus*, as even they do. For if Chriſt was born, according to him, when *Aug.* and *Sulla* were Conſuls, and if this was *A. M.* 4000, as I think *Lydiat* calculates juſtly; then *Noris* and they do agree, as to the Year of the World. But indeed the difference is ſo ſmall, amongſt all theſe Learned Men, as hardly to deſerve to be taken notice of, far leſs to be the Subject of Contention.

But ſeeing all theſe adjuſt their Years to the *Julian Period*, and run upon *Julian*, not *Judaical Years*, I muſt venture to ſay, that, in my humble Opinion, they have miſtaken as much, in the whole Calculation, as the *Julian* Year differs from the *Judaical*. For I am ſure, that the Sacred Writers, both Hiſtorians and Prophets, reckon'd their Year to conſiſt of 360 Days only. And therefore I humbly think, that the *Julian Period* is of no proper uſe, in reckoning theſe, any farther, than that by a reduction of the *Judaical* Year to the *Julian*, we may ſee what the real Flux of time was, as far as can be, and what Variation there is between the ancient reckoning, in this reſpect, and that which has obtain'd ſince the time, that *Julius Cæſar* rectified the *Calendar*. But, as for the

Flux

Flux of time, in the general, seeing the Sacred Writers reckon not by *Years* of 365 *Days*, and so many *odd Hours*, with additional *Minutes*, *Firsts*, *Seconds*, &c. I see not, that we need to reckon the *Canonical Periods*, by other Years than they did. *F. G.* We are sure that, according to the Hebrew Account, *Moses* reckons 1656 Years from the Creation to the Deluge, and neither more nor fewer. The Question then is, What Years these were? I say *Judaical Years* of 360 Days a-piece: And I suppose none will dispute this point with me, unless he can prove that *Moses* reckon'd another way, than the Prophets did afterwards, and therefore no doubt the whole Jewish Nation also. And if then we should suppose, that from the *Creation* to the Beginning of the *Christian Æra*, there were just 4000 Judaical Years; we must suppose a vast difference would arise, in that tract of time, by the Addition of 5 Days to each Year, tho we should omit the odd Hours, as well as Minutes: For the Difference would be about 70 Years.

And therefore I cannot reckon the Time of the World's Duration, by any other Years, than the Sacred Writers run upon. And according to the best Calculation I am able to make, I do think it very probable, that our Saviour was born *A. M.* 4000, of the Judaical reckoning, towards the Beginning of that Year; tho I am far from pretending to certainty this way, either as to the precise Year, or Time of the Year, and far less as to the *Month* or *Day*.

And here, seeing this Discourse may fall into the hands of those who understand but little of the Grounds of Chronology, I shall for their sakes, speak something that may assist them to understand the Calculations of Years, which now obtain in the World.

They are to know then, That when *Julius Cæsar* did first settle the *Calendar*, which afterwards obtain'd; the Year, which from him was called *Julian*, was computed to consist of 365 Days and 6 Hours. In order therefore to adjust these 6 additional Hours, they added them together,

together, when they amounted to 24, seeing thus they composed an intire Day, which was every *4th* Year. Hence, as three Years successively were reckon'd to consist only of 365 Days; the *4th* Year was always reckon'd to be made up of 366 Days, and was, upon this account, called *Bissextile*, and by us *Leap-Year*.

But the *true solar Year* consisting only of 365 Days, 5 Hours, 49 first Minutes, and 16 Seconds, or thereabouts; there was an over-reckoning of 10 Minutes and 44 Seconds, in that ancient Reckoning. And therefore, it came to pass, that for every 134 Years, that elapsed from the time when this Calculation was first settled, there was a Variation of one intire Day. And thus the Variation has run on so far, that whereas the Sun's Entrance into *Aries* was upon the *24th* Day of *March*, in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, it is now reckoned to be upon the *10th* Day of that Month.

This being taken notice of, by Astronomers of After-ages, *Pope Gregory the 13th* set himself to rectify the Calendar, which he accomplish'd, *A. C.* 1582, by omitting 10 Days that Year, and so on; ordering that the *5th* Day of *October* should be called the *15th* of *October* that Year, and that all Months and Days should run on accordingly for the future. And thus began that which is called the *New Stile* or *Gregorian Stile*, which has been ever since generally follow'd, and I think, universally in Popish Countries, as in some Protestant Countries likewise. So that, whereas the *Vernal Equinox* was computed to be on the *11th* Day of *March*, according to the *Julian* Account or *Old Stile*, it fell now upon the *21st* Day, according to the *New Stile*.

But since that time, *Pope Innocent the 12th* has been oblig'd to alter the Calendar further, by the Addition of one Day more. So that, whereas the Difference between the *Old* and *New Stile*, was only that of 10 Days before the *29th* of *February*, *A. D.* 1700; it has now arisen since that time, to *eleven* Days: and therefore,

whereas our 11*th* Day of *March* was only their 21*st* Day, it is now their 22*d*, and so on.

But here, it is to be remembred, that the *Gregorian Reformation* of the *Calendar*, went no farther back than to the *Council* of *Nice*, which was held *A. Ch.* 325; whereas *Julius Cæsar* had instituted his Computation 45 Years before Christ. And therefore there are no less than 370 Years over-look'd; and by consequence 2 *intire Days*, and the far greatest part of a *third* omitted. By all which it is plain, that there is need of a new Reformation of the Calendar. And I wonder, that this has never been attempted by the Mathematicians and Astronomers of Protestant Countries. For I do humbly suppose, that this is a matter of that Importance, that it would not be below the greatest Prince to incourage such a Design, by summoning together all the most famous Astronomers, Chronologers and Mathematicians of the Age. But to proceed.

Seeing Chronologers do not only inquire into the Year, but into the Month and Day also of Christ's Birth; it is fit that I should take notice of this Point of Chronology likewise.

And here I find our Chronologers, as much at a loss, as in any thing. But I shall not take notice of all differences this way; but only of the Variation that is between those that are of the great Esteem with me.

Scaliger supposeth that Christ was born towards the latter end of *September*.

Usher and *Spanheim* suppose, that it was in *October*; but neither of them venture to specify the Day, nor so much as the time of the Month, as to either beginning, middle, or end.

Whiston reckons it probable that Christ was born the 25*th* Day of *October*.

The *Vulgar Opinion* is, that his Birth-Day was the 25*th* Day of *December*.

Mr. *Lamy* seems to insinuate (tho he was afraid to speak out, because of the pretended Infallibility of his Church) that the true Christmas-Day was *Jan.* 6.

And

And *Lydiat* (for I shall mention no more) is of opinion, that Christ's Birth Day was the 20*th* of *May*.

All these Opinions are, at best, but conjectural; and therefore we are left to follow which of them we please, or reject all, in case we can guess with more probability our selves.

Why may not I then propose mine, as others have done theirs? I do therefore say, 1. That I agree with the Bulk of all Chronologers, that the vulgar Opinion is absolutely false. 2. That I look upon *Lamy* to be further from the Truth than the rest, excepting *Lydiat* only, who seems to have mistaken in this, yet further. 3. That I look upon Christ's Birth-Day, to be hidden by Divine Providence, as to the certainty of it, on purpose, that none might religiously observe it, and that upon the reason I have else-where assigned, *viz.* that Christ was, in this, as in all other things, to be the Reverse of earthly Princes, and to act the opposite part to that which worldly Politicians fall in with. 4. That I applaud the Modesty of *Scaliger*, *Usher* and *Spanheim*, in this point, in not specifying the particular Day of Christ's Birth; without detracting from the other Learned Men, who specify it indeed, but without pretending to Certainty. And therefore if I propose mine, it is as a Conjecture only, and with all Modesty and Deference to greater Judges than my self.

My Notion then is, that Christ was probably born in *October*; but not that Year wherein *Herod* dyed, but the Year preceding it.

The Suppositions I go upon for this, are these. (1.) That, if it was proper that Christ should be born, soon after the Autumnal Equinox, that he might be born as near as possible, to the Center of the time of the World's Duration; it seems to be more congruous to this, to place Christ's Birth nearer the Equinox, than more remote from it. May we not think then, that it was convenient that Christ should be born as near this, as was consistent with his being born in the Year 4000; and not in the Year 3999, *i. e.* in the very

Concluſion of the latter Days or Times. (2.) That this will render that more probable, which Mr. *Whiſton* does ſo earneſtly contend for; *viz.* that Chriſt was born not long before *Herod*'s Death, at the ſame time that it contradicts what he advances, in limiting this to a Month. For the only difficulty againſt that Poſition is this; that it ſeems to be very improbable, that ſo many things ſhould fall out in ſo few Days, as make a Month. And indeed, tho I agree with him, that *Herod* did not ſurvive Chriſt's Birth very long. Yet I can ſee no Ground for limiting this time to a Month; unleſs Mr. *Whiſton*'s Conjecture paſs for ſuch, *viz.* what he ſays, as to the Ancients miſtaking the 25*th* of *October* for the 25*th* of *December*, by confounding the *Nominal Tenth Month*, or *December*, with the *real Tenth Month*, or *October* (for ſo *October* is, according to the Julian Year:) an ingenious Conjecture, I confeſs; which I am very willing to agree with him in, as to the Month, tho not the Day, far leſs the Year. But ſeeing Chriſt's Nativity-Day, was not obſerved in the Apoſtolical Age, nor long afterwards, I think there is no reaſon to wonder, if they who firſt began this Cuſtom had forgotten both Month and Day, and fixed it to the 25*th* of *December*, by mere Chance. For *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who is the firſt Chriſtian Writer that takes notice of it, repreſents himſelf and the whole Church likewiſe, to be at a mighty loſs about it, and (z) tells us, *That ſome ingenious Perſons, who curiouſly ſearch'd after the Year and Day of Chriſt's Birth, affix'd it to the* 25*th of the Month* Pachon, which *Lydiat* reckons to have been that Year the 20*th* Day of *May*; or, as others reckon, the 16*th* Day. But he adds, (a) *That others ſuppoſed Chriſt to be born on the* 24*th or* 25*th of the Month* Pharmuthi, that is, upon the 16*th* or 17*th* of our *April*, as I reckon. At ſuch an uncertainty therefore were the Ancients, that I find not, that the Chriſtian Church did ever attempt to celebrate any

(z) Strom. Lib. 1. p. 340. Edit. Paris. (a) Ibid. p. 340.

Day

Day at all, upon the Account of Chrift's Nativity, in either the firſt, ſecond, or even third Century; inſomuch, that *Origen*, in that (*b*) very place, where he mentions the Feaſt-days obſerved in his time, has not one Syllable of *Chriſtmaſs*, as this Day has been ſince called. And therefore, whoever was the firſt Propoſer of the Obſervation of this upon the 25*th* of *December*, was a very weak Chronologer, and perhaps ſuch a one as later times produc'd many, who made up the want of Learning, by a Pretence that ſuch or ſuch an Angel or Saint had appeared to him in ſome Dream or Viſion, and reveal'd that this and no other was the Day. But to return, I muſt ſay, that it is hardly probable, that ſo many things as Mr. *Whiſton* reckons up could have fallen out within the Compaſs of a bare Month, *i. e.* from the 25*th* Day of *October*, on which he ſuppoſeth Chriſt to have been born, and the 25*th* of *November*, upon which *Herod* died. For, ſuppoſing it certain, that the Slaughter of the Infants was but 5 Days before *Herod*'s Death, as I confeſs to be more than probable, from what Mr. *Whiſton* quotes out of (*c*) *Joſephus*: Yet other things preceeding that, muſt have required time, and I think more than ſeveral Months, and therefore much more than one intire Month. For, 1. Seeing the *Magi* ſaw the Star in the Eaſt, not as a Sign of his being to be born, but of his *having been born*, as they expreſly ſay, *Matth.* 2 2. we conclude neceſſarily, that Chriſt was born ſome time before they left their own Country. 2. We cannot ſuppoſe, that thoſe wiſe Men, tho they had known the meaning of this extraordinary Sign, at the very firſt Sight, would leave their own Country immediately upon the hurry, without ſerious and mature Conſideration, and mutual Conſultation, as well as with a due Preparation againſt the Injuries and Fatigues of a long Journey. 3. Seeing they are ſaid

(*b*) Contra Celſum, Lib. 8. 392. (*c*) Antiq. l. 17. c. 10. *and* De Bello, l. 1. c. 21. *See* Whiſton, p. 160.

only, in a general way of ſpeaking, to come from the Eaſt, without ſpecifying any particular place, far leſs City; I think it is a vain diſpute, whether it was *Chaldæa*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Meſopotamia* or *Arabia*, that was their Counrry, and that it is much more reaſonable to conclude, that they were gather'd together from all theſe places, and perhaps many more. For being the renowned Men, in the ſeveral Countries where they liv'd, it is highly probable, that they conſulted one another, concerning this new Phænomenon of Nature; and that after various Meſſages from one to another, ſome propoſed, that a ſelect number ſhould be made choice of, and deputed to go to *Judæa*, in order to be ſatisfied in this point. Nay, it is rational to think, that before they undertook this Journey, they had imparted the reſult of their Diſputes and Conferences, to their reſpective Princes or Governours, and that they were armed by a Commiſſion from them, to go to the *Metropolis* of *Judæa*, and to *Herod* the King thereof, in order to know the certainty of this matter. Had not there been ſomething of this kind in their having undertaken ſuch a Journey, I cannot ſee, why *Herod* ſhould have been ſo deeply concerned in this matter, and all *Jeruſalem* with him, as to call all the Prieſts and Doctors together to conſult upon this Head: For theſe *Magi* might otherwiſe have been look'd upon, as a Parcel of Star-gazing mad Men, and been the Subject of the Deriſion of the *Jewiſh Rulers*, inſtead of being the occaſion of their Concern. 4. Their Journey could not be ſuppoſed to have been in poſt haſte, but to have taken up conſiderable time. *Judæa* it ſelf was all mountainous and rocky, and incapable of being rid thro' otherwiſe than upon *Aſſes*, or *Camels* and *Dromedaries*. And tho we read of (d) *Swift Dromedaries* in Scripture, yet their Motion is ſo well known now to be extremely ſlow, in compariſon of Horſes, and their Motion in our

(d) Jer. 2 23.

Coun-

Countries; that it is only a comparative Swiftneſs that is aſcribed to them, in relation to ſlower Animals, ſuch as Aſſes, or ſlower Creatures of their own kind. And therefore, tho they had all come from *Arabia Felix* only, or thoſe places that were next adjacent to *Judæa*, we cannot well aſſign leſs than a Months time for their Journey, from the time of their firſt ſetting out until they arriv d at *Jeruſalem*. And if they came from remoter Countries (as to me it is highly probable ſome of them did) their Journey muſt have taken up much more time. I remember *Joſephus* ſomewhere ſays, that thoſe that came from beyond *Euphrates* to *Jeruſalem*, did *uſually take up five Months in their Journey*. We cannot but think that *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, who were the Favourites of *Artaxerxes*, and were ſent to *Jeruſalem* by his expreſs Order, were as well equip'd for their Journey as any others, and that their Zeal for the Publick Good, as well as Regard to their own Safety, (conſidering the danger they were in by the way, from the Enemies of the Jews) did prompt them to make all the haſte and diſpatch that was poſſible; and yet *Ezra* was four compleat Months on the Way, from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, *Ch.* 7. 9. nor can we ſuppoſe that *Nehemiah* came in much leſs time. 5. Nor can we think, that the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* agreed to return *Herod* the Anſwer they did, till after mature Conſideration, if not many Diſputes previous to this alſo: and we know that the very Formalities of all National Councils makes them move ſlowly. 6. And beſides all theſe things, we cannot think, from the ſhort hint given by *Matthew* this way, that *Herod* did diſmiſs the *Magi*, without a great many ſolicitous Queſtions and various Meetings with them, as well as his Privy Counſellors and Officers of State: For his Charge to them is plainly the reſult of ſomething of this kind, conſidering both the Solemnneſs of the Charge, and the Cunning of the Reaſon annexed. 7. Nor could *Herod* take up the Reſolution to murder the Infants, far leſs put it in execution, till ſeveral Days, at leaſt, after he had diſ-

miſs'd the *Magi*; becauſe their Journey to *Bethlehem*, their Continuance there, and Departure from thence, upon a Revelation from God, was not all done in a hurry. Nor did *Herod* know of their Departure, till both they and *Joſeph* too, with the *Virgin* and *Chriſt*, were all out of his reach, and even the reach of Purſuers. 7. Beſides all this, we ought to remember, that the noiſe which the Shepherds had made not only in *Bethlehem*, but in all the adjacent Country, as *Luke* ſays, *Chap.* 2. 17, 18. was ſuch, that had *Herod* at that time ſent to kill the Infants, the concern that the Parents had for their Children muſt have incited them, to have told *Herod*'s Officers the Story of the Shepherds, as well as that of the *Magi*'s Preſents to *Chriſt* (neither of which could be hid) in order to ſave their own poor Children. *Chriſt* muſt therefore have been long removed from *Bethlehem*, and forgotten there, or thought to be dead, before the Slaughter of the Infants happened. And, 8. How facile ſoever Mr. *Whiſton* reckons the Solution of the Difficulty, in reconciling the Account of *Matthew*, *ch.* 2. 19, *&c.* with the Account that *Luke* gives us, of the 40 Days of *Mary*'s Purification, *Chap.* 2. 39. upon his Principle; I cannot ſee, that he ſolves it in the leaſt; and therefore Dr. *Whitby*, tho he has labour'd induſtriouſly to accommodate this, upon the ſame Suppoſition, does ſufficiently inſinuate, that the matter is ſtill dubious, and, as I think, unſurmountable. 9. The Scripture is poſitive, *Mat.* 2. 19. that it was not till after *Herod*'s Death, that *Joſeph* was advertiz'd by the Angel to return back to *Judæa*: So that he muſt have been in *Egypt* for ſome time at leaſt before *Herod*'s Death. And, 10. I cannot but think there is a peculiar Emphaſis, upon *Herod*'s giving order to ſlay all *the Children under 2 Years of Age*, or as Dr. *Whitby* explains the Phraſe, all *Children that had not attained to be much above a Year old*, which I look upon to be a more ſubtle than certain Criticiſm. But let it be the one or the other, ſtill the reaſon added deſerves ſpecial Conſideration, *Mat.* 2. 16. when it is ſaid, that *Herod* gave

gave this order and limited it after this manner, from the exact Information which the *Magi* had given him of the time when they first saw the *Star*; or as the Words run, *according to the time, that he had diligently inquired of the Wise-men.* An Expression so clear and positive, that it is not to be enervated or shifted off, by little Evasions or specious Suppositions. And therefore, I do reckon it to be no less than certain, that *Herod* survived Christ's Birth many Months, and I think more than a Year.

I come therefore now to examine the time of the Year, wherein Christ probably was born. (*e*) Mr. *Whiston* goes upon the Account in *Luke* of the *Baptist*'s Conception and Birth, *Ch.* 1. 24, 25, 26. And indeed that Computation is infallible, with respect to the Interstice of time between *John*'s Conception and Christ's, that it was 5 *compleat Months*, and probably the half of another, seeeing the *Angel* tells *Mary*, *ver.* 36. that *Elizabeth* was then *going in her* 6th *Month*; tho I know not, why the words may not be interpreted the *6th* Month compleat, for the Greek runs thus, ἡ οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, *and this Month is the sixth to her.* However, let it be either her *sixth Month compleat*, or *current* only; it enervates Mr. *Whiston*'s *Reckoning.* For if, according to him, the Baptist was conceived in the *beginning* of *September*, and our Saviour about the *latter end* of *January*, (which the *Angel* speaks of as a Futurity only to the *Virgin*, *ver.* 34, 35. at the same time that he asserts that it was then the *6th* Month with *Elizabeth*) five compleat Months cannot be reckon'd to have been between the one and the other, (unless by the indefinite Terms of the beginning and ending of these Months, he mean the *1st* Day of the former, and the last Day of the latter, nay and the first and last Hour too of these.) So that *Elizabeth* was only in her *5th* Month, even according to him. Besides, when *Mary* is said to have gone to see her Cousin, and to have staid with her 3 Months, *ver.* 56. we cannot

(*e*) Pag. 158.

otherwise

otherwiſe ſuppoſe, but that ſhe ſtay'd till ſhe ſaw *Elizabeth* ſafely delivered, if ſhe ſtaid no longer with her; and I ſuppoſe ſhe is included in the general Name of *her Couſins, that rejoiced with her, ver.* 58. And therefore we muſt of neceſſity ſuppoſe, that the *Baptiſt* was conceived ſome time before, in the Month of *Auguſt*, and probably towards the beginning thereof. If indeed we had any certainty, how and in what order *Judas Maccabæus* reſtored the Courſes of the Prieſts, as to their officiating, we might reaſon to better purpoſe on this Head. But *Scaliger*'s Reaſoning is a mere gueſs, and as eaſily rejected as offered. For, if he think, that he muſt begin with the *firſt Family*, at the time of reſtoring this Order; we may with as much, if not more appearance of Reaſon, ſuppoſe, that he would have that regard to the old Inſtitution, as it had run down from *David*'s time to the Captivity, as to have made a Calculation of the time elapſed from thence to his own Days; that ſo *that Family*, (which ſoever it was) whoſe courſe it was, by the flux of time, to officiate, might begin a-new, in its proper turn. However we ſee, that granting *Scaliger*'s gueſs to be true, it does not anſwer Mr. *Whiſton*'s Deſign. And therefore, being oblig'd to quit this Suppoſition, we are at liberty to ſeek for another.

In order to this, ſeeing Chriſt was baptized when he was 29 Years of Age compleat, and ſo entring on his 30*th* Year, as I obſerved above; we are now to enquire, how long Chriſt liv'd after that time. And to underſtand this, we have but one way left, *viz.* to inquire into the *number* of the *Paſſovers* that our Saviour was preſent at, after his Baptiſm, to his Death. And in this I find our Chronologers vary, as in other things. Mr. *Lamy* contends, with great earneſtneſs, that our Saviour was preſent only at 3 Paſſovers; at the laſt of which he himſelf, as our true Paſſover, was ſacrificed for us. *Alſtedius* of old, and Mr. *Whiſton* lately, make our Lord to have ſeen 5 Paſſovers. But Dr. *Richardſon*, whoſe accurate account of this matter Dr. *Uſher* inſerts in his *Annals*, as that which he himſelf agreed

greed with, keeps the Medium between these as Extremes, and reckons Christ to have seen 4 Passovers, and neither more than fewer. I am loth to run out upon this Head; and therefore I shall satisfy my self to refer the Reader to (*f*) Mr. *Lamy*, for the Refutation of Mr. *Whiston*'s supposed third Passover, which he thinks is mentioned *Mat.* 12. 1. and *Mark* 2. 23. and by *Luke*, *Chap.* 6. 1. under the Name of σαββατου δευτεροπρωτου, i. e. *the second Sabbath after the first*, as our Version has rendred it, or as Dr. *Richardson* and Dr. *Usher* interpret it, *the First-Sabbath of the new Year*, reckoning, not from the *Autumnal Equinox*, or the beginning of the *Civil Year*, but from the *Vernal Equinox*, or the Month *Nisan* or *Abib* (which answer'd to part of our *March*, and part of *April*) from whence they dated their *Ceremonial Year*, *viz.* from the time wherein *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. This I look upon to be the exact Truth; and see not the least ground for Mr. *Whiston*'s calling it, *the first Sabbath after the second day of the Passover.*

But I am agreed with Mr. *Whiston*, that the Feast mentioned *John* 5. 1. was the Feast of the Passover. Nor is it any Argument against this, that *John* does not particularly mention the Passover; seeing *John* was not concerned much to mention it, considering that he wrote his Gospel, after that all the Jewish Festivals were at an end, *viz.* after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; so that it was no wonder, if he spoke of this Feast so indefinitely, and with such Indifference. As for the other Arguments of *Lamy* against this Feasts being the Passover, they are so weak, as to need very little Refutation. For they are all drawn from *John* 4. 35. where Christ says, *that there were yet four Months to the Harvest.* Which is to say nothing at all, to the purpose. Seeing it is easy to see, that Christ utters these Words upon his

(*f*) *See his* Appar. Chron. p. 199. *and here it is odd that Mr.* Whiston *should refer to this very Page, in his Book*, p. 141. *without answering any thing to what the Author had said, in refutation of his Opinion.*

Departure

Departure from *Jeruſalem*, when he was at *Sychar*, a City of *Samaria*, in his way to *Galilee*; where tho he ſtay'd not long, upon the Reaſon inſinuated, *ver.* 44. yet he ſtay'd ſome time. So that he left that place again, to be preſent at the *ſecond Paſſover*, which *John* calls indefinitely *a Feaſt of the Jews*, which *Jeſus* went up to obſerve, *Chap.* 5. 1. Nor is the Inſinuation of *Lamy* of any Conſequence againſt this, when he ſays; that had this been a ſecond Paſſover, no doubt but Chriſt did a great many things in the Interval; and, if ſo, *John* would not have paſs'd them all by in Silence. For indeed *John* does not paſs them all by, as we ſee, *Ch.* 4. 45. to the end. But had he ſaid nothing at all; the other Evangeliſts ſupply that Defect: Nor does *John* relate any thing again, that they had induſtriouſly ſpoken of.

So that, upon the whole View of this matter, I do agree with Dr. *Richardſon* and Dr. *Uſher*, that there were exactly *four Paſſovers* between Chriſt's Baptiſm and his Crucifixion; the 1*ſt* mentioned, *John* 2. 13, *&c.* The 2*d* inſinuated, *John* 5. 1. The 3*d* expreſly named, *John* 6. 4. And the 4*th*, that at which he himſelf ſuffered, as our true Paſſover.

Now ſeeing Chriſt was cut off exactly in the midſt of the 7*th* Week of *Daniel*, and ſo juſt after 3 Years and an half from his Baptiſm; and that all agree, that Chriſt was crucified on *Friday* (which *Longius* was the only Man to call in queſtion, that I ever heard of) being the 15*th* of *Niſan*, and the Day of the Paſſover: let us hence deduce the beginning of our remaining Calculation.

And here I muſt ſay, that the World is peculiarly oblig'd to the Learned and Curious (*g*) Mr. *Lamy*, who has been at a prodigious deal of pains, to calculate the ſeveral New-Moons, for ſome Years before and after the Year of Chriſt's Death, reduc'd to the Meridi-

(*g*) Apparat. Chronol. P. 115, 116, 117, 118.

an

an of *Jeruſalem*; by which *Aſtronomical Calculation*, we find that the New Moon fell upon the 15*th* day of *Niſan*, in *A. D.* 33. according to the Julian Year (which began with *January*) of the Vulgar *Æra*, and in no other, for ſome Years before and after, and that the 15*th* Day of *Niſan* that Year, was a *Friday*, which was not the caſe of the Years before or after, which he mentions. And (*h*) Mr. *Whiſton* reckons this Calculation ſo conſiderable, that he follows it exactly.

If then the 15*th* of *Niſan* was a *Friday* that Year, and anſwer'd to the 3*d* of *April*, as all are agreed; we might trace upwards the Day and Month of the Year wherein our Saviour was born; upon the Suppoſition, that he liv'd exactly three Years and an half. But, ſeeing this would require too much time, as well as take up too much room; and ſeeing likewiſe it is a matter of no great Conſequence to me, to know certainly, on what Month or Day our Saviour was born; I ſhall therefore forbear any tedious Calculation of this ſort. However, in caſe any Perſon ſhould ſuſpect the poſſibility of ſuch a Calculation as this; I ſhall not grudge to ſatisfy the Reader ſo far; as to preſent him with a Specimen thereof, by calculating the Days of the laſt half Year of our Saviour's Life on Earth. Now in order to underſtand this, I propoſe the following Adjuſtment of the Jewiſh and Julian Months.

(*h*) Pag. 195, 196.

Anno

Anno Dom. xxxiii.

Tisri or *Ethanim*		*September*	Days of the Week
1		21	*Sunday*
2		22	*Monday*
3		23	*Tuesday*
4		24	*Wednesday*
5		25	*Thursday*
6		26	*Friday*
7		27	*Saturday*
8		28	*S. D.*
9		29	*M.*
10		30	*Tu.*
		October	
11		1	*W.*
12		2	*Th.*
13		3	*F.*
14		4	*S.*
15	First Day of Christ's last half Year.	5	*S. D.*
16		6	*M.*
17		7	*Tu.*
18		8	*W.*
19		9	*Th.*
20		10	*F.*
21		11	*S.*
22		12	*S. D.*
23		13	*M.*
24		14	*Tu.*
25		15	*W.*
26		16	*Th.*
27		17	*F.*
28		18	*S.*
29		19	*S. D.*
30		20	*M.*

Marhesuan or *Bull.*		
1	21	*Tu.*
2	22	*W.*
3	23	*Th.*
4	24	*F.*
5	25	*S.*
6	26	*S. D.*
7	27	*M.*
8	28	*Tu.*
9	29	*W.*
10	30	*Th.*
11	31	*F.*
	Novem.	
12	1	*S.*
13	2	*S. D.*
14	3	*M.*
15	4	*Tu.*
16	5	*W.*
17	6	*Th.*
18	7	*F.*
19	8	*S.*
20	9	*S. D.*
21	10	*M.*
22	11	*Tu.*
23	12	*W.*
24	13	*Th.*
25	14	*F.*
26	15	*S.*
27	16	*S. D.*
28	17	*M.*
29	18	*Tu.*
30	19	*W.*
Cisleu.		
1	20	*Th.*
2	21	*F.*
3	22	*S.*
4	23	*S. D.*
5	24	*M.*

6	25	*Tu.*
7	26	*W.*
8	27	*Th.*
9	28	*F.*
10	29	*S.*
11	30	*S.D.*
	Decemb.	
12	1	*M.*
13	2	*Tu.*
14	3	*W.*
15	4	*Th.*
16	5	*F.*
17	6	*S.*
18	7	*S.D.*
19	8	*M.*
20	9	*Tu.*
21	10	*W.*
22	11	*Th.*
23	12	*F.*
24	13	*S.*
25	14	*S.D.*
26	15	*M.*
27	16	*Tu.*
28	17	*W.*
29	18	*Th.*
30	19	*F.*
Tebeth.		
1	20	*S.*
2	21	*S.D.*
3	22	*M.*
4	23	*Tu.*
5	24	*W.*
6	25	*Th.*
7	26	*F.*
8	27	*S.*
9	28	*S.D.*
10	29	*M.*
11	30	*Tu.*
12	31	*W.*

	January	
13	1	*Th.*
14	2	*F.*
15	3	*S.*
16	4	*S.D.*
17	5	*M.*
18	6	*Tu.*
19	7	*W.*
20	8	*Th.*
21	9	*F.*
22	10	*S.*
23	11	*S.D.*
24	12	*M.*
25	13	*T.*
26	14	*W.*
27	15	*Th.*
28	16	*F.*
29	17	*S.*
30	18	*S.D.*
Shebeth.		
1	19	*M.*
2	20	*Tu.*
3	21	*W.*
4	22	*Th.*
5	23	*Fr.*
6	24	*S.*
7	25	*S.D.*
8	26	*M.*
9	27	*Tu.*
10	28	*W.*
11	29	*Th.*
12	30	*F.*
13	31	*S.*
	Februar.	
14	1	*S.D.*
15	2	*M.*
16	3	*Tu.*
17	4	*W.*
18	5	*Th.*

19	6	*F.*	21	10	*Tu.*
20	7	*S.*	22	11	*W.*
21	8	*S.D.*	23	12	*Th.*
22	9	*M.*	24	13	*F.*
23	10	*Tu.*	25	14	*S.*
24	11	*W.*	26	15	*S.D.*
25	12	*Th.*	27	16	*M.*
26	13	*F.*	28	17	*Tu.*
27	14	*S.*	29	18	*W.*
28	15	*S.D.*	30	19	*Th.*
29	16	*M.*	*Nisan* or *Abib.*		
30	17	*T.*	1	20	*F.*
Adar.			2	21	*S.*
1	18	*W.*	3	22	*S.D.*
2	19	*Th.*	4	23	*M.*
3	20	*F.*	5	24	*Tu.*
4	21	*S.*	6	25	*W.*
5	22	*S.D.*	7	26	*Th.*
6	23	*M.*	8	27	*F.*
7	24	*Tu.*	9	28	*S.*
8	25	*W.*	10	29	*S.D.*
9	26	*Th.*	11	30	*M.*
10	27	*F.*	12	31	*Tu.*
11	28	*S.*	*April.*		
	March.		13	1	*W.*
12	1	*S.D.*	14	2	*Th.*
13	2	*M.*	15 Christ crucified	3	*F.*
14	3	*Tu.*	16	4	*S.*
15	4	*W.*	17 Christ's Resurrection.	5	*S.D.*
16	5	*Th.*			
17	6	*F.*			
18	7	*S.*			
19	8	*S.D.*			
20	9	*M.*			

And now, that I have brought my Calculation down to the Day of our Saviour's Resurrection from the Dead, I cannot forbear a Continuance of this for 50 Days longer,

longer, *viz.* to the famous Day of *Pentecoſt*, when Chriſt ſent down the *Paraclete* from Heaven, in that remarkable manner, which we have an account of, in the 2*d* Chapter of the *Acts*.

Niſan or *Abib.*		*April*	*Days of the W.*	*Num. of the 50 D.*					*May.*			
17	Chriſt roſe from the Dead.	5	*S.D.*	1	**	12			30		*Th.*	26	
18		6	*M.*	2		13			1		*F.*	27	
19		7	*Tu.*	3		14			2		*S.*	28	
20		8	*W.*	4		15			3		*S.D.*	29	*
21		9	*Th.*	5		16			4		*M.*	30	
22		10	*F.*	6		17			5		*Tu.*	31	
23		11	*S.*	7		18			6		*W.*	32	
24		12	*S.D.*	8	*	19			7		*Th.*	33	
25		13	*M.*	9		20			8		*F.*	34	
26		14	*Tu.*	10		21			9		*S.*	35	
27		15	*W.*	11		22			10		*S.D.*	36	*
28		16	*Th.*	12		23			11		*M.*	37	
29		17	*F.*	13		24			12		*Tu.*	38	
30		18	*S.*	14		25			13		*W.*	39	
Iyar.						26			14		*Th.*	40	
1		19	*S.D.*	15	*	27	Chriſt's Aſcenſion-Day.		15		*F.*	41	
2		20	*M.*	16		28			16		*S.*	42	
3		21	*Tu.*	17		29			17		*S.D.*	43	*
4		22	*W.*	18		30			18		*M.*	44	
5		23	*Th.*	19		*Sivan*							
6		24	*F.*	20		1			19		*T.*	45	
7		25	*S.*	21		2			20		*W.*	46	
8		26	*S.D.*	22	*	3			21		*Th.*	47	
9		27	*M.*	23		4			22		*F.*	48	
10		28	*Tu.*	24		5			23		*S.*	49	
11		29	*W.*	25		6	Pentecoſt.		24	The H. Spirit given.	*S.D.*	50	**

I foreſee no Objection againſt this Calculation, excepting this; *viz.* that I do groundleſly ſuppoſe, that all the 12 Months of the Jewiſh Calendar did conſiſt of juſt 30 Days a-piece, whereas the Jews themſelves

reckon no more than 29 to 6 of them; for thus we find they adjuſt them.

	Days.		Days.
1. *Tiſri* or *Ethanim*,	30	7. *Niſan* or *Abib*,	30
2. *Marheſuan* or *Bull*,	29	8. *Iyar*,	29
3. *Ciſleu*,	30	9. *Sivan*,	30
4. *Tebeth*,	29	10. *Tammuz*,	29
5. *Shebet* or *Shebeth*,	30	11. *Ab.*	30
6. *Adar*,	29	12. *Elul.*	29

But I anſwer; That tho the Jews have given us this *Calendar*, in order to adjuſt their *Holy Days*, and the *Courſes* of their *Prieſts*; yet I think that *Scaliger*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Lamy*, and all thoſe that make uſe of this, in order to find out and adjuſt the Flux of Time it ſelf, do exceedingly miſtake and go upon a very falſe Bottom; ſeeing from what I have ſaid already upon this Head, it is no leſs than demonſtrable, that the Sacred Writers did reckon their Years to conſiſt of 12 Months, and each Month to contain 30 Days a-piece; and that they kept exactly to this Reckoning, both in Hiſtory and Prophecy. It was very fit indeed for the Prieſts, who were to reckon their Courſes by the *Hebdomadal Revolution* of Days, and therefore by *Lunar Months*, to uſe ſuch a reckoning as this, which came nearer to the true *Lunar* Months, than the other Calendar. But the Prophets never follow'd it, in writing the Series of Times and Tranſactions. So that I had nothing to do here with the *Temple-Calendar*, but with the *Civil* or *State-Computation* of things; as being in ſearch after *Matters of Fact*.

I am not ignorant of what *Scaliger* (*b*) ſays, when he gives us an account how the Jews did intercalate a whole Month, of 30 Days, after the Captivity, which they caſt before *Adar*, and call'd *Veader*: Which

(*b*) Lib. 3. Canonum Iſagogic.

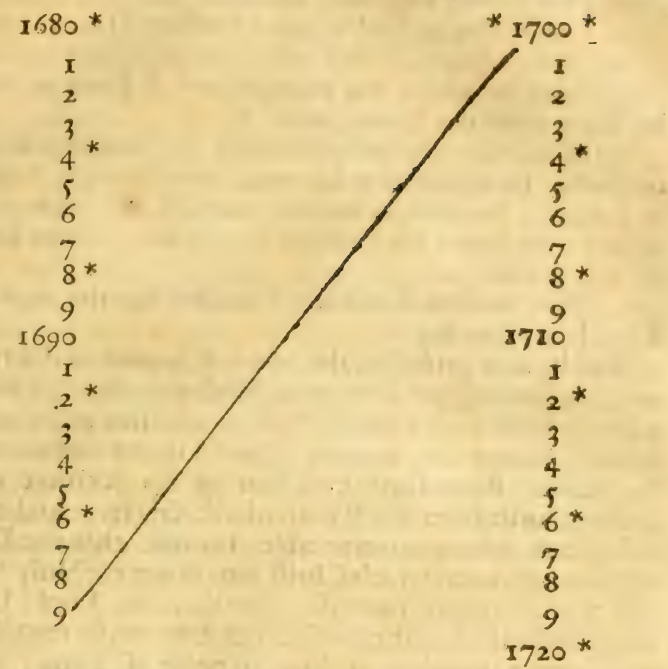
Month

Month they added after the end of every 120*th* Year; which was, in effect, the adding of a day after every 4*th* Year. But, supposing the Truth of this, it does no way affect my *Hypothesis*: seeing the same *Scaliger* owns, not only that this was not done until after the Captivity, but that they never made any use of it, in their Civil Computations, nor in relation to Historical Matters; insomuch that even their Civil Judicatories did never meet or judge at that time; whence the Jews us'd to call their intercallary Months by the Name of *a Minute of Time*. So that they seem to have been only used as a mere speculative Curiosity.

If any should say here; But how do I know, whether the Year 33 was not Leap-Year, seeing in the Calculation above, I reckon but 28 Days to *February*? I answer, that I have a Demonstration to secure me from mistaking Leap-Year for another Year, in my Reckoning of the *Julian* Months, even as high as the first Institution of them, and (upon the Supposition of our being curious to carry the thing higher) even as far back as the Creation of the World, and to the beginning of that *Proleptick* or *Suppositious Time* of 709 Years before the Creation, as *Usher*'s Calculation is, with which the *Julian Period* is supposed to begin; according to the Supposition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, of old, who laid the first Foundation of this Invention; but which was improved and perfected by *Joseph Scaliger*. Now, because this Demonstration of mine, may be of common Benefit, I shall here give it the Reader: For, tho it may be no Secret to any Learned Chronologer; nay, and be look'd upon by them, as too mean to be mentioned at all; yet, having never met with it in any Author, and considering that it may be of some use to *Common Readers*; I know not but I may gratify the Publick this way. Let then the Reader but fix upon *one Leap-Year*, and he may from thence calculate all such Years backwards or forwards, as to time past or time to come, with great ease; if he will but observe this one Rule, That a *Leap-Year* ever did, and ever must, fall upon

a Number that ends with a *Cypher*, or with one of these four Figures, *viz.* 2, 4, 6, or 8; and that therefore, it can never fall upon an *odd Number*, nor consequently upon any Year that is mark'd with a 1, a 3, a 5, a 7, or a *9th* Figure. To exemplify this, let us take the Year 1700, as the *Leap-Year*, from whence we would reckon backwards and forwards, and we shall find the Rule certain. And that the Reader may see this by ocular Demonstration, I desire he may consider the following Column of Years; wherein 1700 is plac'd in the Center of 40 Years, *i. e.* between 20 Years that run out before it, and 20 Years that are to run out after it. For by this we see objected to our eye, that as in 1700, the Leap-year fell upon a Number ending with a Cypher; so, in going *upwards*, the *Leap-Years* were mark'd by the Numbers I have mention'd, running still in this Order, *viz.* 6, 2, 8, and 4, till they come to a *Cypher* again: and that likewise in counting *downwards*, the *Leap-Years* are mark'd by the same Numbers, but in this order (the very Reverse of the former) *viz.*. 4, 8, 2, and 6. All that I need say further, is, that the Leap-Years here are mark'd with an Asterisk, and the Central Leap-year with two.

1680 *



By this Rule then, it is evident, that, according to the *Julian Calculation* of Years, Months and Days, no *odd Year* could ever be a Leap Year; and consequently, if our Lord was crucified, *A. M.* 4033 he was not crucified in a Leap-Year; tho, if he was born, *A. M.* 4000, he was born in one.

Now from all this we find, that as Christ rose from the Dead on the *5th* of *April*, being a *Sunday*, (but which changed its name among Christians afterwards to that of the *Lord's Day*:) So the last half Year of his Ministery began exactly the *5th* of *October*, which was a Sunday too. If then Christ liv'd 33 Years and an half; we may suppose it to be probable, that he was born *A. M.* 4000, on *October* the *5th* Day. So that here we are thus led to reckon;

1. That Christ was born, *Oct.* 5.
2. That he began his Publick Ministery, *Oct.* 5.
3. That he began his last half Years Ministery, *Oct.* 5.
4. That he ended his whole Work of Humiliation, by rising from the Dead, *April.* 5.
5. That, after he had continued 40 compleat Days on Earth, he ascended to Heaven, *May* the 15*th*, being a Friday. So that as he was crucified and died on a Friday; he began his Exaltation also on the same Day of the Week.
6. That he sent down the Paraclete on the 24*th* of *May*, being Sunday.

And if, as is probable, the two first as well as the two next memorable 5*th* Days were Sundays; then we have a secret Reason why his Birth-Day was not to be celebrated; seeing that is really observ'd in our celebrating his second Birth-Day, *viz.* that of his reviving and coming forth from the Womb of the Grave. And this is so much the more memorable, because that the Day of *Pentecost*, upon which Christ sent down the Holy Spirit, was a *Sunday* likewise. So that the Lord's Day comprehends all that relates to our Saviour, in regard of the Commemoration of him, in point of Time; and was therefore, without doubt, design'd so as to cut off all Pretences of instituting *Annual Holy Days* for the future; which the Scriptural Account of Christianity gives not the least handle for. So that in observing *Sunday*, we observe all that, which *Easter*, *Whitsunday* or *Pentecost*, and *Christmas*, were instituted afterwards for, as well as *Epiphany*, in commemoration of Christ's Baptism, which the *Basilidan Hereticks* were the first Institutors of, as (*i*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us.

And from hence we see, what just reason our Saviour had to institute this one *Holy Day*, instead of all others. For, seeing he was to put an End to all *Ceremonial Fast Days* and *Feast Days*, that in this (as in all other

(*i*) Strom. Lib. 1. p. 249.

things,

things, as I have said once and again) he might act the perfect Reverse of worldly Princes and Politicians: He did therefore think it proper; as to institute but one *Feast, viz.* that of the *Supper*, in commemoration of his Sufferings; so to appoint one *Holy Day* only, in commemoration both of his *Humiliation* and Exaltation. For the *Lord's Day*, wherein he rose from the Dead, looks *backwards* upon the *one*, and *forwards* upon the *other*; especially seeing it was to be Divinely ratified and confirmed, 50 Days after, by the Descent of the *Paraclete* the same Day: Which, upon this account, may well be look'd upon, as the *Christian Jubilee-Day*, to be *Hebdomically* observed for ever.

And, because of the Uncertainty of *Annual* and *Monthly Calculations*, considering the innumerable *Meridians* of the World; and that even the *Annual Course* of the *Sun* is not (*k*) a perfect Measure of the Flux of Time; and that likewise (besides the Variation of Reckonings this way or the other) one *Annual Holy Day*

(*k*) *That I speak not this without just reason, it might be sufficient perhaps to appeal to all that deserve the Name of* Chronologers; *seeing there is no Man, that has look'd into the* Grounds *of* Chronology, *so as to adjust them with* Astronomical Observations, *but must own the Truth of this. But, seeing others may be startl'd at this Assertion, and ask; what, Is not the Course of the Sun an exact measure of Time? Does not* Moses *tell us this, when he assigns the use of the Sun and Moon? And did not God declare, that this his Work, as well as all others, was good? I answer in the general; That, as all God's Works are perfect, in their kind, so this is to be sure. But then, I hope none can be so absurd, as to suppose, that any Creature can be* absolutely perfect, *in any respect whatsoever. And therefore, it is enough for the Sun, that it was made to be as exact a Rule of Time, as was needful for Men, as to all the Conveniencies of Life; at the same time, that it was perhaps as necessary, that it should not perfectly measure the Flux of Time; that it might be own'd, (if it were only upon this account) to be no* Deity *or* Divinity, (*as the Generality of* Heathens *look'd upon it to be*) *but a* meer Creature, *made to be subservient to Mens Occasions; tho it might be appointed for other ends also, for any thing I know, particularly in relation to other* Planetary Worlds. *But however, there is no disputing from pretended* Theories *or* Schemes, *against* certain Experience

had not been enough to preserve and propagate Christianity: Therefore he did wisely appoint the continuance of the *Hebdomadal Sabbath*, with no other Alteration

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ence, *founded on critical Observations, as to Matters of Fact. And it cannot easily be supposed, that all those that have successively inquired into things of this kind, should be mistaken wholly and constantly this way. And I believe, there is hardly one eminent Artificer in* Clock-work, *ever since the Invention of the* Pendulum, *who will not attest the Truth of this. And I know that the famous Mr.* Tompion *has been so nice in the observance of the difference between the* Best Sun-Dials, *and his* Standard-Pendulum Clocks, *as to have oftner than once drawn a Table of the* Equation *of* Natural Days; *by giving us an Account of the difference of these, according to the best comparison could be made from these* two Sorts *of* Indexes *of the Motion of Time.* Two *of these* Tables *I have now by me, the* first *in* English, *calculated in the Year* 1684. *the other in Latin, calculated in and for the Year* 1600, *according to the* New Stile. *This last I look upon to be by far the exactest Calculation. And therefore, tho I am not willing to tire either the Reader or my self, with copying it out here; yet I shall not grudge to give a little Specimen of it, that, what I have asserted, may be the better understood.*

Jan. 1. 1690. *The* Pendulum Clocks *were faster than the* Sun-Dials, *by* 4 Minutes *and* 42 Seconds.

They continued increasing in Swiftness above them, until the 14th *Day of* Febr. *on which day the difference was no less that* 14 min. 49 sec.

On Feb. 15. *they began to decrease, being only* 14 min. 38 sec. *swifter than the Sun Dials.*

They continued decreasing, until the 14th *Day of* April; *on which Day, the* Pendulums *were just one* Second *slower than the* Sun-Dials.

And from thence the Sun-Dial went faster, more or less, until the 17th *Day of* June, *on which day, the* Pendulums *had gain'd* 10 Seconds.

*They continued gaining more or less (*i. e. *by increasing for some time, and losing ground afterwards by Degrees) until the* last Day *of* August. *On which Day the* Sun-Dials *had again gain'd upon them* 14 Seconds.

From thence the Pendulums *continued to fall short of the* Sun's *Shadow on the* Dials, *variously; (being* 16 min. *and* 1 sec. *slower on the* 1st *Day of* Nov. *and on the* 22d *of* Dec. *but* 18 seconds *only) until the* 23d *of* Dec. *On which Day, the* Pendulums *gain'd* 12 seconds *again; until they had gained* 4 min. *and* 7 sec. *the last day of* December.

So that we may conclude that the next Day, being Jan. 1. 1691. *the Difference was almost the same, as it had been that day the Year before.*

Now, tho neither Clocks *nor* Sun-Dials *can be supposed to be absolutely perfect: Yet it is impossible that such considerable Changes, from* swifter *to* slower, *and so backward again, could happen, again and again, with such Niceness and Regularity; if the Motion of the Sun were not swifter sometimes than at other times. Which, in my humble Opinion, is no small Evi-*

dence

tion, but that of turning the *laſt Day* into the *firſt Day* of the *Week*.

And therefore ſhould all I have ſaid concerning the *Year* and *Month*, and the *Day* of the Month, of Chriſt's Birth, yea and Death and Reſurrection too, be falſe, it would be no matter of Concern to me, ſeeing it is no real detriment to Chriſtianity. For, ſeeing the Church has obſerved this *Hebdomadal Holy Day*, (which we call the *Lord's Day*, and which was called *Sunday* by the Heathens, and the *firſt Day* of the Week by the Jews) for near 1700 hundred Years, without Interruption; all the Ends of Religion are ſecured, as to the Verity of Chriſt's Death and Reſurrection, the Propagation of its Truths, the Preſervation of its Worſhip, and the incitement of Men to obſerve its Rules and Inſtitutions. Nay, let Chriſt be ſuppoſed to have been born a hundred Years or more, either before or after the Year 4000 from the Creation; yet ſtill we are to believe, that he came in the *Fulneſs*, and therefore in the *Center of Time*; tho we were not able, in the leaſt, to offer any thing like an Adjuſtment of this Matter. For (*l*) *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, *That on Sunday the Chriſtians aſſembled together, becauſe it was the firſt Day of the Week, upon which God made the World, out of the confuſed* Chaos; *and that Day on which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour roſe from the Dead*, &c. And (*m*) *Origin* ſays, that *on that Day they commemorated Chriſt's Paſſion*, which ended that day; adding, *that they did it not only annually, but once every ſeven Days.* So that, in his Days, the *Annual* Celebration of it ſeems to have been obſerved; of which none of the Writers before him inſinuate any thing.

I ſhall only, by way of *Corona* to this 3*d* Obſervation, obſerve two things, 1. That it is not incredible, but that that ſtrange and extraordinary *Bird* which was ſeen

dence of a Divine Wiſdom in guiding its Motions. For the ingenious Mr. Newton *has not only ſhew'd, in his late Book, that the Courſe of the Sun or Earth is not perfectly Orbicular or Circular; but improved the Obſervation this way alſo. But it is time for me to put an end to this* Marginal Note.

(*l*) Apol. 2. p. 99. (*m*) In Iſaiam, Homil. 5.

in

in *Egypt*, mentioned by (*n*) *Tacitus* and (*o*) *Dio Caſſius*, and called by them the *Phœnix*, might firſt make its Appearance the Year wherein our Lord died and roſe again; tho perhaps the notice of it came not to *Rome* till afterwards, which makes them caſt the Account ſomething later. I am not alone in this Conjecture: For the Learned (*p*) *Lydiat* thought ſo before me. And whatever were the Dreams of old, concerning the *Phœnix*, yet we cannot doubt of this matter of Fact, related ſo poſitively, and with ſuch Circumſtances, by two of the moſt accurate and eminent *Roman Hiſtorians*. And, ſeeing they wrote a conſiderable time after this happen'd, it confirms us that this Story had made a mighty Noiſe in the World, and been univerſally believed in that polite and learned Age, wherein it is ſaid to have happened; at the ſame time, that it gives us ground to think, that tho they could not forget the material Account of this, yet they might have miſtaken as to the Circumſtance of Time, when this happened. But, 2. There is another thing, both more certain and more memorable, that happened juſt when Chriſt died, *viz.* that extraordinary and ſupernatural *Darkneſs*, which was at that time accompanied with a ſtrange and preternatural *Earthquake*. Of this preternatural *Darkneſs* the ſacred Hiſtorians take particular notice, *Matth.* 27. 45. *Mark* 15. 33. *Luke* 23. 44, 45. And of the *Earthquake* that accompanied the ſame, we have an account, *Matth.* 27. 51, 52, 53, 54. And, as that *Earthquake* began exactly with Chriſt's laſt and loud Cry, with which he expired, as we ſee by comparing the 50 and 51*ſt* Verſes of that Chapter; ſo there was a new Shock thereof (and the laſt, as far as can be collected) juſt as our Lord roſe from the dead, as we ſee *Chap.* 28. 2. And it is memorable, that the

(*n*) Annal. Lib. 6. cap. 28. Com. 1. (*o*) Lib. 58. pag. 732. Edit. Steph. (*p*) Lyd. ſeries ſum. Magiſt. & Triumph. Rom. p. 50.

ancient

ancient and famous *Phlego Trallianus* took notice of this, in his *Chronological Account* of the *Olympiads*, as (*q*) *Euſebius*, (*r*) *Origen*, and (*s*) *others* aſſure us, who cite the Paſſage thus: *In the fourth Year of the* 202d Olympiad, *an Eclipſe of the Sun happened, the greateſt of all that were ever known. For Night broke up at the* 6th *Hour of the Day; and that to ſuch a Degree, that the Stars of the Heaven were viſible. And at the ſame time there was an Earthquake, which was particularly felt in* Bithinia, *and threw down the greateſt part of the City of Nice.* This is exactly the ſame account, that is given in the Goſpel-Hiſtory, and agrees in the Circumſtance of the time, when the Eclipſe began; *viz.* at the *6th* Hour. Only the three Evangeliſts add, that it continued until the *9th* Hour. And were there nothing elſe but this ſaid of it, it were enough to demonſtrate that this was not a natural Eclipſe. For a natural Eclipſe of the Sun is occaſion'd by the Interpoſition of the Moon, between that Luminary, and that part of the Earth, above which the Moon is Central, in a right Line, between the Eye and Sun. But this never laſts long, becauſe the Moon's Motion ſoon makes it alter its Poſition. So that, if this Eclipſe was a natural one at firſt, yet it was miraculous, that theſe Luminaries ſhould be continued in this fixed Poſition, and without any Motion for 3 Hours. But that this Darkneſs was altogether miraculous, and in no reſpect natural, appears plainly further from theſe Conſiderations. 1. Becauſe, tho there may be a *Total Eclipſe* of the Moon, yet there can never be a *total Eclipſe* of the Sun, in any Propriety of Speech; tho, comparatively we may call ſome Eclipſes *Total*. For the Moon being a leſs Body than the Sun, there are always ſome Shootings or Rays ſeen round it, that give ſome ſmall Light, even

(*q*) In Chron. ad An. Tib. 18. (*r*) Contra Celſum, Lib. 2. p. 80. (*s*) Philop. de Creatione, Lib. 2. C. 21. & Chron. Alex. p. 520.

when

when the greateſt *ſolar Eclipſe* happens. But this ſeems to have been ſuch a one, as that Night was as fully brought in, and the Stars ſeen as clearly, as at Midnight, when both *Sun* and *Moon* are under the Hemiſphere. 2. It was an *Univerſal Eclipſe*, as leaſt over the *Roman Empire*, by what *Phlego* ſays, that it was ſo in *Bithinia*. Now had it been total in *Judæa*, it muſt have been but a partial one in *Bithinia*, conſidering the diſtance of the Places, had it indeed been only a natural Eclipſe; as all that underſtand *Aſtronomy* and *Geography* muſt own. And I am therefore of their mind, (*t*) who think, that the Evangeliſts mean the whole known World, when they ſay, that this Darkneſs was over πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, *all the Earth*, as *Matthew* has it, and *Mark* and *Luke*, with no other difference, but that they uſe the word ὅλην, inſtead of πᾶσαν, which is of an equivalent Signification, *over the whole Earth*; which I ſee not why we ſhould reſtrict to *Judea*, and render it, as our Verſion does, *over all the Land*. But then, 3. It does further appear, that this *Darkneſs* was not occaſion'd by any proper *Eclipſe*; becauſe it fell out in the *Full Moon*, when it is impoſſible in Nature that there ſhould be any Eclipſe of the Sun at all, as all Aſtronomers agree: For all *ſolar Eclipſes* happen in the time of the *New Moon*. All theſe things therefore being laid together, we muſt conclude, that this Darkneſs was altogether ſuper-natural and miraculous; and therefore it is not incredible, that an obſerving *Aſtronomer* might cry out, at that time, as one is ſaid to have done, *viz. Dionyſius*, then a Heathen Philoſopher, in company of *Apollophanes*, another Gentile Philoſopher, as the Story is related by *Suidas*; ἢ τὸ θεῖον πάσχει, ἢ τοῖς πάσχουσι συμπάσχει, *i.e. either the Divinity it ſelf ſuffers, or does*, as it were, *ſuffer in ſomething that is now a ſuffering*. The Senſe of which abrupt and conciſe Saying, I take to

(*t*) *See* Bibl. Crit. in Mat. 27. 45.

be

be this; that either the Deity or God himself had suffer'd some Change, seeing the ordinary Course of Nature was at that time alter'd; or otherwise, that some strange and extraordinary thing was a doing, which God thought fit to give evidence to, and call Men to remark, by a miraculous and super-natural Method of Proceeding, in altering and inverting the settled Law of Nature, for a time. And indeed all Nations of old look'd upon *Eclipses*, especially *solar ones*, if great and unusual, as Signs of Divine Displeasure and Premonitions, and Presages of extraordinary Revolutions in the World. So did even the Prophets of old, as we see, *Jer.* 15. 9. *Ezek.* 32. 7, 8. *Joel* 2. 10, 30, 31. and 3. 14, 15, 16. And so did all wise Nations besides, as well as Barbarians. Hence (*u*) *Seneca*'s Saying, ——— *Tuq; siderum caput, Radiate Titan, tu nefas stirpis tuæ speculare? Lucem merge & in tenebras fuge: O thou bright Sun, the Ruler of all the Stars, behold the Villainy of Men, that boast themselves to be sprung from thee; and testify thy abhorrence thereof, by drowning thy Light, and obscuring thy Brightness, with Darkness.* And to the same purpose, is that memorable Expression of his (*x*) elsewhere. *O nos dura sorte creatos! seu perdidimus solem miseri, seu expulimus. Oh, how hard now is the lot of us Creatures! For either we are miserable, by having lost the Sun, or by banishing it from us, i. e.* by provoking God to take its Light and Influences from us. An Expression, that may very well be accommodated unto this extraordinary Darkness, which accompanied Christ's Death; and which did certainly speak forth the Folly and Wickedness of Men, in pursuing Christ to Death, and which Nature it self did accuse, by putting on universal Mourning, when the God of Nature suffer'd.

But it is high time, to put an end to this 3*d* Observation, which has led me so far into the Mazes of *Chronology*, and to proceed to something further on this Head. And therefore,

(*u*) In Phædra. (*x*) In Thyest.

In

In the 4*th* and last Place, I add this *Observation*, *viz.* That the *Time* of *Christ's coming* was *the Fulness of Time*, with respect unto the *concurring Circumstances* thereof, both as to *Men* and *Things*; which were such as never occur'd before, nor since, if all these be considered together. In order fully to understand this, I beg the Reader duly to consider these weighty Particulars following.

And, 1. The time wherein Christ appeared in the World, was the *fittest* that ever was, if we consider the *State* and *Circumstances* of the *Jewish Church* and *Nation*. For, not to mention the general Expectation they had of Christ's being about to come at that time; nor yet the Variety of Methods God had used before to reclaim them (of both which Remarks I made mention before:) there are other things to be considered here. 1. The *Jews* were now inslaved both to *Herod* and his *Family*, and to the *Roman Emperors*, and their *Deputies* and *Laws*. And therefore one would have thought, that they should have been fond of their *Messiah*, at any rate, when he came and manifested himself to be such. 2. They were split into *Factions*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*. For some of them were (right or wrong) for *Herod*, and were called from thence *Herodians*; whilst others hated him, and were weary of his Yoke, as breathing after their ancient Government and Liberty. And, as to the Church-Government and Governours, as we usually call them, they were yet more divided, as being split into the *two grand Factions* of *Pharisees* and *Saducees* (not to mention the *Essenes*) who differ'd in essential Points, as well as about lesser Matters, and that with dreadful hatred and animosity, without the least prospect of Accommodation. So, that one would have thought, that the whole Nation had the justest Reason to have embraced the *Prince of Peace*, if it had been only, that their Divisions and Animosities might have been cured. 3. The *Jews* were, at this time, sunk into an *Abyss* of *Wickedness* and *Prophaneness*. *Religion*, as to the very *Theory* of it, was almost gone; and much more, as to its *Practice*.

Practice. Under this General Infection and Plague that People was then. And therefore, what more proper time could there be, than this, for the universal and glorious *Physitian* to make his Appearance. 4. Nay, it is plain from the Evangelical History, that *Diseases* of *Body* did bear some Proportion, at that time, to the Distempers of Mens Souls. So that as God shew'd his Displeasure this way, with respect to that Nation, he gave our Saviour abundant Opportunity to evidence himself to be the true *Messiah*, by innumerable charitable Cures miraculously wrought upon poor diseased Persons. 5. Yea, such was the State of that People then, that they seem to have been, in a great measure, given over to *Satan* and his evil Angels, as a Punishment for their Apostacy from God. And thus also, Christ had an Opportunity, both to shew his Hatred to the *Infernal Kingdom* (as well as his Love to Mankind) and his Authority and Power over it; by driving the Evil Spirits from those that were possess'd by them, not by Spells, or any thing like Collusion with them, but in a Method wholly Divine. I add, 6. That Christ came, after that the *Mosaical Law* had continued so long in the World, as to have had full time to give Evidence of its fitness or unfitness for reforming Men. For it had lasted from the time of its being at the height of its Glory in *Solomon*'s Time, for a compleat *Millenary* of Years, and for 520 Years more, if we compute the time from the giving the Law from Mount *Sinai*, (according to *Usher*'s Chronology) to the 30*th* Year of Christ, when he began to publish the Gospel. But, if we reckon the time that elapsed from the calling of *Abraham*, there were no less than 1950 Years run out. Now had there been any true Perfection in the *Judaical Law* and *Constitution*, surely it had been brought in by this time, as the *Apostle* argues concerning the *Levitical Priesthood*, *Heb.* 7. 11. But seeing nothing of this could be observed, but rather the contrary; it was high time to destroy that Erection, and to bring in a better Constitution in its stead. Upon which account the Apostle calls

calls the *Mosaical* Institutions, *weak Rudiments*, *Gal.* 4. 9. that were only designed to prepare Men for the *nobler Constitutions* of Christ. And yet our Saviour allowed the *Jewish Law* to continue (as it were for a further Trial, in order to discover its Emptiness and the necessity therefore of its Abolition) for 40 Years after his publick Appearance: for so many Years there were to the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*. So that the Jews had the same Number of Years allotted them, to conclude and wind up the Duration of their State and Church with, which their Ancestors had to wander and die in the Wilderness: that as that ancient Infidel Generation was excluded *Canaan*, the last Infidel Generation should be rendred incapable of becoming a National Christian Church.

2. Christ came in *the Fulness of Time*, as the Time of his Appearing was the *fittest Time* for the *Gentile World*, as well as for the *Jewish Nation*. For, 1. The *Gentile World* had been long concluded under Darkness and Blindness; which had grown upon Men proportionably to their living at a greater Distance from the Origin of the World, and consequently from the distinct Knowledge of the things God had done. *Tradition* was degenerated into *Fable*; so that *Historical Facts* were so miserably represented under *Romantick* and *silly Stories* of *Gods*, *Heroes*, and *Monsters*; that the wiser and more learned Men, were forc'd to put an Emblematical Gloss upon them, having no certain History to unriddle them by. And thence arose their *Mythology*; which only tended to confound Mens Minds more, and help'd to destroy all the *Remains* of *Traditional History*, as to the first times, out of the World. As therefore, in the course of Nature, the darkest time of the Night goes immediately before the Dawn of the Morning-Light: So it was here, by Christ's appearing, just as *Traditional Knowledge* had been exil'd from among Men, by *Mythology* and *Scepticism* that follow'd upon it; by which Men began to dispute, and turn into Burlesque the *Creation* of the *World*, and the *Being* of *God*, as well as *Providence*,

vidence, as appears from the Prevalence of *Epicureiſm*, which *Lucretius* had, a little before Chriſt's coming, recommended to the World, with ſo much Wit, and in ſuch an elegant Strain of Poetry, as was enough to corrupt and intoxicate all the Youth, that were educated ſo, as the Roman Grandeur and Luxury gave Incouragement for; and who muſt therefore be ſuppoſed to be extremely taken with ſuch a plauſible *Philoſophical Poem*, ſo adapted to their Pallat and licentious Inclinations, and ſo fitted to lay a Foundation of innumerable Plays and Comedies, to be ſung according to the ſame Tune. 2. And as *Ignorance* of *ancient Times*, accompanied with *Scepticiſm* and *Atheiſm*, was the Bane of the *Beaus* and the *Wits*; ſo *Idolatry* and *Superſtition*, which help'd on theſe, were at their Height and Elevation with the Generality of Men. The *Romans* were now univerſal Maſters of the known World. But ſo ſottiſh they were, that where-ever they conquer'd the Inhabitants, they ſtill carried the Idolatry of that City or Country to *Rome*. So that upon every new Conqueſt, there was a new *God* or *Goddeſs* added to the old *Catalogue* of their *Deities*; and every new *Deity* muſt have one or more *Images*, in order to lay the Foundation of a new ſort of Worſhip; and therefore there muſt be a new Inſtitution of *Prieſts* or *Prieſteſſes*, with ſuch or ſuch a ſort of *Trinkets* and odd *Rites* and *Feſtivals*. This might, I confeſs, be look'd upon then, as a cunning *Maxim of State*, as being deſign'd to ingratiate themſelves and their Government, with their *new Subjects*, ſeeing they run ſhares with them in their Devotedneſs to their Idols. But then it is eaſy to think, that they who knew this ſecret Maxim, muſt have a very mean Opinion of all the Deities together, and conſequently of all Religion. However, as the Mob make always the greateſt Bulk, in all Ages and Countries, we may well conclude, that by this Method, Idolatry and Superſtition had ſpread themſelves deep and wide in the World. It is reported of *Tetzellius*, who was ſent into *Germany* to ſell Indulgences, (which gave riſe to the Re-

formation) that as the People where-ever he went crouded about him, to buy the Pope's Pardons, and to get the Nuncio's Bleſſing, he wav'd his Hand over their Heads, making the Sign of the Croſs in the Air, again and again; repeating theſe Words ſyllabically (but with ſuch a long-winded *Cathedral Tone*, as drown'd the proper Sound of the Words, even to them that underſtood Latin) *Qui vult decipi decipiatur, Qui vult decipi decipiatur, &c.* which he *canted* forth thus, (with an affected Gravity of Countenance, and Eyes lifted up to Heaven; *Q—u—i v—u—l—t de—ci—pi de—ci—pi—a—t—ur*: The meaning of which is this, in Engliſh; *He that will be deceived, let him be deceived*: or thus, *If thou wilt be deceived, be thou deceived.* Which the poor People took for a zealous and affectionate Prayer over them, and an effectual Bleſſing upon them. And this is the more credible, becauſe *Thuanus* himſelf does not ſtick to report the ſame thing, of a certain famous Cardinal, who came to *Paris* in the Character of *Nuncio*, long after the Reformation began. I think it was one of the *Barberini*'s; but the Book is not now by me. But to return; may we not well think, that when *Julius Cæſar* (and other great Men) officiated as *Pontifex Maximus*, High-Prieſt, he would ſecretly laugh to ſee the Sottiſhneſs of a Bigotted Mob, that were gaping for his doughty Bleſſings? Was it not then high time, for the great *Patron* of *Mankind* and *Truth*, to make his Appearance in the World, in order to lay open the Cheats and Impoſtures of Men, to detect the Folly and Wickedneſs of Idolatry and Superſtition, and to *deſtroy* thus *the Works of the Devil*. But, 3. As Ignorance, and Scepticiſm, and Superſtition, and Idolatry, were now arriv'd at their ἄκμη, their Height and Elevation: ſo Wickedneſs was bare-fac'd and rampant in the World. Men lay drown'd in Senſuality and Luxury. Unnatural Sins were now modiſh and faſhionable. This was therefore the fitteſt time for Chriſt to make his publick Appearance. For it made for his Honour, to conquer Satan and dethrone him, when he was

was at the Pinacle of his Authority and Power. And it manifested the greatest Love and Mercy to Mankind, to bring Salvation to them, when Satan was leading them universally in Triumph after him. Our Saviour therefore chose to come then, when Wickedness was most prevalent, and Mankind most miserable that way; that he might the more illustriously manifest his Power, in bringing in Reformation into the World, and so fulfilling the (*y*) ancient Prediction of *Noah*, to the Posterity of *Japhet*, that God would come at last, and act as the Sovereign of Men; and thus, by his own hand, and in a way wholly divine, *inlarge* his inslaved and miserable *Posterity*, and make them *inhabit the Tents of* Shem, and thus inherit the Blessing of that great Patriarch, the most illustrious of all the Types of Christ, as we shall afterwards show. 4. And yet, as corrupted as the State of the World then was, there was something even in the *Gentile Religion* it self, that laid a Foundation for Mens imbracing the *Christian Faith* more readily. For it could be no incredible thing, that *Christ* was the *Son of God*, to those that believ'd any thing of *Gentilism*; seeing their Religion was all founded upon Notions of this kind, even in a gross Sense, and in the same Propriety of Speech, as Men are said to have Children. For nothing was more known and own'd by them, than that their *Gods*, even those that they own'd as *Immortal* ones, did propagate their Kind, and had *Sons* and *Daughters*. Nay, this was so common, that all their great *Heroes* pretended, one way or other, to be descended from their *Immortal Gods*. So that they could not pretend to ridicule Christianity, in any Sense, without owning their own Religion to be much more absurd. Nay, they could not but see, that the Notion of *Christ's* being the *Son of God*, was consistent with the most elevated Strain of true Philosophy; whereas their Notion of their Gods generating and propagating their Kind,

(*y*) Gen. 9. 27.

was altogether unphiloſophical, and indeed groſly abſurd; and, in many reſpects, obſcene and blaſphemous. However, we may obſerve how remarkably Divine Wiſdom did out-ſhoot the Devil in his own Bow, as the uſual Saying is; in permitting Satan, for a time, to bring in ſuch odd Notions into the World; which Satan, no doubt, thought would deſtroy all *Theiſm* at laſt; but which God over-rul'd ſo, as to ſerve even the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* by it. Nay, beſides this Notion of *Jupiter*'s having Sons; that alſo of *Sacrifices*, and the Acceptableneſs of them to the Deity, laid a Foundation of their falling in the more readily with Chriſtianity; even that of *Human Sacrifices*, how horrid ſoever their Notion and Practice this way was. We read of ſome that devoted themſelves to Death for a publick Good, and it was the conſtant Tradition of the *Romans*, that (z) *M. Curtius* did ſo, for the Safety of *Rome*, to fulfil the Will of their Gods, in a very ſtrange manner. So that it was no odd or incredible thing with them, to be told of a *Hero*, that offer'd up himſelf a *Sacrifice* for the Good of Men; nor yet, that a publick Benefit ſhould redound to Men, upon this account. 5. This was the fitteſt time likewiſe, with reſpect to the World, becauſe it was the time that abounded with the greateſt Genius's, conſidering the Number of them, that had ever been in the World at once. For *Auguſtus* his long and proſperous Reign had nurſt them up, and given them Advantages that former Ages had not, by reaſon of Wars and other deſolating Calamities; and every one knows what a Patron and Encourager of Learning he was. And it was decorous to our Saviour's Character and Deſign, and congruous to Divine Wiſdom, in reference to him and his Goſpel, that he ſhould propoſe his Philoſophy, not under ſhade and cover, in an Age of Barbarity, or to an uncultivated People: But that he ſhould propoſe it above-board and fairly, to the Search and

(z) Tit. Livii, Lib. 7.

Inquiry

Inquiry of the moſt nice and learned of the World, as knowing it could indure the ſtricteſt Search, and would ever gain ground by its being known. 6. And this is further obſervable here, that Chriſt did not propoſe his Philoſophy, until all other Philoſophies had taken place, and been cry'd up, and decryed by turns. The World had tryed, how far the Line of their own Reaſon would go, and had ſtretch'd it to the utmoſt Extent. But the more they ſearch'd, the more they were at a loſs. True *Reaſoning* was degenerated into Sophiſtry and Quibbles: *Natural Philoſophy* into airy and uncertain Schemes, contradictory to one another. And *Divinity* was loſt in Metaphyſical Stretches and empty Speculations, which ſerv'd no practical End. Or, if any Man had attained to conceive Truth, to any purpoſe, he durſt not ſpeak out, for fear of being hounded down by the Prieſts, whoſe Maintenance depended upon their Idolatry and Superſtition, and the keeping Men in Ignorance. When therefore the World was ſo far from being better'd by all the Philoſophies, that had been vended and broach'd, that its State grew worſe and worſe this way, or as the Apoſtle elegantly words it, *when the World through Wiſdom knew not God*; it was a proper time for Chriſt our truly Divine Philoſopher to appear, to rid the World of the Burden of ſo many empty and troubleſom Philoſophies, as ſerv'd for no other Uſe than to ſwell Mens Heads with Pride and empty Notions, and to ſet the World by the Ears in frivolous and contentious Diſputes.

3. And beſides theſe things, there was a *peculiar Concurrence of Circumſtances*, that never were, all of them, nor with equal Degrees, to be found in any other time; that were advantageous for the Propagation of Chriſt's Goſpel, and mark'd out this time, as every way the fitteſt for Chriſt to make his Appearance in, and conſequently, in this Senſe, *the Fulneſs of Time*: As, (1.) It was certainly proper, that the *Prince of Peace*, ſhould come in a time of Univerſal profound Peace, that Men might be at leiſure ſedately to inquire into

things, without having their Minds confounded or disturbed, as Men generally are, when the World is convulsed with Wars, Tumults, Insurrections, Invasions and Devastations. And such a time certainly was that, wherein Christ was born; there being no Wars, nor so much as Fear or Rumour of War, but all things in the most profound Peace that could be, every Man injoying himself, and his Property, securely, and without any Disturbance, or the least Apprehension of any. The *Temple* of *Janus* was then shut for a much longer time, than ever it had been before, or ever was afterwards. And as a Testimony of this, there is yet extant a (*a*) Roman Inscription that was made on this occasion; which is as follows.

IMP. CÆS. DIVI. F. AUG. PON. MAX.
COS. XII. TRIBUNIC. POTEST. X. IMP. VIII.
ORBE. MARI. ET. TERRA. PACATO.
TEMPLO. JANI. CLUSO. ET. REP. PO.
ROM. OPTIM. LEGIB. SANCTIS.
INSTIT. REFOR.———————

The Sense of which is this, in English. *The Emperor* Augustus, *Son of* Divus Cæsar, (*i. e.* of *Julius Cæsar* who was Deified, according to the Pagan Mode that the Romans follow'd) *High Priest*, 12 *Times Consul*; *Possess'd of the Tribunician Power the* 10th *time*; *Confirm'd in the Imperial Command the* 8th *time*; *having establish'd Peace thro' the whole World, both by Sea and Land*; *the Temple of* Janus *being shut, and the Republick of the Roman People being reform'd by the best Laws, and most Holy Institutions, &c.* At such a time as this our Saviour made his Visit down to the World, there being nothing to hinder Men from sober and sedate Consideration. And indeed, (2.) As there was nothing then to hinder Men to think, so there seems to have been then an universal Dispositi-

(*a*) Apud Gruterum, p. 149.

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tion this way. For the long and dismal Wars, Murders and Devastations that had been before, especially during the intestine Struggles and Convulsions of the several Factions of *Sylla* and *Marius* first, of *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar* next, of *Brutus* and *Cassius* with the *second Triumvirate* after that, and of *M. Anthony* and *Augustus* last of all; I say these calamitous Wars had made all Men fond of Peace, and pleas'd with the easy sway of *Augustus*. And the former want of the Advantages for Improvement, in point of Knowledge, was so sensibly felt, that all Men were careful to inform themselves, as to all things valuable and useful, the best way they could. (3.) And it was the easiest time that ever was, for travelling, in order to know Men and Things, seeing the greatest part of the known World was become, in some sort, one Nation, by reason of being under one Prince and Government, and under one and the same Civil Law. Upon which account our Saviour's Miracles, Death and Resurrection could not be hid, but must be supposed to be universally known. And by reason of this, the Apostles could travel with the same ease and safety, through all Nations subject to the Romans, as we can now in this Island of *Great Britain*, through its several Counties or Shires: which was a mighty advantage towards the more facile Propagation of the Gospel every where. (4.) And if it was easy upon this account, to travel thro' the World, there never was any time perhaps, wherein there was such care taken, in order to have speedy and certain Intelligence of Matters of Fact, especially if they were of a Publick Nature, and related to the Government, as there was during the Reign of *Tiberius*. For the jealous and suspitious Temper of that Prince, was such, as he has no parallel that way, in any History. And his Policy and Cunning, being proportionable, we may well suppose that he had his Intelligencers and Spies every where. This was so well known at *Rome*, that every Man was afraid of another, as finding, by sad Experience, that the Emperor had notice given him almost of every

thing that was said or done. So that we may be sure, that *Tiberius* and the *Senate* had a full and particular Account of Christ's Actions. Nay (*b*) *Tertullian* sufficiently assures us of this, and appeals to the Publick Register of the Senate for several things of this kind; giving this memorable Account; *That* Tiberius *having receiv'd a Relation from* Palestine *in* Syria (I suppose from *Pilate*) *of Christ's Actions, Death and Resurrection, upon the Account of which many believ'd his Divinity; was so moved with it, that he laid the Account before the Senate, and desired that Christ might be enrolled into the number of those that they worshipped as Gods, by a Decree made for this purpose. The Senate,* says *Tertullian, did not agree with the Proposal:* (and there was a wise Providence that they did not, for it was not for Christ's Honour to be rank'd with their Idols, nor consistent with that Divine Method, that Christ was to take to carry on the ends of his Religion, which was to have nothing in it, that did savour of Human Policy, or even Human Assistance;) *But the Emperor continued in his Sentence.* So that, by the Sentence of *Tiberius,* Christ was to be look'd upon and own'd as a God. And this was enough to put all Men upon a narrow Search and Enquiry, as to every thing that related to Christ, as to his Birth, Life, Doctrine, Miracles, *&c.* Besides, it deserves our serious Consideration, that this Opinion and Declaration of *Tiberius,* with respect to Christ, was of great use, to give a check to those, that might have had a mind to extirpate all those that made it their Business to propagate Christianity; which might have been done more easily, while it was in its bud, (when the number of Christians, Apostles and all, were but about 120, and were all together in one place) than afterwards, when the Number of Christians was not only vastly increas'd, but divided into innumerable distant Countries. (5.) This therefore leads us to ano-

(*b*) Apologet. adv. Gentes, Cap. 5.

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ther Remark; *viz.* that our Saviour came and made his Appearance in a time, when there was no *Diſpoſition* in the *Government* to *perſecute* any Man upon the account of mere Opinions. In *Auguſtus* his time, there was an univerſal *Toleration* this way. And *Tiberius*, how wicked, cruel, and diſtruſtful ſoever, was of the ſame Diſpoſition, in this reſpect: For it was not *Philoſophers* he was diſtruſtful of, but *Stateſmen*. Nor was *Caius*, *Claudius*, or even *Nero*, any otherwiſe minded, in this Particular. For, tho *Nero* uſed the Chriſtians barbarouſly, yet this was not out of a hatred to their Doctrine; but merely to skreen and cover his own Wickedneſs in having burn *Rome*; by caſting the Odium of it, off himſelf, upon them, that were at that time the moſt deſpicable ſort of People, of any others, in the eye of the World. And tho there was ſome Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians afterwards in the Days of *Domitian*, and in the Reigns of *Trajan*, the *Antonines*, and *Maximianus*; yet there were only provincial ones, and for a little time; there being no univerſal Perſecution until *Decius* began his Reign, which was not before *A.D.* 250. So that the Wiſdom of God is eminently ſeen, in bringing Chriſtianity upon the Stage of the World, and nurſing it up ſo long, that it might be too ſtrong and diffuſed againſt that time, that the Roman Government attack'd it in good earneſt, in order totally to extirpate it. But, (6.) Beſides all theſe things, it is to be conſidered, That the *Greek Language* was almoſt *univerſal* then in the World, eſpecially amongſt Men of Senſe and Breeding: So that what was written in *Greek*, was written not to a particular Nation only, but to the whole World. So that the ſacred Penmen, by writing in this Language, took a Method to make all Nations acquainted with the Goſpel, even in the very Words and Phraſes which they were inſpired to uſe, and therefore with the greater advantage. Beſides, that the very *Expreſſiveneſs* of that *Polite Language*, almoſt above all others (as having been admirably cultivated and refin'd, by ſo many Orators and Philoſophers, in a conſtant Succeſſion,

ceſſion, for a great many Ages before) was no ſmall advantage to the better reception of the Goſpel. It is true, the Apoſtles had the Gift of ſpeaking and underſtanding all Languages: But as this was to continue but for a little time, ſo it was fit that the *Original Copies* ſhould be in one Language only; for to have written in all Languages, would have been endleſs, and bred Confuſion; and there was no one Language ſo proper to write in as the Greek, that by this Standard all after-Copies might be adjuſted. (7.) As the *Greek Language* was then univerſal, ſo the *Grecian Learning* was flouriſhing, and in its higheſt Elevation, and univerſally ſtudied by all Perſons almoſt, eſpecially the great Men of the World, that had Mony and Time at command, and were not in neceſſitous Circumſtances; tho the itch after Knowledge was ſo great and common, that even *Slaves* got ſo much of it ſometimes, as to prove eminent Philoſophers, as was the caſe of the famous *Epictetus*, not long after this time. Now it was in this age of Light and Learning, that the true Light came into the World to enlighten all Men. And therefore our Saviour gives this as one great Evidence of his being the *Meſſiah*, to *John*, *that the Poor had the Goſpel preach'd to them*, as well as *the Learned and Rich*. This was contrary to the Politicks both of the *Jewiſh Rabbi's* and *Gentile Philoſophers*, who kept their moſt valu'd Notions, as ſo many *Arcana's* or Secrets, from the Common People, and reveal'd them to none, but to thoſe that had Mony enough to pay them well. But our Saviour, who came to propagate Truth, as far as it could go, ſcorned this ſelfiſh and mercenary way; and therefore, not being afraid of Light and Inquiries, but deſirous of theſe, he propos'd his Doctrine in a plain manner, and to all, not dreſs'd up in Myſtical Cloathing, or ſet off with eloquent and ſoft Words and Periods, or in an artificial manner, as thoſe do that ſet off their courſe Wares to the beſt advantage, to make them paſs. For nothing more was needful to Mens imbracing the Goſpel-Truth, but to know it: as

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(c) *Tertullian* ſaid juſtly of old, *That it deſir'd but one favour of Men, That it might not be condemned, without being known.* It was fit then, that the Goſpel ſhould be firſt made known to the World, in a learned Age, and ſo, as to challenge the moſt nice and critical Examination and Scrutiny of the moſt ſcrupulous and ſtricteſt Inquirers; that there might be no Reflections upon our Lord's Conduct afterwards; as if he had acted in the dark, or as one afraid to have his Doctrine come under the Teſt of Reaſon and Learning. (8.) And, as Learning in general was uſeful to Chriſt's Deſign, as to the ſpreading thereof in the World: So there was a peculiar Itch, as to Novelties, at that time in the World. Men ſeem'd to be conſcious, that all the Phiſophers, with their various Schemes and Notions, had rather involv'd Truth than diſcover'd it, and made it darker rather than explain'd it. And therefore, as they were all upon the hunt after it; ſo they ſeem'd to be under an Impreſſion (as I ſhewed in the firſt Chapter of this Book) that a new and more Divine Philoſopher would appear about this time, than the World had ever known, and that Truth would at laſt be ſet in its native Light. *Athens* was then, and had been for many Ages before, the main Seat of Learning, from whence Knowledge run down to the reſt of the World. And the Character of that Place is too well known to be inſiſted upon. *Cicero* calls it, as I remember, ſomewhere, *the Place,* (d) *from whence Humanity, Learning, Religion, Husbandry, Human Rights and Laws, had their Original*; and, in another place, (e) he calls *Anthens the Inventrix of all Learning.* And *Luke* ſays, *Acts* 17. 21. that *all the Athenians and Strangers which were there, ſpent their time in nothing elſe, but either to tell or to hear ſome new thing*; i. e. their Learned Men were perpetually racking their In-

(c) Apol. cap. 1. unum geſtit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur.
(d) Unde Humanitas, Doctrina, Religio, Fruges, Jura, Leges ortæ.
(e) Omnium Doctrinarum Inventrices Athenas.

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vention to find out and propose something new, in this or the other part of Learning, and their Scholars, whether Natives or Strangers (who were there in great Multitudes from all Parts of the World) were taken up in hearing these new Inventions, and in passing their Judgment upon them. Now this was a great Advantage to Christianity, that there was such an universal Curiosity, at that time in the World, and particularly among the more polite and ingenious Men, to examine and inquire into new Notions and new Philosophies. And therefore *Paul* took the advantage of this prevailing Temper of the *Athenians*, when he address'd the Learned Men there, as we find he did, *Acts* 17. 19, *&c.* when Providence presented him with an Opportunity. Our Version does not seem to hit the exact Design of the Apostle, when it represents him as using an irritating Expression, *ver.*22. in calling them *too superstitious:* For, tho the Apostle might tacitely mean this, yet, besides that the *Greek* Word, that we render so, may be taken in another and milder Sense, the Particle ὡς was certainly cast in to soften it, as any that knows the Greek Language must own it to be in this place. In order therefore to set this matter in a true Light, let us remember, that the Case stood thus. *Paul*, out of an heroical concern, to see a place, so Learned in other respects, to be yet so besotted with Idolatry, *ver.* 16. took occasion, not only to dispute with the *Jews* in their *Synagogue*, and with the *Devout Persons* of the Gentiles, who were *proselyted* to the *Jews*, at least so far, as to be *Proselytes* of the *Gate*; but to reason the case also *with them that met with him, in the* open *Market-Place, i.e.* with the Gentiles themselves, whether Natives or Strangers, Doctors or Scholars, *ver.* 17. So that it is plain that he did, in a prudent insinuating way, offer himself publickly to dispute with them, and give them a fair Challenge this way. *Upon this some Philosophers, both of the Epicurean and Stoical Opinion, encountred him*, and that with some sort of Contempt, as looking upon him to be no proper Philosopher, and so

not

not an equal Match to them, as not being a Master of their University Learning. And it is well known, that the *Greeks* reckon'd all Men *Barbarians*, in comparison with those of their Country, as thinking it impossible for any to be either Learned or Eloquent, besides themselves, or those that had been their Scholars. And yet they act as Men of better Breeding, than our Version would represent them, when they render their Inquiry, as to *Paul*, thus; *What will this Babler say?* For, tho I know that σπερμολόγος is not unfrequently us'd in this Sense, and tho I question not, but that they spoke with Contempt enough; yet, I am apt to think, that they had too much regard to their own Character, to use a mere *Billingsgate* Word, as we call ungenteel and scurrilous Expressions. (*f*) *Aristotle* calls *those Birds* by this Name, *that pick up scatter'd Corn or Grain*, and so get their living by pilfering, and not in a way of Industry; and *Gellius* and (*g*) *Eustathius in Homerum*, say, That from hence such Men used to be called σπερμολόγοι, that pretended to Learning, by having gather'd together some Scraps of Things and Notions from other Men, that had never gone to the bottom of Things, nor had either Parts or Learning to produce any new Invention of their own, to promote Learning by, tho they had the Confidence to be Pretenders this way. And *Eustathius* says likewise, that the *Attick*s call'd them by this Name, who were conversant in the Markets and Places of Merchandize. So that I take the Expression to be equivalent to this, in our Modern Dialect, *What hath this Haranguer or Holder-forth to say?* or, more literally, *What new Doctrine does this Grain-gatherer pretend to advance?* And seeing *Paul* and they were now in the Market-place, which perhaps used to be haunted by Fowls to pick up scattered Grain, this word might be design'd as an *Athenian Punn* or *Witticism*. However, whatever

(*f*) *See* Steph. Lexicon. (*g*) In Odyss.

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the Queſtion was; others reply, that as far as they could underſtand *Paul, he ſeem'd* to them *to be a Newſ-monger, Herald, or Setter-forth of Foreign Dæmons,* i. e. *Semi-Gods*; (for ſo δαίμων properly ſignifies, not the *Supreme God,* but a *Genius, Deified Hero, Tutelar Spirit,* or *Inferiour Deity.*) And the Reaſon no doubt which they went upon was, *becauſe* Paul *had preached Chriſt and the Reſurrection,* as *Luke* adds, *i. e.* had been diſcourſing of Chriſt's Miracles and Death, and how he was raiſed from the Death, and aſcended viſibly into Heaven. Upon this, theſe *Philoſophers* took him with them from the *Market-Place,* where they thought it no way decorous for them to diſpute formally, and brought him unto the famous Court of the *Areopagus* (which our Verſion renders unaccountably, when they call it *Mars-Hill*) which was the Higheſt Court in *Athens*; where they harangue him, to this purpoſe. "We have heard that thou haſt preached very odd things, which we know not well what "to make of. And therefore we have brought thee "hither, to know our ſelves from thy own Mouth, "what thy Doctrine is. For, as we are curious to "know all things that are new, and are more proper "Judges this way, than the common People; ſo we "preſume thou wilt give us the ſame account of that "which thou art ſo zealous and forward to advance "and propagate, that thou haſt hitherto given to thoſe "that are leſs capable to underſtand ſpeculative Points. To which *Paul* returns that memorable Anſwer, which *Luke* has preſerved to us, as to the Sum and Subſtance thereof. Which I hope I may be allowed to paraphraſe thus: "Then *Paul* ſtood in the midſt of the "*Areopagus*, and ſaid, Ye Men of *Athens*, I can form "to my ſelf no truer Idea of you, than as a People, "(*b*) that are over-much religious in your worſhiping

(*b*) Pauſanias in Attica, *ſays the ſame thing of them,* viz. *that they worſhip'd more Gods or Idols than any other People.*

"ſo

" ſo many *Deities*. As an Evidence of this, while I " paſs'd thro' your City, and obſerv'd your Sacred Rites " and Worſhip, I could not but take notice of an *Altar*, " which had this *Inſcription*, Αγνώσω Θεῶ, *to the* " *unknown God:* which led me to this Thought, That, " tho ye own and worſhip ſo many *Dæmons, Genii*, " *Deify'd Hero's*, or *Inferiour Deities*, as ye call them; " yet ye are both ſo religious, in your way, as to " worſhip the *Supreme Being*, under any manner of De- " ſignation, rather than neglect this altogether; and " ſo ingenuous at the ſame time, as to profeſs and " own your Ignorance of him. I thought it not amiſs " therefore to diſcourſe to you upon this Occaſion " and Subject, in order *to declare to you whom it is that* " *ye worſhip, tho ye know him not:* For thus I think we ought to render the Greek, and not in that grating way, wherein our Verſion gives us the meaning, *Whom therefore ye ignorantly worſhip.)* And then *Paul* goes on, with the main of his Diſcourſe, *ver.* 24, *&c.* which I leave to the Reader's own Thoughts. The Concluſion of the whole was; That, as *ſome mocked* (probably the *Epicureans*, who believed no Reſurrection) ſo there were others (probably of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, who had ſome Notion of a Reſurrection and future State) that thought the Diſcourſe and Subject ſo conſiderable, as to promiſe *to hear* Paul *again of this matter*, and in the mean time to think upon what was ſaid by him; whilſt at the ſame time *Dionyſius*, one of the Doctors or Judges of the *Areopagus*, was converted by this Diſcourſe, with ſome others. But, (9.) We may obſerve further, that the Providence of God had ſo pre-diſpoſed Matters, that tho the Philoſophies that then obtained in the World, were ſo very different, yea and oppoſite to one another in moſt things; yet that there was ſomething interwoven in them all, what tended, at leaſt, to make the *Votaries* of them willing to give Chriſtianity a fair hearing, before they did condemn it. For, 1. The *Pithagorean* Philoſophy, taught Men to be long ſilent and thoughtful, given to hear and inquire, rather than to

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ſpeak or to be poſitive; and this certainly was uſeful to Truth. Their Profeſſion was rather that of φίλοι σοφίας, *Lovers of Wiſdom*, than σόφοι, *Wiſe-men*: and this Modeſty laid a Foundation for their inquiring ſoberly into things, before they either aſſented to a Doctrine, or condemn'd it; and this was all that Chriſtianity did at firſt require of Men. They held the Immortality of Souls, in ſome Senſe at leaſt; upon which account they could not but value the Chriſtian Doctrine. And, tho they held the *Tranſmigration of Souls* into other Creatures, as well as Human Bodies, (upon which they abſtain'd from eating any thing that had Life in it:) Yet this was but the effect of their Ignorance of the State of Souls after Death; which they might be rectified in from the Chriſtian Doctrine. And, ſeeing alſo they plac'd the very Eſſence of their Philoſophy, in the Harmony of Numbers; they muſt be ſuppos'd to have a due Veneration for the Bible, when known, which runs pretty much in the ſame Strain. 2. The *Ariſtotelians* or *Stragerites*, ſeem'd only to have refined the *Pythagorean Principles*; and to have been chiefly concerned to teach Men to reaſon accurately and ſubtilly upon things, and to try all things cloſely and narrowly before they aſſented to any thing as Truth: and therefore they took Men off, from founding upon Human Authority, tho never ſo venerable for Antiquity. And this alſo favour'd Chriſtianity. 3. Even the *Pyrrhonians* or *Sceptic's* favour'd it extremely, by undermining or rendring ſuſpected the whole of the *Pagan Religion* and Worſhip; and ſo rendring Mens Minds more ſuſceptive of Chriſtian Principles. 4. The *Epicureans* themſelves, tho the moſt directly contrary to Chriſtianity of all others; by denying the World to be either created or govern'd by Providence, with other groſs Errors; yet had two things, that occaſionally help'd Chriſtianity, ſo far at leaſt as to deſerve to be conſidered. The one was, that they placed the chief Good of Men in Pleaſure, and ſuppoſed that their utmoſt Miſery did conſiſt in Pain: Neither of which, if rightly explained,

ed,

was much dissonant from the Christian Notion; seeing these two were supposed to contain, in a manner, the Fundamental Notion of Heaven and Hell. Their *other* Notion was, that the Gods were of human Shape, which, tho gross in an abstract View, yet serv'd to lay the Foundation of a sufficient *Argumentum ad hominem*, *i. e.* home-Argument, in defence of Christ's being God, tho in the appearance of a Man. But, 5. The *Platonick Philosophy*, which did not only teach that God was an Infinite and Eternal Being, who had made, and did govern, and would judge the World, but which gave some account of a *Trinity* in the Divine Nature; was that which came nearest to the *Theory* and *Doctrine* of Christ. And therefore there was an easy change from Platonism to Christianity. And, 6. As for the *Stoicks*, their Notion of *Fate* seem'd not to be so far distant from that of Providence, but that the one might be easily rectified by the other. But their Doctrine of Virtue, the Subjection of their Passions to their Reason, and their Rules as to a virtuous Life, were yet more accommodable to Christian *Ethicks*. So that there was no Philosophy, but had something in it, that tended to help on the Design of Christianity. In which respect therefore also, Christ came *in the Fulness of Time*. But, in the (10.) Place, there was yet another thing, that tended exceedingly to advance Christianity, *viz.* that the *Scriptures* of the *Old Testament*, had now, for a long time, been translated into the *Grecian Language*, and consequently the Doctrines thereof publish'd so far in the World, as to be tolerably known to inquisitive and learned Men, even to such a degree that the Poet (*i*) *Ovid* (not to mention others spoken of by (*k*) *Eusebius*) sufficiently discovers, how well he was acquainted with the Writings of *Moses*, by what he says of the Creation of the World, the old Chaos, the Formation of Man, the Paradisical State or golden Age, the Wicked-

(*i*) Lib. 1. Metamorph. (*k*) In Prep. Evang.

 ness

neſs that followed, the univerſal Deluge, the Preſervation of *Noah* (and his Wife) whom he calls *Deucalion*, in a ſmall Ship, and the War of the *Giants* againſt Heaven, *&c.* Where it is remarkable, that he mentions *Japhet* by Name. And no wonder, if the Doctrine, and eſpecially the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, was well known in the Days of *Auguſtus* and *Ovid*, when the Tranſlation of the prophetical Writings, at leaſt the Pentateuch, had been in the World, for 270 Years at leaſt, before Chriſt's Birth, and therefore 300 Years before his Death, as having been tranſlated by the order of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, in the 7*th* Year of his Reign, which *Uſher* reckons to have been 277 before the *Chriſtian Æra*. And it is well known, that the *Egyptian* and *Alexandrian Jews*, had ſo generally forgotten the Hebrew Language, that they contented themſelves with that Verſion, both in their Schools and Synagogues, as is plain from the Writings of *Philo*. And we have juſt Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the Jews in *Greece*, and indeed almoſt in all other Countries, uſed no other Bible. So that there muſt have been as many Copies thereof, at leaſt, as there were Synagogues of ſuch Jews. By which it is eaſy to imagine, how generally known the Sacred Antiquities of that Nation muſt have been, and conſequently how ancient the Expectation of the Coming of the *Meſſiah* was, and what that Doctrine and State of Affairs which he was to bring in.

I might run out yet further upon this Subject, by conſidering other things, that tended naturally to advance Chriſtianity; ſuch as the Miracles wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the Holineſs of the Firſt Chriſtians, their ſucceſsful Preaching, their heroical Sufferings, the Judgment of God upon eminent Perſecutors, the Ceſſation of the Heathen Oracles, *&c.* But, as theſe are ſomething more remote, from the peculiarity of the Circumſtance of the time of Chriſt's Appearing: So they would carry me out too far. And therefore, I think it is high time, to put an end

end to what I propoſed mainly and principally to treat of in this Chapter.

But, ſeeing I propoſed to my ſelf, to add ſomething, in order to clear up the meaning of that *General Time* or *Period of Time*, which is ſo frequently made mention of under the Name and Deſignation of *the laſt Days*, or *laſt Times*; I muſt fulfil my Promiſe, in taking ſome notice of this Subject likewiſe, before I proceed to a new Chapter.

Now my Notion of this Phraſeology, as I have hinted again and again, is this; That by *the laſt Days*, we are to underſtand, in the General, that part of the Duration of the World and Church, which was ſuppoſed to begin with the *firſt Coming* and Appearance of the *Meſſiah*, and was to conclude with his *ſecond Coming*, and ſo with the end of the World. In this general Senſe certainly the Prophets are to be underſtood, as *Iſaiah*, *Chap.* 2. 2, *&c.* when he propheſies of the Propagation and Increaſe of the Church and Kingdom of God among Men, even the Gentile Nations, as that which was to be *in the laſt Days*. And ſo does *Micah*, *Chap.* 4. 1, 2. in the ſame Senſe, and in the ſame words, almoſt without Variation. To the ſame purpoſe *Joel* propheſies of the pouring out of the Spirit upon the Apoſtles, and of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, with the Signs and Prodigies that ſhould go before it, as we ſee, *Chap.* 2. 28, *&c.* compared with *Acts* 2. 16, 17, *&c.* where the Apoſtle *Peter* cites and applies it.

There is therefore one place only, that ſeems to denote the Old Teſtament-Times, *viz. Gen.* 49. 1. where *Jacob* deſires his Sons to come to him, that he might tell them, what was to happen to them in *the laſt Days* or *latter Days*. But ſeeing that Prophecy relates to the State of *Iſrael*, even down to the Coming of the Meſſiah, and to the Converſion of the Gentiles, his meaning ſeems to be, that he was to tell them what was to happen to him, even *to the laſt Days*, or *until the laſt Days ſhould come*. However the Prophets did certainly uſe the Phraſe afterwards in the Senſe I have mentioned.

And,

And, in the same Sense, do the New Testament-Writers understand this Phrase. Thus the Apostle tells us, that God had spoken to us by his Son, *in these last Days*, *Heb.* 1. 2. And this may be a Key to us to understand other places, where this Phrase is used. When therefore we read 2 *Tim.* 3. 1. that *in the last Days* perillous times shall come; the meaning is, That in the Gospel-Days, or during the Continuance of the New Testament-Dispensation, perillous times should come. And to the same purpose, are we to understand *Peter's* Prophecy, 1 *Ep.* 3. 3.

Thus also are we to understand the other Phrase, *viz.* that of *the last time*, 1 *Pet.* 1. 20. *Jude* 18. as wholly synonimous with the former, and of the same import.

And, if any Person doubt of this, and suppose, that the Apostles understand by this Phrase, at least sometimes, the last Age or Ages of the Duration of Christianity, in opposition to their own Age, as the *first time* or *times*, or first days; and therefore not in that general Sense I have mention'd: I need only refer my self to the Apostle *John*, for the Refutation of this Objection, and the Confirmation of my Notion, for he has twice in one Verse asserted, (*viz.* *Epist.* 1. 18.) that his own Age was part of the last Days or last time, saying, *Little Children, it is the last time, and——— we know that it is the last time.*

And from hence we may see, how justly, with a reference to this Phraseology, the *Period* of the *General Judgment* is called the *last Day*, *John* 6. 39, 40, 44, 54. *John* 11. 24. *John* 12. 48. *Jam.* 5. 3. For it is not called so, because it is to be no more but one solar or natural Day (the contrary of which I have elsewhere demonstrated) but with respect to that *Second General Priod of time*, which is dated from Christ's first Coming, and is to continue until the Consummation of all things. In which respect, the Age that will run out in judging Angels and Men, is called *the last Day*, that is, *the last of the Ages* or *Times*, which the *Jews* call'd the *last Days*.

The End of the Fourth Chapter.

THE

Four Remaining

CHAPTERS

OF THE

Third BOOK

OF

CHRISTOLOGY;

BEING A

Second PART or SECTION

of the said BOOK.

Advertiſement.

SEEING *this* 3d Book *of* Chriſtology *has ariſen to ſuch a Bulk, as to be divided into two Parts; I would only have the Reader obſerve, That it is not incongruous, to look upon the* four firſt *and the* four laſt Chapters, *as making* Two Parts *or* Sections *of this* 3d Book *of* Chriſtology: *not ſo much upon the Account of the Bulk of the whole, and the equal Diviſion of the Book, as to the* Number *of Chapters that appertain* thus *to each part; But upon the Account of the* Difference *of the* Subject-Matter *of the* four firſt Chapters, *from* that *of the* four laſt. *For, tho* Chriſt, *conſidered as* Loganthropos, *be equally the* Subject-Matter *of all the Eight Chapters; yet the* Reſpect *wherein he is conſidered in the* four firſt Chapters, *is very* different *from* that, *in which he is conſidered in the* four laſt Chapters. *For, whereas in the* four firſt Chapters, *I inſiſt wholly upon* Divine Wiſdom, *in reference to the* Loganthropos. (1.) *As to the* Plan *of his Appearing and Acting, in* Chap. 1. (2.) *As to his* Conduct *to* viſible Agents, *in* Chap. 2. (3.) *And to* inviſible ones, *in* Chap. 3. *And,* (4.) *As to the* Time *of his Coming, in* Chap. 4.——*I proceed in the* four laſt Chapters, *to treat* more immediately *of the* Loganthropos Himſelf; *by conſidering him,* (1.) *In his* Perſon, *in* Chap. 5. (2.) *In his* Office, *in* Chap. 6. (3.) *In his* Relation *to us, in* Chap. 7. *And,* (4.) *In the* Obligation, *which he has brought us under to himſelf, in* Chap. 8.

The

The Four Remaining CHAPTERS of the Third BOOK.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Loganthropos, Perſonally *conſidered: Wherein, a* New Account *is given of his* Incarnation; *together with ſeveral* important *Thoughts, and ſome of them very* peculiar *ones, in relation to his* Sufferings *firſt, and his* Exaltation *afterwards*

THO I have materially treated of *Chriſt*, as the *Loganthropos*, in all I have ſaid, in the preceding Chapters; yet it may juſtly be expected, that I ſhould conſider him *thus* more directly and formally. And therefore, tho I ſhall ſtudiouſly avoid to diſcourſe, at leaſt largely, of thoſe Heads, that every Syſtem, Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſm, inſiſts upon; yet it cannot be expected, that I ſhould altogether paſs by theſe, at leaſt the moſt weighty and important of them; eſpecially ſeeing I do humbly ſuppoſe, that I have ſomething that is new to offer upon many, if not all, of them.

I proceed therefore to treat of *Chriſt* as *Loganthropos*, more directly and particularly than I have yet done, tho with a reſolved concern to be ſuccinct and brief in all I ſhall ſay: Which I ſhall do in a fourfold Reſpect, *viz.* by conſidering him, in his *Perſon* and *Office*, and in the

Relatition he ſtands in to us, and the *Obligation* he has brought us under to ſerve and honour him.

I begin with the Firſt of theſe, in this Chapter: Which I propoſe to do, 1. By contemplating Chriſt's Incarnation; and, 2. By obſerving the other moſt conſiderable Things concerning Chriſt, after his Incarnation, in relation to his *Sufferings* firſt, and *Exaltation* afterwards; I mean ſuch things as did not fall ſo directly in my way, in the preceding Chapters.

I. *Concerning the Incarnation of the* Logos, *or his becoming the* Loganthropos.

I have here one of the moſt wonderful Subjects before me, that ever God revealed to Men, and indeed the moſt wonderful of all, excepting only that of the Trinity. But ſeeing it is now revealed, and is of the vaſteſt Importance to be believed; We are allowed, nay and required to conſider it, and that with the cloſeſt Application of Mind too, in caſe we do it with due Humility.

And here, I hope, I may take it for granted, (after what I have ſaid, both in the 1*ſt* and 2*d* Books, and in the preceding Chapters of this 3*d* Book) That the *Logos* did, in the Fulneſs of Time, actually become Man, by aſſuming the Man Chriſt into Union with himſelf. And therefore I have only two things to inquire into; 1. What the *Congruity* may be ſuppoſed to be, why the *Son* ſhould be *Incarnate*, rather than the *Father* or *Holy Spirit*; 2. How far the Holy Scriptures lay a *Foundation* of our underſtanding this wonderful and myſterious Truth. And when I have done with theſe Inquiries, I ſhall proceed, 3. To make ſome Improvement of this great Article of Faith, by adding ſome *Practical Thoughts* in relation thereunto.

And, 1*ſt*. I am to inquire into the *Congruity* of the *Incarnation* of the *Son*, rather than of the *Father* and *Holy Spirit*.

Now, the Congruity of this will appear in a clear and full Light, if we can demonſtrate two things,

1. That

1. That whoever was to be our Saviour must be both *God and Man*, in a true and proper Sense; 2. That it was incongruous for either the *Father* or *Holy Ghost* to become Man, and that consequently the *Son* must do this Service of necessity, upon the Supposition that it was to be done at all. The *first* of these is a necessary Preliminary, towards our answering the Question. The *Second* is the formal Answer of the same. And here then,

(1.) I shall shew, That *whoever was to be our Saviour, must be both God and Man, in a true and proper Sense.* Which I shall do, by a Gradation of the three Steps, which the Query does suppose, and which are therefore necessary to be followed, in answering the same.

And therefore, 1. I say, That it was necessary, That *He that was to be our Mediator, should be God.* And the Reason of this is plain; seeing no meer Creature was capable of this Divine Service. Nay, had all Creatures joyn'd in one to carry it on, they had still been too weak to accomplish it. For he, that was capable to satisfy infinite Justice, must himself be infinite: Whereas all the Creation of God is finite; seeing we are oblig'd to believe, that there is an essential Difference of this sort, between God and all Created Beings; without the Supposition of which, it were impossible to conceive either of him or them. For, as we must lose the essential Idea of God, if we suppose him, *as such*, Finite: So we must lose the essential Idea of Creatures, if we suppose them, *as such*, Infinite. Hence we see the necessity of believing, that Christ, as he was the *Logos*, was, in a proper Sense, God. Nor can any ingenuous Person doubt of this, when he considers that God himself has given this Testimony, in declaring him to be *Jehovah*, Jer. 23. 6. *The true God*, 1 John 5. 20. *The Mighty or Almighty God*, Isa. 9. 6. *The Great* or Supreme *God*, Tit. 2. 13. *The God over all blessed for ever*, i. e. the Supreme and Eternal God, *Rom.* 9. 5. And *the Creator, Sustainer, Governour, and ultimate and beatifying End of all Things, both in*

Heaven and Earth, Col. 1. 16, 17. All which I have proved and cleared up in the Second Book.

2. It was neceſſary alſo, *That Chriſt ſhould be truly Man, in order to be our Redeemer.* For otherwiſe he had not been capable of *ſuffering* in our *Nature.* And *both* theſe were equally neceſſary in this caſe. Now that Chriſt was truly Man, is ſo plain in the Evangelical Hiſtory, that it were an Impertinency to attempt formally to prove it. But how he became Man, is another Queſtion: Which, as I have in part cleared up in the 3*d* Chapter, ſo ſhall illuſtrate further before I have done with this preſent Chapter. In the mean time, I ſay,

3. That it was neceſſary, *That the* Logos *and the Man Chriſt ſhould be ſo truely and cloſely united, as that he ſhould be God and Man, in one Perſon*; in that Senſe of the word Perſon, which I have given in the 3*d* Chapter. For otherwiſe, his Sufferings could not have derived that value from the *Logos*, as to be properly meritorious. The *Union* therefore muſt be ſuch, as that it might juſtly be ſaid, that we were not redeem'd by the Blood of him, who was merely a Creature, but *by the Blood of God, Acts* 20. 25. *i. e.* of him, who was God, as well as Man.

Whoever therefore was to be a Divine and Univerſal Saviour to loſt Sinners, muſt have theſe things concurring to make up his Character. Whence it is plain, That no mere Creature could be our Redeemer; And that therefore it muſt be one of the Perſons of the Glorious Trinity, no other being capable of this Work and Truſt. And, as we are aſſured, that it was the *ſecond Perſon*, that did undertake this Work; ſo I am now to conſider,

(2.) *That it was altogether congruous that the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity ſhould undertake this Work, rather than the Firſt or Third.*

1. It was not congruous, that the *Father* ſhould become the Redeemer of Men: For he was of neceſſity, (becauſe the firſt Perſon) to appear againſt Man, unleſs a Satisfaction were given for him to the affronted Authority

thority of the Deity. The Father therefore being he, who muſt be ſuppoſed to *ſuſtain the Glory and Dignity of the Deity*, as the Supreme King and Judge, comes neceſſarily under the Idea of the *Party offended*, tho reconcileable, upon the Suppoſition of a Satisfaction to be offered. So that it was no way congruous to the Majeſty of God, that the Father ſhould ſeek unto the Party offending immediately; and far leſs, that he ſhould undertake the Work of a Redeemer, ſo as to become Man. Beſides, he being the *Firſt*, who was he that could ſend him, and commiſſion him to this Work? And had it been poſſible, that the *Second* and *Third Perſons* ſhould ſend the *Firſt*, which to me is inconceivable; yet to whom was the Satisfaction to be made? Is it not inconſiſtent with the Order of the Subſiſtence of the Three Perſons, that either the ſecond or third Perſons, or both, ſhould ſend the Firſt, or be the Judge of his Acting as *the Sent*, or *Meſſias*?

2. Nor was it congruous, that the *Holy Spirit* ſhould be the Redeemer of Men; ſeeing the Impetration or the Purchaſe of Salvation, does require Application afterwards. It was certainly convenient, that all the Perſons of the Trinity ſhould have a hand in our Redemption: and therefore it was very proper that one Perſon ſhould be the Sender and Judge, another ſent to purchaſe Redemption for us, and another intruſted with the Efficiency of this Purchaſe, in applying the ſame, purſuant to the end deſigned by them all Three in Conjunction. Had therefore the *Third Perſon* been incarnate, in order to be our Redeemer, there was no *Fourth Perſon* to have applyed the Work of Redemption. And, to ſuppoſe, that the *Second* Perſon was to apply the Purchaſe made by the *Third*, and to be *ſent* by the *Third* for this end, is inconſiſtent with the Order both of the Subſiſtence and Operations of the Perſons of the Trinity, as well as the ſending the *firſt Perſon* by the *Second*.

3. But now, upon the other hand, it was altogether congruous, that the *ſecond Perſon* ſhould be the Re-

deemer. For, 1. It was highly congruous, that the *middle Person* should be the *Mids-Man* between God and Men; seeing this way, every one of the Sacred Persons had a part to act, congruous to the Order of their subsisting; the *Father*, that of *sending* his *Son*, in order to shew himself reconcileable, and that of Judge, to determine things at length; the *Son*, that of *bringing this Work about* for his Father's Honour, and to his Satisfaction, and for the Good and Benefit of Men; and the *Holy Spirit*, that of *Applying* and carrying on the Work of Impetration, and promoting the Ends thereof. 2. And, seeing, in order to our Salvation, it was necessary that we should become the *Sons of God*, who were Children of Wrath; what so fit Person should there be, to lay the Foundation of this *Filiation*, as he who was the only *Son of God?* And what fitter Method could he take to accomplish this, than by becoming himself the *Son of Man*, and thus our Brother, that by this Relation to the *Son of God*, we might come to be related to his *Father* also, as the Sons of God. Nay, 3. Seeing it was necessary likewise, in order to compleat Salvation, that we should admit of a Re-Creation, by being *created again after the Image of God, in Righteousness and Holiness, Eph.* 4. 24. Who was fitter to lay the Foundation of this than he by whom, more immediately, all things were made at first, and Man particularly, *John* 1. 3. *Heb.* 1. 2. In order therefore to counter-act and defeat Satan the more conspicuously, who had boasted of his defacing so much of the Workmanship of the *Logos*; what could be more congruous, than that the *Logos* should be pitch'd upon, to defeat Satan, by becoming Man. Satan had proudly and vainly boasted, that if Man did eat of the forbidden Fruit, *he should be like the* Logos, *knowing Good and Evil, i. e.* like that organized Image, by which the *Logos* was known to them, and by which *Adam* and *Eve* would have been equalized with the *Logos*, as far as Creatures could be supposed to be. In order therefore, the more conspicuously to refute Satan and save Man, the *Logos* is pitch'd upon to form

form to himſelf a Man, that ſhould, by virtue of his Union with himſelf, be indeed like the *Logos:* inſomuch, that inſtead of that organized Image, wherein he appeared before, after which *Adam* was made: he ſhould, for the future, appear to Angels, as well as Men, in a true and real Human Form. And, this being laid at the Foundation of all the Chriſtian Superſtructure, Men were to be reſtored to the Image of the *Firſt Man*, in his innocent and primeral State, by being made conformable to the Image of the *Man Chriſt*, who by reaſon of his Union with the *Logos*, is perfectly Knowing, Righteous and Holy.

Now I humbly ſuppoſe, that theſe three Conſiderations are abundantly ſufficient to ſhew us the Congruity of the Incarnation of the Son, rather than of the Father and Holy Spirit.

But yet, it may not be uſeleſs to purſue this Argument a little further, and to ſet it in a further Light; with reſpect to the *Rationale* of the Divine Scheme, as to the *Neceſſity of the* Logos *his becoming Man*, in order both to *Retrieve* the Honour of God, in the View of intelligent Creatures, (who might think it to be ſullied, by Satan's prevailing to ſeduce and ruin Man) and to *lay a proper Foundation* for the Salvation of Man.

And I preſume we may be able to form a pretty diſtinct Notion of the *Rationale* of this, as to the *Logos* his becoming Man, if we conſider three things. (1.) Therefore, the Wiſdom and Congruity of this appears, if we conſider *the Parties* to be reconciled. For how could any Perſon be a proper Mediator to reconcile theſe, without being capable to underſtand to perfection the Demands of both. Chriſt therefore, in order to be Mediator, muſt be God; that he might be zealouſly concerned for the Divine Honour: And he muſt be Man likewiſe, that he might be tenderly affected with the Concerns and Affairs of Men. Had he been God only, he could have come under no other Conſideration than that of a Party, even of the Party offended.

offended. And had he been Man only, he must have been considered, the other way, as a Party too, *i. e.* one of the Party offending: For it is impossible to consider him, at once, as a mere Man, and as altogether innocent, who was a Descendent, in an ordinary way, from *Adam*. Christ therefore must of necessity be *Emanuel*, God and Man both, tho in different Respects; that he might have an equal Interest in, and Concern for both Parties. For this way only, all Appearance could be avoided (to speak after the manner of Men) of his being partial to one side. (2.) If we consider the End of Christ's becoming our Mediator, *viz.* to Redeem us; it must be supposed to be altogether necessary, that he should both be God and Man, in order to reach this End, of redeeming and saving us. He must be God, that he might have sufficient Power and Ability to redeem us: and he must be Man, that he might have a Right and Allowance to redeem us. See *Lev.* 25. 48, 49. *Ruth* 4. 4, 14. Now Christ, being both God and Man, answered both these. As God, he undertook the Redemption of Men, as they were his own Creatures, *Jure Proprietatis*, as they were his by original Propriety. But, as Man, he undertook the Redemption of his Brethren, *Jure Propinquitatis*, by reason of his Relation to us, as the Head and Father, or Patriarch of the Family of Men, and therefore as the next in Kin to them and their Interest. (3.) But further; if we consider the Offices of Christ, we shall further see the Reasonableness of this; that it was necessary, that Christ should be both God and Man. I shall have opportunity to treat of the Offices of Christ, in the next Chapter; where I shall shew that this Part of Divinity has never yet been cleared up; and that the present and commonly received Distribution of Christ's Offices, into *Prophetical*, *Priestly* and *Kingly*, is a very lame and imperfect one. But however, it will serve my purpose at present to shew, that each of these Offices does require that Christ be both God and Man. And, 1. A *Divine Prophet* must be a Seer or Prophet,

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in the higheſt Senſe. He muſt be capable to ſee God intuitively and perfectly, in order to know his Mind immediately and fully, and to be able to give forth an exact and compleat Revelation thereof. Seeing therefore no mere Man ever ſaw God thus, or ever can ſee him, as the Apoſtle aſſerts, 1 *Tim.* 6. 16. it was neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould be more than a Man or Creature, in order to be a Divine Prophet. But then, it was equally neceſſary, that this Prophet ſhould be a real Man, that Men might be capable of ſeeing him, and of forming an Idea of him. It was the Voice of Human Nature and Reaſon, which made the Iſraelites of old deſire *a viſible Mediator and Prophet*, *Exod.* 20. 19. *Deut.* 18. 15, 16. And therefore God commends them for it, and approves of this their Petition ſo much, that he promiſes to raiſe them up *ſuch a Prophet from among their Brethren*, *i. e.* one, who ſhould be a *real Man*, and their Kinſman, *Deut.* 18. 17, 18, *&c.* 2. A Divine Prieſt muſt of neceſſity be both God and Man. He muſt be God, that his Oblation be of infinite Value, and meritorious for us, with the Supreme Lord of all. And he muſt be Man, as I have ſaid before, to be capable of Suffering for us, in order to his becoming our Sacrifice. And, as the firſt part of the Prieſtly Office, *viz. Oblation*, ſhews the neceſſity of his being both God and Man: So likewiſe does the other part thereof, *viz.* his *Interceſſion*. For he muſt be Man, both to have a *Fellow-feeling* with us, as to our Infirmities, and to have a *Property* in us, in order to plead for us as his Kinſmen and Kinſwomen. And he muſt be God, to aſcertain his carrying his Point ſo, as never to be in hazard of loſing any Cauſe which he once undertakes or pleads for. 3. A Divine Prince, in order effectually and perfectly to govern, protect and ſave his Subjects, muſt likewiſe of neceſſity be both God and Man. He muſt be God: For no other can ever be ſuppoſed to ſave Men from Sin, Satan, the preſent World, and the future Wrath, in a ſpiritual and perfect manner, and that for Eternity. And he muſt be Man likewiſe: For it was altogether

gether fit, that our King and Judge ſhould be viſible, and a real Man. This our Lord himſelf inſinuates, when he ſays, *John* 5. 27. that *the Father had given him Authority to execute Judgment, becauſe he was the Son of Man.* And indeed this very Conſideration involves in it, both an Engagement laid upon Chriſt to act to us as our *Natural Prince*; and an Engagement laid upon us to love, honour, and obey him, as his *Natural Subjects.* The *firſt* is plain from hence, becauſe the *Logos*, by becoming Man, is nearly related to us: For he and we partake of the ſame common Human Nature. So that all Men may ſay in this Senſe (tho none, but good Men can ſay it in a Spiritual Senſe) *We are Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bone,* Eph. 5. 30. And, in this Senſe, (who with ſome Specialty, becauſe they meant it, with a reſpect to a National Peculiarity) the Tribes ſaid of old to *David*, 2 *Sam.* 5. 1. *Behold we are thy Fleſh and thy Bone.* But *Secondly*, this Conſideration is no leſs incluſive of a ſtrong Inducement for us, to love, honour and ſerve Chriſt. For a *Native Prince* carries along with it a mighty Perſwaſive, in order to engage us to behave as becomes faithful and loving Subjects. And therefore, it is wiſely provided and laid down by our Law, as a Maxim both of Reaſon, Equity and Policy, that every lawful Sovereign is a Native. For tho, *as a Man*, he may be a *Foreigner*: yet he no ſooner mounts the Throne, but he is a *Native*; in caſe he come to it juſtly either by Succeſſion or Choice. No *Sovereign* can be a *Foreigner*, unleſs he uſurp the Throne of another, without any juſtifiable Title. But whatever the caſe of ſome worldly Monarchs may be, certain it is that our Saviour *Jeſus* is our Rightful and Natural Prince, both by the will of God, and the choice of all Mankind, upon the Suppoſition of Mens acting as Men: For we are not to conſider thoſe as Men, in this Caſe, who act contrary both to Reaſon, and the Intereſt of the Family of Man, even tho they were many Millions more than they are; ſeeing Madmen, how numerous ſoever, are incapable

pable to be intrusted with either the Dignity or Interest of Mankind, and therefore can never be look'd upon as Representatives, or any part of the Representation of the Society of Human Race. But to proceed,

2*dly*. I come now to the Second Inquiry, *viz. How far the Holy Scriptures do lay a Foundation of our conceiving and understanding this great and mysterious Truth, of the Incarnation of the* Logos.

In order to answer this, as far as I think it convenient and proper to attempt it, I must desire the Reader to look back upon two things, which I have formerly proposed to his Thoughts.

The 1*st*. is, The Interpretation, (*l*) which I gave of these words in *Luke, ch.* 1. *v.* 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: Therefore also that Holy Thing, that shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* For I think I said enough there to prove, that by the δύναμις ὑψίστου, *the Power of the Most High*, which over-shadowed the Virgin, and render'd her pregnant, we can understand nothing properly, but the *Logos* or *Shechinah*; and that therefore the πνεῦμα ἅγιον must be understood, in a general Sense, for the Divine Operation or Efficiency, and not in its appropriate Sense, for the third Person of the Trinity; seeing its appropriate meaning is afterwards given, by which it is determined, that it was *the Power of God*, (*i. e.* the *Shechinah*, as I have elsewhere (*m*) proved this Phrase to be an equivalent Title, with that Name, as also with that of the *Logos*) that impregnated the Womb of the Virgin. And indeed, besides what I said, in the place refer'd to, as to the Incongruity of supposing the Third Person of the Trinity, to work any thing, that bears a *prior or antecedent Relation* to the Second Person; the last part of the Angel's Words to *Mary* seems to necessitate our understanding the first part, as I have done. For, supposing that it was the Third Person

(*l*) Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Pag. 297. (*m*) Christol. Lib. 2. cap. 1. pag. 145.

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of the Trinity that form'd the Man Christ in the Womb of the Virgin; how shall we be able to see the Strength of his Reasoning, when he infers, *Therefore shall the Child be called the Son of God.* For to lay the whole stress upon the miraculousness of the Production, does not afford us any special Reason why Christ should be called the Son of God, in a Sense wherein the first *Adam* was not, who was made immediately by God: Whereas I would hope, that we are agreed, that Christ is called the Son of God, in a more special Sense, even here, than *Adam* or the *Angels* are. And yet, if we search deep into the Reason of their being called the Sons of God, we will find, that no other Reason can be assigned but this; because they were made by the *Logos* or Son of God, and that after his Image too, and that therefore by reason of their Relation to the Son of God, *Adam* and *the Angels*, came, in a secondary Sense, to be called Sons of God. And we know that it is in a reference to Christ, spiritually apprehended by Faith, that true Christians become the Sons of God by Adoption; as visible Christians are generally called so likewise, in an external fœderal Sense. So that without doubt the Angel meant, that the *Shechinah* was to over-shadow the Virgin, and render her pregnant, by producing a *Human Person* in her Womb, which he was to take into intimate *Union* with himself. For this being supposed, the Inference is as plain and cogent, as any thing can be; That therefore that Holy Thing, that was to be born of her, should be called the Son of God, *viz.* because intimately and wonderfully related to and united with the true and eternal Son of God; being miraculously form'd and made by himself for this very end. And, by what I can find, by all that I have read, it is only in the later Ages of Christianity, that the Angel's Words to *Mary* have been interpreted otherwise than I have done. I cited *Justin Martyr*, as being of my Opinion, (*n*) in the

(*n*) Pag. 298.

place

place refer'd to. And his Opinion is not only remarkable, upon the account of his Authority and Antiquity, but becauſe he delivers it, as if it had had the univerſal Sufferage of all Chriſtians in his time: For otherwiſe I cannot ſuppoſe that he would ſay, with ſuch an Air of Aſſurance; (*o*) that *by the Spirit and Power of God, which came upon the Virgin, and over-ſhadowed her*; it was not lawful *to underſtand any other thing than the Logos*, &c. I need not therefore inquire after further Authorities here: Only ſeeing I refer'd, in the Place mention'd, to another ancient Author, without citing the Words; it may not be improper to recite them now. In the Dialogue, intituled, (*p*) *Arnobii & Serapionis Conflictus*, which is added to the Works of *Irenæus*, we read theſe Words. "*Serapion* ſaid, Thou did'ſt aſſert, that the Son of the "Virgin was another than Chriſt. *Arnobius* anſwer'd, "I did not ſay that the Virgin's Son was another dif-"ferent from Chriſt. But I ſaid, that *He* who did cre-"ate the *Firſt Man* out of the *Clay* of the *Virgin Earth*, "did himſelf, afterwards, form *another Man*, in the "Womb of the *Holy Virgin*, by his Incomprehenſible "and Almighty Efflux, to be an Habitation for Him-"ſelf to dwell in; according to what was written, "(Prov. 9. 1.) *Wiſdom hath built a Houſe for it ſelf.* "*Serapion* ſaid; Who is *He*, that made to himſelf a Man "in the Womb of the Virgin? *Arnobius* anſwer'd; "The *Son of God* the Father, who is Inviſible, even "this Son did frame and build this Man for Himſelf, "in which, as in a moſt curious Houſe, He might "dwell, and thus become viſible to Holy Men, *&c.* When therefore I do propoſe it, as my Opinion, that it was the Son of God, and not the Holy Ghoſt, that form'd the Man Chriſt, and united Him with Himſelf, and that upon this Account even the Man Chriſt came to be denominated the Son of God; I pretend not to

(*o*) Apol. 1. pro Chriſt. *p.* 69. Edit. Grabii. (*p*) *Pag.* 540. B. Edit. Pariſ. A. D. 1639.

teach

teach any new Doctrine, but only to rescue the old from Oblivion, as that which I think is the very Truth, which the Spirit of God teaches us in the Bible.

But, 2. There is another Point, which I must desire the Reader seriously and closely to go over again, with second Thoughts, *viz.* what I said in the beginning of the 3d Chapter of this 3d Book, when I explain'd the Meaning of that Scriptural Phrase, where *Adam* is said *to have been made after the Image of God*, Gen. 5. 1. & Chap. 9. 6. And I would desire, that what I hinted, concerning the *Logos* his appearing both to the Angels and our First Parents, in the Image of a Luminous Man, may be more nicely considered. For this being supposed, we may apprehend the more clearly, how the Holy Virgin was overshadowed by the *Shechinah*. I would not insinuate any thing, that might so much as occasion vain or wanton Thoughts to stir in Mens Breasts. But, seeing the Spirit of God himself has given the Hint; I do, with a spiritual and refined Thought, free (I thank God) from all Levity, reflect on this divine and wonderful Mystery; which, tho shadowed forth by the ordinary Generation of Man, is yet to be considered, as a quite different thing from it; as being a Creation rather than Generation, and therefore justly compared by *Arnobius*, with the first Formation of *Adam* from the Womb of the Virgin Earth: Tho it was necessary, that the Man Christ should be formed in the Womb of a Woman, descended from *Adam*, that He might be the Son of Man, and a-Kin to all Mankind; as it was necessary also, in order to the fulfilling of Scripture, and in order to the distinct Knowledge of his Lineage from *Adam*, that he should be a Descendent by *Mary*, from *Seth*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Judah* and *David*.

But, in order to a more distinct Consideration of this August and Wonderful Subject, I shall venture, tho with all Modesty, to present the Reader with a few Thoughts; which do, all of them, appear to me as highly probable; tho I pretend not that they are all of them

them of equal Certainty or Importance. However, the Chain of them appears so natural to me, and I humbly suppose, will appear so likewise to every one, that has fully and impartially considered what I have said in the preceding Book, concerning the *Logos*, and in the Third Chapter of this Book; that I venture to propose my Thoughts upon this Subject, in the following Series and Order, by way of rational, tho modest, Offers.

And, 1. I do humbly suppose, that the Son of God, was from all Eternity, pitch'd upon, to be the Grand Organ of all the Divine Operations, *ad extra*, i. e. with Relation to all exterior or extrinsical Operations. His being the *middle Person* did seem, in the Order of the original Nature it self, to mark him out, to act this Part, (as that which I have said already, in what precedes, in this same Chapter, seems to direct us to think; and what holds in one Particular, holds in all Cases, where the Reason is the same;) because there was a *First Person*, to act *from*; and a *Third Person*, to act *by*.

2. But seeing the Second Person of the Trinity, was equally Infinite, as the Father and the Holy Ghost; it is inconceivable that He should be the *Immediate Organ*, either of the Production or Government of Material or Finite Beings, any more than the other Persons. Therefore to fix the Peculiarity of the Son's being the Grand and Immediate Organ of the Divine Operations; I humbly think, that it is necessary to suppose, that all the Three Glorious Persons of the Trinity should agree, to exert themselves to the utmost they could, to *form a Creature*, that should have *as much* of the *Divinity*, as it was possible to impart to it, it remaining still a Creature. But to make up what was wanting this way, the very Notion of Creature including Imperfection in it, when compar'd with the Creator; It was agreed (as we must suppose, in this Case) that it should be *so related* to, and *so united* with the Person of the *Son of God*; as, by Virtue of this Union and Relation, to

have the Name and Designation of the Son of God. And this Creature thus formed, and thus united with the Second Person of the Trinity, I take to be that which afterwards was known by the Name of the *Logos*, the *Shechinah*, or the *Memra*. And, hence it comes to pass, that sometimes the *Person* of the *Son of God* is denoted by these Names; as at other times this *Organized Creature* is represented, as the Son of God himself; nay, and the very *outward Appearance* of it, (even when it appeared in its *Appendages* only, as light and bright Clouds, or burning Fire, and not as organized) come frequently to be spoken of under these Names, upon the same account, which I have mentioned. All which Considerations will be plain and perspicuous to those that have closely considered, and thorowly comprehended, what I have discoursed of, in the second Book of this Work.

3. I apprehend, as I said in the Third Chapter of this present Book, that this *Glorious* and *first formed Creature*, was an *Intelligent Being*, made in some such Form as *Adam* afterwards was, tho inconceivably more glorious than He, or indeed than any *Angel whatsoever*.

4. For I apprehend, That the *Angels* themselves, as well as *Adam*, were not only created by this *first* and *original Man*, i. e. by the *Son of God* (by Commission from the Father, and with the Concurrence and Consent of the Spirit) *acting thro'* the same, as an *Organ*; but that they were made, after the *Image* of this *Shechinah* or *Original Man*; tho with various degrees of Perfection and Resemblance this way, as pleased the Supreme Wisdom.

5. Nay I believe, that all the Creation of God was form'd by God, in and by his Son, thro' the Intervention of this Glorious Organ. And I conceive, that this was He, who is called the *Spirit of God*, or his Breath, *that moved upon the Face of the Vast Deep* or *Abyss*, and brought it gradually into Form, *Gen.* 1. 2. and that first produced *Light and Heat*, v. 3. as if it had been kindled from himself.

6. But,

6. But, to pass by what might be said further this way, as to the Creation of the World in general, and the Angels in particular; I do firmly believe, as I said above in the Third Chapter, that it was this *Shechinah* or *Original Man*, that produced *Adam*, both Soul and Body. And, as he framed his Body of the Virgin Earth, as it had newly been formed by himself, so he did inspire or kindle a Soul in him, by something derived from himself; which *Moses* says was done, by *breathing into him the Breath of Life, by which Man became a living Soul*, Gen. 2. 7. Hence *Adam* is said to be made *after the Image* of the *Shechinah*: and because of this peculiar Formation, and consequently Relation unto the Son of God, no wonder if He also be called *the Son of God*, in a very peculiar Sense, *Luke* 3. 38.

7. But *Adam*, having Apostatized from the *Logos*, and the peculiar Relation that was between these being thus dissolved; that Mankind might not be lost, a new Contrivance is set on foot, for our Salvation. And the Foundation of this is laid, in the Design of the *Logos*, his becoming a Man, by being born of a Woman; whence he is emphatically represented and promised, as *the Seed of the Woman*, Gen. 3. 15. But of this I have already treated in the 3d Chapter.

8. The *First* and *Original Man* therefore, in order to become a Descendent from *Adam*, whose Creator he had been before, must be supposed to accomplish his Design, in such a way; as to become a *Real Man*, such as we are; and yet to do this, in such a manner, as neither to act any thing indecorous to his Pristine Glory, nor to be so form'd a Man, as to be either involv'd in the same Vitiosity, with which all other Men were tainted, or to be intitl'd to the same Guilt with which the ordinary Descendents of *Adam* were all chargeable, upon that very Account, that they were his natural and ordinary Off-spring.

And therefore, in order to adjust all Points to an Exactness, this Method is fallen upon.

1. That the Original Man, or the *Shechinah* shall *be made of a Woman*, as the Scripture expresses it, *Gal.* 4.

4. *i. e.* ſhall be formed in the Womb of a Woman. Now this Woman being her ſelf a Daughter of Man and Woman, and ſo a Deſcendent of *Adam*, by ordinary Generation; Chriſt-Man came, this way, to be a real Deſcendent from *Adam* alſo, and ſo to be juſtly called *the Son of Man.*

2. But, that he might not partake of the Vitioſity of human Nature, nor be intitl'd to and involv'd in its Guilt, it was equally neceſſary, that he ſhould be born of a *Virgin*, without the Intervention of a Man; that ſo the Womb of the Virgin might be no more to him, than the Womb of the Earth was to the firſt *Adam*; but that he might be Created in that Womb, even as *Adam* was from the Womb of the Earth. So that, as *Adam*, from being Created of the Earth, was ſaid to be *earthly*; the *ſecond Adam* might, by Creation from Heaven, and by Virtue of his Union with the *Logos* creating him, and by Reaſon that the Created *Logos* (as we ſhall ſee) was the Soul of this Man, be intitl'd, *The Lord from Heaven.*

3. How this was done, is equally above our reach, as How the *Logos* form'd the World, the Angels, and the Firſt Man and Woman. All that I can ſay further is; (1.) That I do conceive, that the *Shechinah* or *Original Man* and *Creature*, was an *Intelligent Being*, who appeared to *Angels* and to *Adam*, in a *Form* like to that wherein he afterwards appeared to *Adam* in Innocence, to *Moſes* on the Mount, to the *Three Martyrs* in the fiery Furnace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to the *Three Apoſtles* in the Mount of *Transfiguration.* (2.) But tho the *Intelligence*, that I call the *Original Man*, did appear of Old, as an *Organized Man*, in order to diſcover himſelf the more remarkably and plainly, to inferiour Beings; yet I do not apprehend, that this *Aſſumed Appearance* and *ſeemingly Organized Body*, was *ſo* his Body, as our Bodies are ours, *i. e.* real and eſſential Parts of our ſelves, even equally as our Souls are, tho the leſs noble Parts of the two. However it was *ſuch a Vehicle*, that was *as* a Body to him, for thoſe Purpoſes and Intents, for which it was

was assumed. (3.) And I do suppose, that when the *second Person* of the Trinity did impregnate the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, He did make use of this *Material*, but *Pure* and *Etherial Vehicle*, as the *Semen Radicale*, which being sown in the Virgin Womb, whilst *over-shadowed* by the impregnating Light and Warmth of the *Shechinah*, was form'd into the Shape and Figure of a *Human Fœtus*, being nourish'd and matur'd there, as other Children are, tho under a peculiarly divine Super-intendency. (4.) And I do apprehend, that when the proper Time of quickning the *Fœtus* came, the *Logos* inform'd it, as he did *Adam* of old, by *Breathing its proper Soul* into it. (5.) And, seeing the Ancient *Shechinah* was a proper *Spirit* or *Soul*, I cannot apprehend, but that the *Logos* breathed into the *prepared Body*, that *same Soul* or *Spirit*, that was the *first Creature* of God. (6.) But, in *breathing* this *Spirit*, into the *prepared Body* of *Christ*, in order to its becoming a *proper Human informing Soul*; we are oblig'd to suppose, that the *Logos*, pursuant to the Articles agreed upon, between the Father and Him, did *so far Obliterate*, from the Memory of this Spirit, those Notices of Things, which it had been formerly possest of, *as was necessary* to its being brought into such a State of Trial, as it was then to enter upon, as the *Human Soul* of Christ. And hence it was, that Christ is said to have *increased in Wisdom*, as he increased in Stature; and that, in a Proportion to this Increase, he did also *grow in favour with God* as well as *with Men*. However this *Obliteration* was *such* only, as was *just* necessary to Christ's being fitted for a State of Trial: Seeing we have sufficient Ground to believe, (as we shall quickly see) that he did *so far* remember his pristine Exaltation and State of Glory, at least in the *General*; *as* frequently to mention it, and even to plead it, in Prayer, to his Father. So, that these two Considerations being justly and exactly ballanc'd one with the other, do necessarily lay a Foundation for our Believing, That the *Original* or *First Spirit*, upon his becoming the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, was *so* wrought upon,

by the *Logos*, *as* to be rendred fit for a State of Trial here on Earth, at the ſame time, that he had *ſtill* the Privilege and Prerogative, to know and remember ſo much of his Priſtine State, as might *juſt* ballance his other Circumſtances, in a Relation to the great Deſign of his Incarnation. For it was but *juſt* and *equitable*, that, if he was under worſe Circumſtances, in ſome Reſpects, than the *Firſt Adam* was, *viz.* in reſpect of Poverty, *&c.* He might, in other Reſpects, be under ſome ſuch Circumſtances, as might exactly ballance the other, *ſo far* (and no further) as to put him upon an equal Level with the *Firſt Adam*, in Reference to the Deſign of the *Logos* for the good of Men. But tho this muſt have been ſo, (according to what I have already ſaid in the 3d Chapter) yet no Man can pretend, to be able, to give a nice or exact Adjuſtment of theſe: Which I ſuppoſe is one of thoſe things, that is reſerved to Chriſt, to teach us, when we come to Heaven. But, whatever be in this, let us ſo far look back upon the former Particulars, as to remember, that it was the *Original* or *Firſt Created Spirit*, that became afterwards the *Soul* of Chriſt. For, tho I think the *Biſhop of Gloceſter* has miſtaken and miſ-apply'd ſome Places of Scripture, which he adduces to prove, that *the Soul of* the *Meſſiah* did *pre-exiſt*; yet I have been long in the ſame Opinion with him, in the main; tho I never was, nor am to this Day, for aſſerting this, or ſuch like Points, with any thing like a Magiſterial Poſitiveneſs.

However, I think ſome Mens pretended Zeal againſt him, has more of irregular Paſſion, if not Pride alſo, in it, than was proper, whither we conſider *his Character*, or the *Antiquity* and *Harmleſneſs* of the *Opinion* he defends: Tho I think, as I ſaid but juſt now, that he has miſ-apply'd ſome Paſſages of Scripture this way; I mean, (1.) that Paſſage, *John* 8. 58. where Chriſt ſays, *Before* Abraham *was*, *I am*; which I have (*q*) demonſtrated,

(*q*) *See* Chriſtol. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. Pag. 184.

to

to have been ſpoken, in Relation to *Chriſt's Divinity*, as well as *Pre-exiſtence*. And, (2.) I mean alſo, that other Paſſage, *John* 3. 13. where Chriſt aſſerts, that even at that time, that he was on Earth, he was actually *Exiſting in Heaven*; which I have (*r*) likewiſe proved, to refer to *Chriſt's Divinity*, and that it cannot otherwiſe be underſtood. But now, excepting theſe two Places, I ſee not, but that his other Scripture-Proofs are plain and cogent this way.

And here, ſeeing the *Pre-exiſtence* of the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah*, is what this part of my Scheme leans upon; I ſhall take this Opportunity, to ſhew what the Grounds are, upon which I found this my Opinion. And, 1. It has been ſome Inducement to me, to judge this Opinion as probable, becauſe the *Jews* ſeem to have laid down this, as an undoubted Maxim in all Ages. For beſides that they believed the *Pre-exiſtence of all Souls*, they ever own'd, that the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah* was made before all Creatures; as all that are, in the leaſt, acquainted with their Writings and Opinions muſt own. But, 2. How probable ſoever this Opinion might be to me, upon the account of its Antiquity, I ſhould never have given my Aſſent to it; were it not, that I cannot otherwiſe give a rational or ſatisfactory Account of ſeveral Places of Scripture: Which, upon the Suppoſition of this Opinion, become eaſie and plain. I am not here ſpeaking of the *Pre-exiſtence of Souls* in General, (which I may afterwards take notice of, in a more proper Place) but only of the *Pre-exiſtence* of the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah*, which I believe to have been both the *Firſt* and *moſt Noble Creature* of God, and the *Grand Organ*, by which the *Logos* operated and acted, before, as well as after the Incarnation. And here, therefore, I ſhall lay ſome Expreſſions of Scripture before the Reader, for this purpoſe.

The 1ſt is, John 17. 5. *Glorify thou me, O Father, with*

(*r*) Chriſtol. L. 2. C. 4. P. 171, 172.

thine own self, with the Glory which I had with thee, before the World was. Can Christ be understood here, to suppose that the *Eternal Son of God*, or *second Person of the Trinity*, was emptied of that Glory, which was essential to him, and inseparable from him? What then can he mean, but this; *Glorifie thou me again, O Father*, i. e. this *Soul* of mine, *with the same Glory*, with which it was surrounded, when it was invested formerly with the Glory of the *Shechinah, before the World was made*; but which it has now (ever since its tabernacling in and informing of a Human Body) been destitute of?

A 2d Expression, is that which the *Bishop of Gloucester* takes for his Text, *John* 16. 28. *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the World; again I leave the World, and go to the Father.* An Expression (*f*) that I have fully vindicated from *Socinian Glosses*. But, as this infallibly proves *Christ's Pre-existence*; so it is impossible to explain it of the *Divine Nature* of Christ, or in Relation to him, as God: For it is plain, that Christ speaks of a local and real Descent, seeing he contra-distinguishes this to his Ascention, as Man.

A 3d Expression, is that in *John* 6. 62. *What and if ye see the Son of Man ascend up, where he was before.* An Expression so plain to my purpose, as nothing can be more; whether we consider the Context, as to the Subject our Lord discourses of; or whether we consider the Nature of his Ascention: For, as the Ascention of Christ, after his Resurrection, was a real and local one, so must his Descent have been. For, it is equally plain here, that our Saviour was as really in Heaven once, and that he had left it to come down to the Earth; as that he was afterwards to ascend to Heaven from the Earth. Seeing otherwise it had not been possible to have been true, that our Saviour was to ascend up to the same Place where he was before. Now, it was impossible for Christ, *as God*, to descend so from Heaven, as

(*f*) Christol. L. 2. C. 4. P. 178, &c.

he

he aſcended, as Man, after his Reſurrection. If then Chriſt aſcended as Man, he muſt deſcend and leave Heaven in a Senſe congruous to his Aſcention: Seeing he could not ſay of his Deity, that he was indeed formerly in Heaven, and ſuppoſe that he was not there at the time he ſpoke theſe Words, but that he was to aſcend thither again. So that the plain Meaning is this; that, as he was the *Shechinah*, tho he had been in Heaven before, yet he was not there at this time, but that he was now on Earth, in that Body, which the *Shechinah* had informed and become a *Soul* unto; but that however, he was about to aſcend to Heaven again, after he had finiſhed his Work on Earth. And now, as I ſee not how any Man can make Senſe of this Place, without allowing the *Pre-exiſtence* of the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah*; ſo to me it is no leſs than certain, that our Saviour does here ſuppoſe, this Truth, as a Matter of that Importance, that we could not conceive a-right, either of his Birth, Perſon or Aſcention, without it.

I might run out upon many other Expreſſions: But I ſhall content my ſelf barely to cite theſe following; which I confeſs my ſelf incapable to make Senſe of, unleſs this Opinion be allowed of, *John* 3. 31. *He that comes from Heaven is above all.* John 6. 33. *The Bread of God is He which cometh from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World.* V. 38. *I came down from Heaven, not to do mine own Will, but the Will of him that ſent me.* V. 51. *I am the living Bread, which came down from Heaven,* &c. 1 Cor. 15. 47. *The Firſt Man was of the Earth, Earthy: The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven.* Eph. 4. 8, 9, 10. *Wherefore he ſaith, when he aſcended up on high, he led Captivity Captive, and gave Gifts unto Men. Now that He aſcended, what is it, but that he alſo deſcended firſt;* ——— *He that deſcended* (*viz.* firſt) *is the ſame alſo that aſcended up* (*viz.* afterwards) *far above all Heavens,* &c.

And now, if this Notion, ſo conſonant both to Reaſon and Revelation, be once received and ſuppoſed, we ſhall immediately diſcern its Uſefulneſs, in order to the

the understanding several Expressions of Scripture, in their full Emphasis. As, (1.) the Expression, *John* 1. 14. where it is said, that *the Word was made Flesh*, &c. There is hardly any Protestant, that believes that the Souls of Men do equally descend, *ex traduce*, i. e. by Traduction from our Parents, or from *Adam*, as the Bodies of Men do. And therefore it is enough to suppose, that our Saviour's Body was form'd in the Womb of the Virgin, to give him the Denomination of a Man. So, that all the difference between our ordinary Divines, and me, is this, that I think it more congruous to Scripture, as well as more glorious for our Saviour, to suppose that his Soul was the *First* and *Noblest Creature* ever God made; than to suppose, that it was a Creature created as late as the Days of *Augustus*, and of an *inferior Nature* to that of the *First Created Angels*. (2.) By Virtue of this Notion, we shall be able to form a much more distinct Idea of Christ's Headship, and Superiority over the Angels. For, to say, that Christ, as the Eternal God, is Head of Angels, is true indeed, but says nothing peculiar to the Son, more than to the Father and Holy Spirit. But, when once we come to consider Christ, in another Sense, as the *First* and *most Noble of all Creatures*, it is easie then to conceive, that the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, by tabernacling in Human Nature, and defeating Satan therein, could not be supposed to lose his ancient Prerogative, but be reinstated therein, upon his Ascension to Heaven, with a new additional Reward for his late Services, and with new Marks of Honour this way. So that, without this Notion, what is said of Christ's Superiority over the Angels, in the 1st and 2d Chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and in other Places of Scripture, cannot be understood in its true Energy. (3.) And, unless we imbrace this Notion, I cannot see how we can explain, to any purpose, the Great Article of the Exinanition or Humiliation of Christ, *E. G.* when the Apostle says, *Phil.* 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. *That Christ, tho in the form of God, (i. e.* that of the Shechinah) *did condescend*

so

so far, as to humble himself, and make himself of no Reputation, by taking upon him the form of a Servant, &c. And that *Therefore* (mark the Expression) *God has now highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every Name*, &c. To understand either this Humiliation or Exaltation, or Reward of the Godhead of Christ, or of Christ considered as God, either Essentially or Personally, is impossible; seeing, as such, he is altogether unchangeable. Nor can any figurative Explication be given of the Words in this Sense: For there can be no figurative Adumbration of a Falshood and Inconsistency, *viz.* of the Mutability or Changeableness of what is absolutely, and in all respects, unchangeable; nay, and as the Apostle *James* excellently says, is *without any shadow of turning*, Jam. 1. 17. for what is said of the Father, is equally true of the Son, in this Sense. What then can the Apostle possibly mean, but this, that Christ, who, as the *Shechinah*, was in the form of God, and, as God, was equal with his Father, did readily condescend so far, in compliance with the Will of God, as to quit the first Place in the Creation of God, which he held, as the First and most noble Spirit; and that thus, for a time, having divested himself of his Glorious Appearance, He condescended to assume and animate a Human Body, and that in the mean Appearance of a Servant or poor Man; nay, and humbled himself so far, as to suffer in that same Body, even to the Death of the Cross. And now comes in the Apostle's, [Therefore] *Therefore*, says he, *God has also highly exalted him*, &c.

And I cannot but think, that the Apostle *John* had this in his Eye, when he says, 1 *Ep.* Ch. 4. v. 2, 3. *That every Spirit* (*i. e.* every Person pretending to the Spirit) *which confesseth, that Jesus is the Christ*, or Messiah, *who is* now *come in the Flesh, is of God*, (*i. e.* such a Person speaks the very Truth, which God requires us to believe and own.) Whereas, upon the other Hand, *Every Spirit* (*i. e.* Pretender to it) *which confesseth not that Jesus is the Christ come in the Flesh, is not of God, but is the*

the Spirit (*i. e.* is acted by the Spirit) *of Antichrist*, the Enemy of God and Christ. For, when he tells us; that evey true Christian, that is acted by the Spirit of God and Truth, ὁμολογεῖ Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐλη-λυθότα, *doth confess Jesus to be the Messiah come in the Flesh*, or *come into the Flesh*; it is as much as to say, that every true Christian did then confess and own, that Jesus was the *Messiah*, now come into, and dwelling in a Terrestrial or Human Body: Which does necessarily denote this, that the *Messiah* was existing, before he came into the Flesh, or assumed a human Body; and that it was the common Opinion then, that the *Soul* of the *Messiah* was to tabernacle in a Human Body; and that even the Adversaries of Christ agreed in this common Principle, tho they denied, that the *Body* of *Jesus* was *that peculiar Body* that the *Soul* of the *Messiah* dwelt in. Hence, as our Lord propheſied, *Matt.* 24. 24, 26. many *false Prophets* arose, who gave out themselves to be the *Messiah*. So that *John* gives those he writes to, this Criterion of true and false Christians; That that Man was of God, who own'd that *Jesus* was really the true *Messiah* incarnate; and that he, upon the other hand, was acted by an Antichristian Spirit, who did assert, that either Himself, or any other Person, besides *Jesus*, was the promised *Messiah*.

And now having, I think, proved the *Pre-existence* of the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, and shewed, that this *Pre-existent Spirit* was no other than the *Original* or *first* created *Shechinah*, the *Grand Organ* of the *Son of God*, as to his external Operations; by a Relation to, and Union with whom, even the *second Person* of the *Trinity* himself, comes under the Name of the *Logos* or *Shechinah*, and, (in Allusion to the Form wherein this Spirit appeared) under the Name also of the *Primeval* or *Original Man*: I say, these things being thus far cleared up, I hope I may be allowed to say, without the least Vanity, that I have made no inconsiderable Advance towards our understanding the *sacred Scheme* and *Gospel-Christology*, to better purpose than heretofore. For all our

our Syſtems and Comments have been hitherto extremely confin'd, dark and perplex'd, in treating of the Incarnation of Chriſt, and what relates thereunto, for want of ſuch a Clue, as the Goodneſs of God has inabled ſo poor and weak an Inſtrument as I am, to preſent the Chriſtian World *with*; however it may be judg'd of, or cenſur'd by ſome Men, eſpecially, if only curſorily and ſlightly conſider'd. And I queſtion not, but that, if this Notion had been as much clear'd up, in the Days of the firſt *Nicene Council*, it had been a Means of Reconciling the *Moderate Arians*, and the *Anti-Arians*; if not alſo of preventing altogether the Growth of the *Arian Error* it ſelf. And conſequently thoſe cruel Wars, Maſſacres and Perſecutions, on both Sides, which enſued, when ever the one or the other Party, by the means of having an Emperor of their Opinion, got the Aſcendant in the Empire. And I would fain hope, that this Notion which I have ſo far illuſtrated, may be a means to convince every *Socinian* or *Arian*, that will be pleas'd to peruſe and conſider what I have ſaid, with an honeſt Deſire to be informed.

But, in order to ſee the Advantage of this Scheme, with Reſpect to our Knowledge and Improvement of the Goſpel, and what relates to it, I ſhall propoſe theſe things following to Conſideration.

1. That, by what we have ſaid, we may more eaſily conceive, both the *Reality* of the *Union* of the *Son of God*, and the *Man Chriſt*, and how this is conſiſtent with the Unchangeableneſs of the Son of God thus united. For the *Union* between the *Son of God* and the *Man Chriſt*, being the Reſult of the proper *Union* of the *Shechinah* with a *Human Body*, made and form'd by his ſpecial Efficiency; the Son of God admitted no Change at all, properly ſpeaking, but only came under a peculiar Relation unto, and extrinſical Denomination from the Fleſh, by Reaſon of its being aſſumed by the *Created Shechinah*, who had been ſo far united to him, from the firſt, as to be his *Organ*, in all extrinſical Operations. God is called the Creator, from his Creating

ting the World. But this Relation to, and Denomination from the Creation, does not suppose any Change in God. And thus, tho the Relation between the Son of God and the Man Christ, be more peculiar than this, between God and the Creature in General: Yet still this can suppose no real Change in the second Person of the Trinity, but only a most strict and special Relation. But then it supposes a *Real Change* in the *Created Shechinah*, seeing he came, by Virtue of his informing a Human Body, to be really the *Son of Man*; whereas before he had no such Foundation of a Relation to Men. The *Schoolmen* having no Notion at all of the *Shechinah*, do in this Case, as in others, *viz.* subtilize things into so many little empty Distinctions, until they lose themselves, as well as their Readers, and the Truth it self. To make amends for which, they commonly come, at length, to represent their Mind, by Similies; wherein they are sometimes happier than in their Reasoning. Thus (*t*) *Alexander of Hales* says, that *in some Unions, there is a Change in both Extremes, when united, as in Water and Wine: But in other Unions, of one Extreme only, as in that of the light of the Sun with the Air; there being indeed a Change in the Air, which from being dark is rendered luminous; but none in the Sun, which only takes a new Denomination from what it did, before its being so.* I shall only so far improve his Illustration, as to add this to it; that as the Body of the Sun is united to the Air, thro' the Intervention of its luminous Rays or Particles, that permeat the Air, and do, as it were, incorporate with it; so the Son of God is united to the Man Jesus, by the *Shechinah*'s tabernacling in Flesh, and informing the same.

2. What we have said, concerning the Incarnation of the *Shechinah*, shews, with peculiar force, the Indissolubleness and Perpetuity of this Union; because it gives us a farther View of the Wisdom of God in this matter.

(*t*) Sum. Theol. P. 3. Q. 1. Mem. 3. Art. 1.

For

For here we see, that the *Son of God* is *united* with the most *perfect created Spirit*, and that this most *Perfect Spirit* is *now* the *informing Soul* of the *Man Christ*. So that the *Union* of the *Eternal Son of God* with that *Spirit*, that was his *Organ*, in making *Angels* and the *Material World* as well as *Man* at first; is made the Foundation of a *twofold Union* more, *first* of God and Man, and *secondly* of Men and Angels; seeing the proper or immediate Head of Angels is now become a Man.

And here therefore, that I may pre-occupy and prevent an Objection, that might be taken from the Apostle's Words, *Heb.* 2. 16. I would have the Reader to remember, that I never meant to propose that *Glorious Spirit*, who now informs the Human Body of Christ, as *an Angel*, but as one far more *Glorious* as to Nature, as well as Degrees of Perfection, than the Angels: which shews his Condescention the more in being willing for our sakes, to pass for a time, from the Glorious Throne whereon he was seated above Angels, to the low State of a mean Man on Earth, and so to be made a little lower than the Angels, *Heb.* 2. 9.

If any ask, but how can we conceive of the Union between the Son of God, and the Man Jesus, as indissoluble, at that time, when Christ died, and when his Spirit and Body were actually separated. I answer, That tho the Soul and Body of a Man be actually separated by Death, yet this is for a time only in order to be united again; and that even during this Separation, the Relation between these essential Parts of Man does remain; and that hence it is, that the Bodies of Men are to be raised again, at the last Day, as related to those individual Souls that did formerly inform and animate them: for, if the Relation between Man and Wife, Parent and Child, is the same, when at the greatest distance one from another, as when present; sure such close and intimate Relatives as Soul and Body, must be supposed ever to retain this Relation, even when the Form of the Body is lost to Sense, and the Matter

of

of it only remains. But here I desire it may be particularly consider'd, that, at that very time, when the Soul and Body of Christ were separated by Death, the Union of both these with the Son of God did actually remain: So that the actual Union of each of these with him continued, even when it ceas'd between these two essential Parts of the Man Christ; for it is not consistent with the Immutability of the Son of God, for us to think, that his Union with either of these did actually cease; tho it is not derogatory either to the Soul of Christ, (how Glorious soever) or to his Body, to suppose and conclude, (as indeed Necessity obliges us to do) that they were actually separated. It was in this case (to illustrate the matter, as far as it will admit to be adumbrated) as with a Man that draws a Sword out of its Scabbard, and holds one in one hand, and another in another. The Man himself is actually and immediately united with both these; at the same time that the Sword and Scabbard are separated. However, as the Sword and Scabbard are, tho not *immediately* united, yet not only related, as much as before the Separation, but also *mediately* united, *i. e.* in this, that one and the same Person is united to both: So may we say, that, besides the Relation between the Soul and Body of Christ, when separated by Death, there was, tho not an immediate Union, yet a kind of mediate one, by reason of this, that both Parts were actually and immediately united to the Person of the *Logos* or Son of God, *i. e.* to the *Logos*, considered *as such*. By which it appears, that both the essential Parts of the Man Christ, were then more immediately united to the Son of God than to another; and consequently that their Union with him, is, in it self, the Foundation and Security of their continuing united now, and of the Indissolvableness and Perpetuity of this Union.

But, as we use to say, *Omne simile claudicat*, every similitude halts and is lame, in relation to a perfect Explanation or Illustration of the Nature of things; and therefore, when we have said all we can, we must own this

this to have ſomething, and indeed a great deal in it, inexplicable and too high for human Thought. It is a τὸ βάθος, *a Depth, both of the Wiſdom and Power of God,* which is rather to be belived than explained: tho modeſt Inquiries are not only allowable but commendable. However, after having done my part this way, I proſtrate my Soul before the Glorious Father, and his Adorable Son, and the Holy Spirit that proceeds from both; humbly begging Pardon, in caſe I have thought or ſaid any thing amiſs; which I do with moſt inexpreſſible Pleaſure, as finding this my Performance accompanied and followed with inward, pure and ſweet Satisfaction of Mind; and as being conſcious to my ſelf, that I have honeſtly deſigned the Glory of my Maſter, and the Propagation of that *ſupernatural Wiſdom, which is pure and peaceable,* both in this and in all other my Meditations. With Thanks and Praiſe therefore to my God and Saviour, for what Light he has given me, as to this great Head of Divinity, I put an end to my more abſtract Speculations this way: and thus, vailing my Reaſon to Revelation, and firmly believing the Incarnation of the Son of God, and adoring both him that ſent us ſuch a Saviour, and this Bleſſed Sent Meſſiah; I retire.——————And thus having finiſh'd what I had to ſay, in relation to the two ſpeculative Inquiries propoſed; I proceed,

In the 3*d* Place, to add ſome *Practical Thoughts,* in Relation to this Great Article of my Creed.

And here, (1.) Let us admire the wonderful Condeſcention of *God the Son,* and even of the *Ancient Shechinah,* in this ſtupendious Union. But, that our Practical Conſiderations may be regulated by Judgment, let us obſerve, how much more reaſonable my Scheme is, than that which has hitherto obtain'd in the Church. For, whereas our Practical Divines are obſerved thus to have harangu'd their Hearers, as their Printed Diſcourſes do ſtill inform us; "Oh! How wonderful! That God ſhould "become a Man! That the unborn and uncreated

" one, ſhould be created and born! That the Eter-
" nal God ſhould become an Infant! With abundance more to this Purpoſe: I ſay, whereas they ſpoke after this manner, we can hardly make Senſe of their Words, according to their Notion. I own they meant very well, and I doubt not but that they did very much affect their Hearers, and did abundance of Good likewiſe. But, ſtill, I muſt be bold to ſay, that their Notion will hardly bear them out, in ſpeaking as they did. For, tho the *Eternal Son of God* was united to the *Man Chriſt*, yet he was not *that Man*. Nor could *he*, by reaſon of this *Union*, be ſaid to be *born*, become an Infant, *&c.* But now, if we admit of our Scheme, we ſhall immediately apprehend the Reaſon of the Scriptural Phraſes, which laid the Foundation of our Practical Divines running out and expatiating upon this Subject, after this manner. For, the Name of the *Logos*, *Shechinah* and *Son of God*, being uſed reciprocally for the *Third Perſon* of the Trinity, and that *Firſt* and *moſt Glorious Spirit*, that is now the *Soul* of *Chriſt*; it may juſtly be ſaid, that this *Primeval Spirit*, having actually become *Man*, by its informing a *Human Body*, (by which it comes under the Notion of a *Human Soul*) did really become an Infant. So that we may thus far ſpeak without any hard or uncouth Figure, and indeed almoſt without any Figure at all: That he that was God, (i. e. *in the Form of God*, or with the Glory of God upon him, as being the external Organ and Repreſentation of the Son of God) became a Man: That he, that was unborn was born of a Woman: That he that was created from everlaſting (taking the Word not for the *proper Eternity* of God, but for *Eviternity*, *i. e.* the Creation of the Soul of the Meſſiah before the World, or any thing elſe, was made) was made an Infant, *&c.* And indeed, in this Senſe, we may very properly and naturally, and much more clearly, than by any other Scheme, explain what the *Logos* or *Shechinah* ſays himſelf, concerning his own Production, *Prov.* 8. 22, *&c.* *The Lord poſſeſſed me*, (or as the Targum ſays

ſays plainly, (*u*) *Created me*) *in the Beginning*, (or rather Me the Beginning) *of his Ways, before all his* other *Works of old. I was ſet up from* Everlaſting (or before the Date of the World's Creation, as the *Targum* inſinuates, as indeed the following Words determine the Meaning) *from the Beginning, before ever the Earth was*, (or, as the Hebrew ſounds, *to be the Beginning*, or to have the Supreme Principality and Sway, even before the Earth was created.) *When there were no Depths I was brought forth; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water; before the Mountains were ſettled; before ever there were Hills, was I brought forth, &c.* What we render in *ver.* 24, and 25. *brought forth*, the *Targum* renders, by *being born*, in the firſt Verſe, and by *being created*, in the next. But the Hebrew Word is the ſame in both, and is juſtly render'd by *Ar. Mont. Formata, i. e.* fram'd, form'd or made: As the *Septuagint* to the ſame purpoſe, renders it by ποιῆσαι, which is of the ſame import. And what elſe can he mean, when in the 30*th* Verſe he repreſents himſelf, *as one brought up with God*, or as the *Targum* ſays, *as one nouriſh'd up at his ſide.* Surely, if this be meant of the *firſt Created* Spirit, who is now the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah*, no Expreſſions can be more plain, as well as natural. Whereas, if we underſtand them *immediately* of the *Logos*, *as* the Second Perſon of the Trinity; we muſt get over abundance of Figures, that can never, I think, be properly either explain'd or accommodated; beſides our being involv'd with endleſs Criticiſms and Diſputes about Words. And I am ſure nothing can be a more natural Expoſition of the 31*ſt* Verſe, than what reſults from my Principle or Rule of underſtanding this Paſſage, *viz.* that we are to underſtand

(*u*) *Indeed this is the plain Senſe of the Hebrew Word* קָנָנִי, *which* Ar. Mont. *juſtly renders* acquiſivit, *as the* Septuagint *tranſlates it more plainly* ἐκτισεμε ἀρχην, &c. *i. e.* made *or* created me to be the beginning of his ways, in order to his other Works, *or, in order to produce and over-rule them. Which is exactly my Notion of this Matter.*

this Wisdom to be the *Created Shechinah*, in the *immediate* and *first Sense*; but that, by Virtue of the *Union* of *this Spirit* with the *Second Person* of the *Trinity*, we may understand this also, to have an Aspect towards him, in a *remoter Sense*. For this will easily direct us to the full meaning of *ver.* 31. when the *Logos* says, *That he did*, even of old, *Rejoice in the habitable Parts of the Earth, and that his Delights were with the Sons of Men.*

But now, to return from this digressive Explication of *Prov.* 8. 22, *&c.* tho I hope no unprofitable one; let us observe how truly, as well as popularly, a Man may expatiate according to my Scheme, upon setting forth the wonderful Condescention of the *Logos*, in becoming Man. May we not say, with admiration: How stupendious is it to think, That the Ancient of Days should become an Infant; That he that created all things, and without whom nothing was made that was made, should be conceived and formed in the Womb of a Woman: That he, who was so glorious with and so dear to God, should appear in the Form, not only of a Man, but of a mean and poor Man; That he should run thro' Infancy, Childhood and Youth, up to Manhood; and after all this, that he should suffer, and that in such a manner, by those he came to do good to. Besides, we may thus expatiate likewise upon his *becoming Flesh*, *John* 1. 14. For, if even a precious Diamond, or other Jewel, be look'd upon as if it were depreciated, when it is set in base or course Metal; may it not much more be look'd upon as a Degradation for the *Logos*, to be set, if I may say so, in *Human Flesh*. Justly therefore may we cry out, as *Austin* somewhere does; *Deus; quid Glorioſius? Caro; quid Vilius? Deus in carne; quid Mirabilius?* That is: God; What more Glorious? Flesh; what more mean? God in the Flesh; What more wonderful? Only, as I said before, such popular Expressions as these, are seen to have Truth for their Foundation, according to our Scheme, which is not so easily apprehended, according to the vulgar Notion of the Incarnation of Christ.

And

And here let us consider the Import of that Expression, *Heb.* 2. 17. *in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his Brethren*, &c. Where, if the Question be put, how he was, in all things made like his Brethren? I answer, 1. In both the *Essential Parts* of Man; as having a real Soul, and a real Body. And consequently, in the *integral Parts* of both. For, *First*, his *Soul* consisted of the same Powers and Faculties, which ours do: Tho vastly more perfect; because, *first*, sinless; and then *secondly*, more elevated and refined, as to degree; and *thirdly*, as more peculiarly and eminently irradiated by the *Logos*. And, *Secondly*, His *Body* consisted of the same Parts, which ours do, and these as sensible or rather more than ours. For we must suppose, that he that had Human Nature in Perfection, had not only the best made and symmetried Body of all Men, but that to such a Degree of Exquisiteness, in respect to all the Senses, as to have a quicker Sensation, both as to Pleasure and Pain, than others of a duller and heavier Make. So that when he suffer'd, he was so far from having a more languid Sense and Feeling of Pain than others, that we must suppose him to have suffered more than any others could do. And this might be a natural Reason (which is no way inconsistent with other Reasons, arising from the Divine Design and Providence in this Transaction) of our Lord's dying upon the Cross much sooner than either of the two Thieves did. And hence we are led in to have a greater Sense of his Agonies and Pains, and a greater Sympathy, this way, with our suffering Saviour. So that we may contemplate, with more Affection, what sharp Pains he must have felt, when his Head was crown'd and prick'd with Thorns; when he was buffeted and whipp'd; and when his Hands and Feet were nail'd through. But, whatever Perfection, as to *Degrees*, was in our Saviour's Soul and Body, above other Men; yet still he was the same this way, as to the *Properties* of Human Nature, as to *Kind*. For his *Soul* acted as really by bodily Organs as our Souls do, and was also as

really acted upon, through the Senſes of the Body. And his Body it ſelf, was of the ſame Dimenſion, Circumſcription and Appearance, in the main, as the Bodies of other Men are.

2. He was like unto other Men, in point of ſinful Frailties and Infirmities, which they are liable unto: And therefore he is ſaid, to have been *ſent in the likeneſs of ſinful Fleſh*, Rom. 8. 3. i. e. like other Men, that are Sinful, but not like them in their Sinfulneſs. For (1.) *Negatively*; He was not like us, 1. In thoſe Things, that are *properly ſinful Infirmities*; ſuch as Pride, Ambition, Licentiouſneſs, Covetouſneſs, Envy, Idleneſs, *&c.* Nor, 2. In ſuch Infirmities, which tho, in themſelves ſinleſs, do yet *denote Human Nature* to be *Imperfect*, where they are; ſuch as Blindneſs, Lameneſs, Deafneſs, Leproſy, Fevers, Agues, Stammering of Speech, *&c.* For Chriſt could not be ſubject to theſe, no more than to the former; becauſe he was to have Human Nature perfect, as well as ſinleſs. But (2.) *Poſitively*; He was liable and ſubject to all ſuch ſinleſs Infirmities, that are univerſal and common to all Men, or to which all Men are liable and obnoxious; Such as, 1. Griefs and Sorrows, as to the *Mind*; 2. Hunger, Thirſt and Wearineſs, as to the *Body*; And 3. Poverty, and Contempt, and Calumny and Reproach, as to the outward State of the *Whole Man*, in this preſent World.

I might add, that he was like his Brethren, in point of Station or Condition in this World: For he was a kind of Compend of all theſe; even ſuch of them, as ſeem to be inconſiſtent one with another. *E. G.* He was born a Prince, and yet was but a mean Man; He was Maſter, and at the ſame time Servant of all, *&c.* But I had occaſion already to take notice of this, in another Place. His Motto ſeems to have been this; *Malim eſſe quam videri*, i. e. I had rather be, than appear to be; I chuſe to do good, without being fam'd for ſo doing.

(2.) From what we have ſaid, we cannot but ſee, admire at and celebrate God for the Wonderful and Gracious

cious *Exaltation* of the *Human Nature*, in the Incarnation of Christ. For what can be more wonderful than that a Being superiour to that of Angels, both as to Nature, Antiquity, Power, Wisdom and all other Qualifications, should so tabernacle in a Human Body, as our Souls do in our Bodies, and should thus become a Man. It is commonly and truly said, that the Human Nature is thus exalted above the Angelical. But my Scheme is that only, which shews clearly and fully, how and in what way this was done. And indeed, what more wonderful, than to think; that, whereas, in the *Creation* of Man, *Man* was made after the *Image* of the *Logos*, as I have said above; In the *Restoration* of Man, or in laying the Foundation of this, the *Logos* should actually become a *Man*, in the way I have considered, in order to restore us to that former Image, which we had lost by the Fall, that thus we might be re-possessed of our Pristin Happiness, by being intitl'd to the Divine Favour.

(3.) From what I have said upon this Head, as well as from all I have discoursed of in the preceding Chapters, we cannot but see, and gratefully acknowledge our Saviour's Faithfulness to the Interests of the Human Family or Nation, upon his becoming a Man himself. Which is so much the more Illustrious, that he was the only Man, that acted for the real Interest and Honour of Mankind. For (as I hinted formerly) He did so, with such an unparallel'd Generosity, as to stand up for Men, and suffer for them; when all Mankind, not one excepted, did either oppose or desert him. Insomuch, that he was, in this Sense, as much the only Man in the World, as if there had not been one Man in it but himself; or as *Adam* was when he was first Created. So that he was even in this respect, as well as in others, the *Second Adam*; as being the only Patron and Patriarch of Human Race; who, *when he trod the Wine-Press* of that severe Service and Suffering Work, which he undertook for us, (to allude to the Expression, *Isai.* 63. 3.) *He did it alone, and had none of all the People of this*

World, to assist him, or so much as stand by him, to countenance and own him.

(4.) From what we have said, we cannot but see our *Duty*, and find our selves incited to the Discharge and Performance thereof. But, in order to our further Direction and Assistance this way, let me desire every serious Christian to consider this Point in a Four-fold Reference; *viz.* 1. To *God* and *Christ*. 2. To *Angels*. 3. To our *Brethren*. And, 4. To our *Selves*.

And 1. If this Point be considered, in reference to *God and Christ*, it will teach us, 1. *Gratitude*; to God who sent the *Logos*, and to the *Logos* who was willing to be sent on this Errand. 2. *Love*, both to the Sender and to him that was sent. For by this it comes to pass, that *Christ is not ashamed to call us Brethren*, *Heb.* 2. 11. 3. *Obedience* to all the Commands and Injunctions of our dear and blessed Master. 4. *Resignation* to the Disposal of this wise and kind Saviour, and Patience under the same, how afflictive soever to Sense, for the present.

2. If we consider this Point, in reference to *Angels*, we cannot but learn these Lessons; 1. How *Disinterested* we ought to be, when God's Will and our Interest seem to come in Competition. For as the Salvation of other Men is naturally more dear to the Saints, than the Salvation of Apostate Angels: So, upon the same Reason, the Good Angels must be supposed to have prefer'd the Recovery of the Fallen Angels, before the Recovery of Men; in case these had been equally proposed to them, in an abstract View, without any discovery of God's Intentions the one way, more than the other. But God's Will being once known, their Nature acts, as if it had no poize the other way. They chearfully sing the Nativity Song of the Redeemer of Men, and intirely act this way all along, being zealous and active to promote the good of Men; tho they could not but foresee, that this would tend to increase and perpetuate the Misery of the lost Angels. For the very Incarnation of Christ is that which has rendered the state of Devils desperate; seeing by this they see, that God's Determination

nation is plainly for Man, in oppoſition to them. 2. We ſee how *concerned* the *Angels* are to *know* this Myſtery, and what relates to it further; to the ſhame of Men, who are more immediately concern'd this way than they, and yet are regardleſs of this Matter, and indeed of all that relates to Religion, and the Salvation of their Souls. The *Angels* were ever *cloſe Students of Divinity*, and therefore were they repreſented in a *Contemplative* and *Sedate Poſture* of old, when ſeated over the *Ark*, as intenſely looking down upon it, *Exod.* 25. 18. To which *Peter* alludes, when he ſays, that *the Angels deſire to look into theſe Things*, 1 *Ep.* 1. 12. By which we ſee, that they look upon the Goſpel Truths, as Matters of the vaſteſt Importance; tho alaſs! The generality of Men are ſo ſtupid, as to live and act, as if they were altogether regardleſs this way.

3. If we conſider this Point, in reference to our *Brethren* of the ſame Race with our ſelves; we are taught, 1. To extend our Concern to all Men, whether Jews or Gentiles, Bond or Free, of our Opinion and Profeſſion, or of a quite different one, *&c.* as far as we are able. We ought to love all Men, as Men, tho our Enemies, and to pity and aſſiſt them, all we can. For our Lord has taken upon him the Human Nature, which all Men partake of, and is Head of the common Family of *Adam*, from whence all are deſcended. And therefore, 2. As Chriſt was the common Benefactor of all Men, let it be our Concern to propagate the true Knowledge of him and his Truths, as far as we can, according to the Light he has imparted to us this way. And here, O Bleſſed and Glorious Maſter and Saviour, I dare appeal to thee, who knows all Things, that this is that great Motive and Incitement, that has influenced me to ſtudy at the rate I have done, and that now moves my Pen to write, as thou art pleas'd to direct the ſame. And, having this Satisfaction within, and my Witneſs being on high; I hope and beg, that I may be of ſome uſe to thy Church by my Writings, and that I may be inabled to value the Cenſures of Detractors,

ctors, Envyers and Calumniators, no otherwiſe than the Apoſtle of the Gentiles did of old, who, from the like ſenſe of Integrity, could ſay, that *it was a ſmall thing for him to be judged by Man's Judgment.*

4. If we conſider this, in reference to *our ſelves*, we may infer, 1. That we ought to improve this, after the Example of our Maſter, to *Self-denial*, even ſo far as to be willing to be debaſed, in caſe God require it, and think it for his Honour, and the Good of his Intereſts. The Apoſtle *James* from this Conſideration, deſires *the Man of high Degree, to rejoice when he was brought low*; and exhorts all Men to *rejoice, when they were exerciſed with divers Tribulations*, which our Verſion renders Temptations. And the Apoſtle *Paul* had attained to practiſe this Leſſon ſo far, as to rejoice and glory rather in his *Infirmities*, than in all his *Viſions* and *Raptures*. But there is a greater Example than both theſe ſet before us for this purpoſe, *Phil.* 2. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Look not every Man on the things of another, but every Man alſo on his own things. Let this mind be in you, which was alſo in Chriſt Jeſus. Who, being in the Form of God —— Yet made himſelf of no Reputation*, &c. For our ſakes, and in obedience to his Father's Will, he was contented to be *deſpiſed and rejected of Men*, *Iſa.* 53. 3. And he was altogether ſelf-denied to Authority, Grandeur, Riches, worldly Pleaſures, *&c.* for a General Good, *viz. that we thro' his Proverty might become rich*, 2 Cor. 8. 9. Is it then any great matter, if we, for a time, be look'd upon and treated, as the *Filth of the World, and as the Off-ſcourings of all things*, 1 Cor. 4. 13. ſeeing the moſt eminent Saints, in all Ages, nay and even Chriſt himſelf, had no better Character or Treatment, from the Generality of the Inhabitants of this World? 2. Let us improve this ſo, as to grow in our *abhorrence of Sin*, and *Watchfulneſs* againſt that deteſtable Enemy of God's Honour and our Good; that coſt our innocent and dear Saviour ſo much Sorrow and Suffering, in order to ſave us from its Guilt, Polution and Power, and thoſe Miſeries that it has intail'd upon Men. And therefore,

3. Let

3. Let us improve this to a Concern, that we *debaſe not our own Nature*, which Chriſt has dignified and enobled ſo much. *Let us not* therefore *make any proviſion for the Fleſh, to fulfil the Luſts thereof*, Rom. 13. 14. But *let us cleanſe our ſelves from all Filthineſs of the Fleſh and Spirit, perfecting Holineſs in the Fear of God*, 1 Cor. 7. 1. What, ſays *Paul, ſhall I take the Members of Chriſt, and make them the Members of an Harlot*, 1 Cor. 6. 15. So may we ſay; what, ſhall I take the Nature, which Chriſt has aſſumed, that Nature which he has ſo highly glorified, and ſhall I make it, in my Perſon, the Nature of a Brute, or of a Devil? It has pleaſed our Lord to partake of the *Human Nature*, in order to lay a Foundation of our becoming Partakers of a *Divine Nature*. And is it not ſtrange, that moſt Men ſhould be declared Enemies (at leaſt in fact, if not in Word and Profeſſion alſo) to the Dignity, Exaltation and Happineſs of their own Natures. Therefore let it be our Concern and Study, to act a Counterpart to ſuch Men, by harmonizing with Chriſt, and his End in coming into this World. It was Chriſt's End to be uſeful to Men; therefore let it be ours likewiſe. It is our Honour to act as he did: for thus we come to be intitled to the Dignity and Relation of Children of God, of the Brethren of Chriſt, as Heirs and Joint-Heirs with him. And, as this is our Honour, ſo our Intereſt likewiſe: For *Grace here* and *Glory hereafter* are the Portion of ſuch Perſons. So that upon all accounts we ought to lay out our ſelves, with the utmoſt diligence, in the Service of our God, after the Example of our Bleſſed Maſter.

And now I have done with what I had to propoſe, in relation to this Great Head of the Incarnation of the *Logos*. I proceed therefore now to the Conſideration of ſome other things in reference to Chriſt's Perſon.

II. *Concerning thoſe* other *memorable* Articles *that relate to the* Perſon *of* Chriſt, viz. *ſuch as have not been* directly *diſcours'd of in the preceding Chapters.*

I have had occaſion to ſpeak ſo much already concerning Chriſt, and what he ſaid and did in the World, that I was willing to confine my ſelf here, to a Conſideration of thoſe Articles only, that I had ſpoken but little unto comparatively, with the Excellency and Importance of them.

And yet, tho I confine my ſelf to a few Heads only, I ſhall induſtriouſly labour rather to touch, than inſiſt upon them: both becauſe they have been ſo copiouſly treated of by others, and becauſe I have yet ſuch things remaining to be diſcours'd of, as have been much leſs clear'd up. All therefore that the Reader is to expect from me, is to direct him to ſome ſerious Remarks, to be inlarged upon and dilated by his own Meditations, upon *thoſe Articles* of our *Creed*, that relate to *Chriſt's Crucifixion*, and what *followed* the ſame. To proceed therefore orderly, I begin with

I. Chriſt's Crucifixion.

Of what Importance it is, duly and cloſely to contemplate this ſtupendious Providence, I need not ſay: For I ſuppoſe the Apoſtle's Eſtimate this way, will be of weight with every ſerious Chriſtian. And what he thought of this, he ſufficiently inſinuates, 1 *Cor.* 1. 23, 24, 25. *Chap.* 2. 2. *Phil.* 3. 8, 9, 10. to which I refer the Reader.

Now in order to contemplate Chriſt Crucified, let us conſider theſe things.

(1.) That Chriſt's Sufferings were punctually foretold. I ſhall not expatiate upon this Subject, becauſe it has been ſo frequently treated of. That *he was to be numbred with Tranſgreſſors*, was foretold, *Iſa.* 53. 1, 2, 3. That

That He was to *die and be laid in the Grave*, and that his *Hands and Feet* were to be pierced, by the Combination of wicked Men, and that, by reaſon of his Agonies and Pains, *his Heart was to be melted down as Wax*, is foretold, *Pſal.* 22. 14, 15, 16. not to mention other things. And how punctually he anſwered the Types of the *Paſcal Lamb*, *Brazen Serpent*, *&c.* every one may be eaſily appriz'd, that will conſider the Goſpel-Hiſtory.

(2.) But in a ſpecial manner, let us conſider *Chriſt Crucified*, as the Great *Propitiatory Sacrifice* for Sinners, according to the Scope and Purport of that admirable Propheſie, *Iſa.* 53. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *&c.* A Propheſie ſo plain, as that it looks almoſt like a Hiſtory, and which God made uſe of, in a great Meaſure, to the Conviction and Converſion of (*w*) a famous and noted Atheiſt, not very long ago.

3. But let us contemplate the Sufferings of Chriſt, and particularly upon the Croſs, with Reſpect to the moſt remarkable and eminent Circumſtances attending the ſame.

And, 1. Let it be duly conſidered, that *Two* things were *equally* neceſſary, as to this matter, *viz.* that he ſhould be *perfectly Innocent*, and yet ſuffer under the Notion of a *Criminal*. Theſe muſt be ſo equally poiz'd, that the generality of Men, ſhould agree, and that in the moſt memorable manner, to condemn him, as a *Criminal*, even as a more notorious one than *Barabbas*: And yet the divine Interpoſition muſt be ſuch, that his very Judge, *Pilate*, ſhould acquit him, and declare him Innocent, at the ſame time, that he accuſed all his Proſecutors as wicked. And no leſs memorable was it, this way, that *Judas* the Traitor ſhould come in at length, and condemn himſelf, as a Villain, declaring the Innocence of his Maſter: The Truth of both which his terrified Conſcience forc'd him to ſeal, by making him his own Executioner.

(*w*) *Earl of* Rocheſter. *See Dr.* Burnet's *Account of him.*

2. The

2. The Neceſſity of Chriſt's dying, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice, in this manner, deſerves next to be conſidered; at the ſame time, that the Wills of all the Agents acted freely, and under no violent Compulſion from above. For, tho nothing was done, in all this, but *as it was ordered from above*, John 19. 11. *according to the determinate Counſel of God*, Acts 2. 23. Yet the Agents acted according to their own Freedom, hurried on by the ſeveral Luſts and Prejudices, that bare Rule over them, at this time. Thus *Judas* was over-ſway'd thro' Covetouſneſs; the *Jewiſh Rulers*, thro' Ignorance, Envy and Jealouſie; *Pilate*, thro' Fear of being accuſed to his jealous and tyrannical Maſter; and the *Populace*, thro' a bigotted and furious Zeal. Thus he was *rejected by the Builders*, in order to be a Sacrifice of Attonement, on whom *God might lay the Iniquities of us all*, Iſa. 53. 6.

3. He was to ſuffer a Death, that was peculiar; even ſuch a one, as was, 1. *Execrable* to the *Jews*, for ſo was it, for a Man to be *hanged upon a Tree*, according to the Senſe of the *Jewiſh* Law, *Deut.* 21. 23. And then, 2. It was to be an *Ignominious* Death, as being the Death of a Slave. 3. It was to be a Death, that was *peculiar* to the *Gentiles*, that it might be an Evidence, that *Judæa* was now ſubject to *Rome*; and at the ſame time ſhould be rendred grating to the *Jews*, by the Inſcription ſet over the Croſs; and ſo much the more ſo, that they themſelves ſhould have occaſion'd this by the Nature of the Accuſation they uſed againſt Chriſt. 4. It was to be a *painful* Death, that Chriſt might have a ſenſible, as well as Theoretical Knowledge, of the Miſeries and Pains that attended one of the moſt ſevere of violent Deaths.

4. It was a Death, that was attended with *peculiar Aggravations*. For certainly it was very aggravating this way, 1. To be purſued to Death by his own Countrymen, and thus to be *wounded* and ſlain *in the Houſe of his Friends*. 2. And for them to kill their true King, out of a pretended Loyalty to the Tyrant and Uſurper *Tiberius*,

rius, was ſtill more aggravating. 3. To be expoſed to the Fury, Deriſion and ill Uſage of *Heathen Souldiers*, and to die by the Sentence of a *Foreign Judge*, added to the height of Chriſt's Sufferings. 4. To have not one Perſon in the World, ſo much as to enter a *Proteſtation* againſt this Procedure, was a further Addition this way. 5. Eſpecially, if we conſider how he was *deſerted*, by his few *Diſciples* and *Followers*; not one of them ſtanding by him, in the Hour of his Suffering and Trouble. 6. Nay, it was as a Load above all, to be under the Apprehenſion of God's *deſerting him*, as to ſenſible Joy and Aſſiſtance.

5. His laſt Words deſerve a peculiar Conſideration alſo. As, 1. when he ſaid, *I thirſt*, we may obſerve; not only that he was then under the Senſe of Pain, but that He was as ſenſible, at leaſt, of his preſent peculiar Pain, (which was cauſed by the Nature of his Suffering upon the Croſs) as other Men are: For it was a neceſſary Effect of Crucifixion (as it is of being put to any the like Torture, ſuch as being broke or diſtended upon the Wheel) to be extremely Thirſty. 2. The Strength of his *natural Affection*, and peculiarly *friendly Temper*, appeared in his Recommending the *Virgin Mary* to *John*, and *John* to her, even during the Height and Extremity of his Miſery: By which he demonſtrated that he had the ſame Bowels of Affection and tender Concern, that Men uſually have, for their neareſt ſurviving Relatives and Friends, when they are a dying. 3. As for his other and more remarkable Words, *viz.* thoſe to the Father, *Eli, Eli, Lama ſabachthani*; thoſe relating to himſelf, *Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and that other Expreſſion, *It is finiſhed*; I have conſider'd them already, and ſhall therefore ſay nothing particular here concerning them.

6. And ſurely the *Poſture* of our Saviour, when Crucified, deſerves our Thoughts likewiſe: For how can we look upon it otherwiſe, than as Emblematical? For, 1. His *Expanded Arms*, is a Poſture expreſſive of Parental Love, Mercy, Compaſſion, Intreaty, Perſwaſion,

ſion, and a Readineſs to accept and receive us. 2. His *Pierced Hands* and *Feet* repreſent his Deadneſs to the World, as to all its Pleaſures, Profits and Honours; his Subjection to the Father's Will; his Patience and Submiſſion; his Meekneſs and Humility; and his Fortitude and Reſolution: And, 3. His *pierced Side*, out of which, (by Reaſon of the Spears having pierced thro' the *Pericardium*, and entred in all Probability, thro' the Heart itſelf) iſſued both *Blood* and *Water*, or *Serum*, repreſents the Virtue, Efficacy and Benefits of his Death. For the *Blood* was Emblematical of Attonement, and the *Water* of Purification.

7. Let me add one thing, that deſerves to be conſidered peculiarly, and by it ſelf, *viz.* His Frame of Mind, in Relation to the Treatment he met with from Men, particularly as to his dying the Death of a Slave, and their prophane Jeſts and Scoffs paſs'd upon him when under Sufferings; ſuch as that, *He ſaved others, himſelf he cannot ſave*; and that other, *Come down from the Croſs, and then we will believe in thee.* It is natural for all Men, (according to the generally received Opinion of the World) but eſpecially for thoſe of the greateſt, moſt elevated and refined Spirits, to be moſt ſenſible of, and affected with ſuch a ſort of Treatment. But this ſhews them to be really but weak and prejudic'd; and the Eſtimate of Men this way to be fallacious. For ſurely our *Lord's Soul* was the moſt elevated and refined of any. And yet He acted the very Reveſe of this: For *he* not only *indured the Croſs*, but alſo *deſpiſed the Shame*, Heb. 12. 2. He was intirely ſatisfied in the Divine Diſpoſal, and with his own Integrity, and therefore it had been a Defect and Meanneſs in him, to have been otherwiſe concern'd, at the Shame and Reproach caſt upon him, than upon the Account of the Wickedneſs and Madneſs of the Actors; and therefore he pities them, as a parcel of fooliſh and miſerable Creatures, and prays for them as ſuch; ſaying, *Father, Pardon them, for they know not what they do.*

O!

O! My dear and kind Saviour, what Reaſon have I to implore thy Interceſſion to the Father, for Pardon likewiſe. For, tho I ſtudy thee every Day, I value thee not, I honour thee not, I love thee not, as I ought. But I know thou wilt paſs by my Infirmities, who couldeſt ſo readily pardon thy worſt Enemies. But oh! Help me to love thee more, and ſerve thee better. And let theſe, my poor Labours, honeſtly deſign'd, as thou knoweſt, to promote thy Honour, and the Good of my fellow-Subjects, be of real uſe, thro' thy Bleſſing, to Men.

O! The Wiſdom of God! How great and admirable is it? How are its rareſt Secrets vail'd under the moſt ſtrange Appearances, in order to be ſearch'd for? And how much the more admirable, and like it ſelf, is it, upon this very Account? O! The Weakneſs of Men! Oh! The Folly of Human Wiſdom! O! The Fallacy of Senſe, and worldly Philoſophy! Where are the wiſe Men of this World! Where are its Diſputants, its Orators, its Politicians! Forget the World, and all its Pagantry, O, my Soul. Fix thy Thoughts upon thy Lord. View him Suffering and Crucified. Oh! How auſpicious was this, that look'd ſo diſmal. Can I behold my dear Maſter and Saviour, betray'd, arraign'd, reckon'd and treated as a Villain? Can I behold this without Tears? Can I view him upon the Croſs, breathing out his laſt, in Torments, without the deepeſt Sighs and Groans? But then, how neceſſary was all this for me, and others? How happy and auſpicious that, which look'd ſo diſmal and frightful? My Life ſprings from this Death. My Comforts and Hopes are all the reſult of thoſe Sufferings. What ſhall I ſay, or do, for my Redeemer, by way of Return. Alaſs, what is left for me this way, but to love, and to be thankful, and to labour to be ſerviceable to my fellow-Creatures, and to be Holy and Obedient in all things? Oh! Lord, and ſhall I ever be refractory this way? Shall I not hate Sin, die to Vanity, and crucifie worldly Luſts? Shall I not give Love for Love again, as I can? Shall I not

ſing thy Praiſes, and live them? And ſhall I not labour to be contented with what thy Providence ſends; and learn, by thy Example, to ſuffer for thee, as I am in Duty bound to do, if called to the ſame; when thou didſt ſuffer for me, tho no otherwiſe obliged, than out of pure Condeſcention and Compaſſion? And now, O Lord, if (*x*) Sufferings have been the Occaſion of magnifying mere Men, whoſe Virtue came thus to be known; what Eſtimate ought I to have of thee, and what Veneration for thee, when all things relating to thy Incarnation and low State in the World, and thy Crucifixion and Death, are ſeriouſly conſidered? And now, having mention'd Chriſt's Death, I find my ſelf call'd off, from this raptorous Exclamation. I come therefore to conſider;

II. Chriſt's Death.

How neceſſary it was that Chriſt ſhould die for Sinners, has been ſhewed already from ſeveral Conſiderations.

And ſure, that Man that can ſo much as doubt, whither Chriſt died really, muſt either never have read the Goſpel-Hiſtory, or muſt be an Infidel, as to every thing therein related.

That Chriſt's Death was the Reſult of the Divine Counſel, the Scripture is plain and expreſs, *Luke* 22. 22. *Acts* 2. 23. *Eph.* 3. 11. And that this was purſuant to a previous Compact and Agreement, between God and Him, is as plain in the general; according as I have ſaid already in the Third Chapter. By which abundance of Expreſſions in Scripture, otherwiſe dark, will come to be underſtood; ſeeing they run altogether upon this Suppoſition: Such as *Iſa.* 53. 9, 10.

(*x*) Cicuta Socratem Magnum fecit, &c. *Sen. Ep.* 13, & 67, & 104. Rutilii innocentia & virtus lateret, niſi accepiſſet injuriam; Dum violatur, effulſit, *Sen. Ep.* 79.

From

From hence it will be no way ſtrange, if we ſuppoſe that the Divine Wiſdom did previouſly act ſo, in the Government of the World, but eſpecially of the Church, as to interweave Divine, Prefigurative, Emblematical or Typical Characters of this wonderful Tranſaction, both in the moſt eminent Perſons raiſed up ſucceſſively of old, ſuch as *Abel*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Iſaac*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *David*; and in things, (*viz.* Erections, Inſtitutions, Ceremonies, Actions, and the Circumſtances of theſe,) ſuch as, *E. G.* the Tabernacale, Ark, Temple, Aaronical Prieſthood, the Prieſtly Veſtments, the Sacrifices, the Paſſover, the Scape Goat, *&c.*

And it will be as little ſtrange, from the ſame Suppoſitions, to conſider how many Expreſſions of the *Jewiſh* ſacred Authors, (beſides direct Propheſies) are obſervable to look ultimately this way, at the ſame time that they ſeem, at firſt view, to have no other Reference, than to ſome Perſon, Action or Thing, of no ſuch Weight or Moment.

Certain therefore it is, that how freely ſoever inferiour Agents acted, yet the Divine Wiſdom, directed and over-ruled all things relating to this ſtrange Event. As to Agents here below, the Expreſſion is memorable, *Acts* 4. 27. *Of a Truth againſt thy Holy Child Jeſus, whom thou haſt Anointed* (*i. e.* conſtituted Chriſt or Meſſiah) *both Herod and Pontius Pilate*, with the *Gentiles*, and the *People of* Iſrael, *were gathered together.* But then it is immediately added, v. 28. *For to do whatſoever thy Hand and thy Counſel determined before to be done.*

And here certainly it deſerves our moſt ſerious Obſervation, that our Saviour has propoſed five Things, as equally to be regarded and believed by us, in Reference to this Head, when he expreſly ſpeaks of it, *John* 10. 17, 18. For, 1. He aſſures us, that it was in Obedience to the Father, that he laid down his Life: *For this Commandment*, ſays he, *have I received of my Father.* 2. That yet, what he did this way was his free Choice, in concert with his Father's Propoſal: *For no Man*, ſays

he, *taketh my Life from me; I lay it down of my self.* 3. That, in order to demonstrate his Freedom, in acting thus, *He had Power,* as Loganthropos, *to lay his Life down, and Power to take it again,* as he saw good. 4. That He laid down his Life, as a vicarious and substitute Sacrifice, for the Good of Men; whence he says, again and again, that *he laid down his Life for his Sheep,* v. 11, 15, 17. And, 5. That he did procure a peculiar Love and Approbation, and consequently, Reward, from God the Father, for his doing so, as Mediator and Redeemer. This he himself asserts, when he says, *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my Life, that I may take it again.* Where, by the way, it deserves to be taken notice of here; that Christ seems by the Connexion of this last Clause with the rest of *ver.* 17. to insinuate, that he did *merit* the *Continuance* of this Power, to take his Life again, as *Loganthropos,* by Virtue, not only of his punctual Compliance with his Father's Will, in laying down his Life, but by Reason of his doing it exactly in such a way as was agreeable to Divine Wisdom, and according to the Contract between the Father and Him. But, whatever be in this last Observation, sure I am, that these Five Particulars mentioned, do materially denote or suppose whatever relates to the Contract between the Father and the Son, as I explain'd it in the 3d Chapter.

What were therefore the Motives of God and Christ's Acting thus, in this strange Dispensation, needs not further to be inquired into, at this time. It was necessary, in Relation to our Salvation, that Christ should die; at least it was necessary Hypothetically. But there was nothing that could necessitate God to send his Son, or that could necessitate Christ to become Man, and to die for us: Unless we call mere *Condescention* and *Goodness,* by the Name of *Necessity.* But when Christ became Man, in order to save Men, *Justice* oblig'd him to perform the rest of those Articles that he had ingag'd himself to his Father to perform; as *Philanthropy,* and his *Sympathy* with, and Compas-

sion

ſion for the State of Men, who were now his Brethren, influenced and ſway'd him, to a ready and faithful diſcharge of this his Task.

What the Ends of Chriſt's whole Undertaking were, and particularly of his Suffering to the Death for us, I need not inſiſt upon; ſeeing theſe are plain from all I have ſaid. The Illuſtration and Manifeſtation of his Father's Glory; the Humiliation and Reduction of Satan and his Aſſociates; the Information and Confirmation of Angels; the Reſtauration and Exaltation of Men and Human Nature; the peculiar Headſhip of Chriſt, as Mediator, by being put at the Head of the Family of Man; the Atteſtation of Divine Truth, and the Confirmation of the Promiſes, the Propheſies; and, in a Word, the univerſal Regulation of the Creation of God, (which, by reaſon of the Apoſtacy of ſo many Angels, and the Sin of our firſt Parents, by which our whole Race was infected and ruined, had run ſo much into Confuſion) and the bringing it into Order again, by degrees, and as the Nature of things could bear: Theſe, theſe, I ſay, were certainly the Great Ends of all God's Diſpenſation of Grace, and particularly of what did immediately relate to Chriſt's Sufferings and Death.

And, in order to our Contemplation of all theſe Things, with the greater Intenſeneſs, let us ever bear in mind the ſuper-eminent Quality of this wonderful Perſon, who died for Sinners. For which purpoſe, I need only deſire the Reader, to peruſe, again and again what I have ſaid concerning Chriſt, in the preceding Chapters. For I need not repeat what I have already ſo diſtinctly and largely diſcours'd of.

I need not therefore ſuggeſt any thing further, upon this great Article of *Chriſt's Death*; except to beg every Chriſtian to make Application thereof to himſelf. And indeed, who can contain himſelf from running out here, after this manner.

Good Lord, didſt thou ſuffer even to the Death for me; and ſhall I not love and honour thee, to the utmoſt of my ſmall Power? Shall I not abhor Sin and

my ſelf upon that account? Shall I ever be acceſſary to the Revival of thoſe Sins, for which thou didſt die, in order to mortify and kill? Didſt thou love Men ſo well, and ſhall not I love them too, eſpecially thoſe that love thee, let their Denomination be otherwiſe what it will? Shall I not be reſign'd to God's Will, as thou was? And ſhall I not be willing to die, as well as live for thee, if called to it; when thou didſt not only live, but die, for my benefit?——But let us proceed and conſider;

III. Chriſt's Burial.

As it was neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould truly and really die; ſo was it alſo, that we ſhould be aſcertain'd of this. And therefore was it neceſſary, that he ſhould be buried and laid in the Grave, and continue therein for a conſiderable time.

But, it was convenient, that he ſhould be ſo buried, as to be laid in a new Sepulchre, and ſuch a one as was hewn out of the Rock, and in which no Human Body ever was laid before. For, I have obſerv'd elſewhere already, that all this was neceſſary, in order to aſcertain us, that it was the ſame Body of Jeſus, that was laid there that aroſe from the dead on the third Day.

And, for the ſame end, Divine Providence concur'd with, and over-rul'd the Precaution of the Jews, by ordering the door to be ſeal'd; a great Stone to be roll'd to it, and a ſtrict and ſtrong Watch of Souldiers to be ſet to guard the ſame.

Nor does it leſs deſerve our Conſideration, That God ſo order'd the time of Chriſt's Continuance in the Grave, that his Body ſhould be in no hazard ſo much as to be brought under the ſuſpicion of being corrupted: As even the Cleanlineſs of the new Sepulchre, being of Rock or hard Stone, newly made, and never fill'd with any Corps, tended to illuſtrate the Propheſy, that Chriſt, who was *God's Holy one, ſhould ſee no Corruption*; as the Magnificence and Coſt of the Sepulchre,

chre, and its being appropriated intentionally at first, to a rich Family, was occasionally the Accomplishment of another Prophesy, that *he should be equaliz'd with the Rich, in his Death*, Isa. 53. 9.

IV. Christ's Descent into *Hades*.

While Christ's Body remain'd without Life, his Soul must be supposed to have gone somewhere. And I cannot think, that any serious Christian can entertain so mean and base a thought of the noble and active Spirit or Soul of Christ, as to imagine, that it was asleep with the Body, or in the Body. And therefore we are oblig'd to conclude, that it went into the *State* of *separate Souls*.

What this Place or State is, we shall afterwards discourse of further. All therefore, that I shall say here is, that this is a *Distinct Article* of our *Creed*. As therefore Christ's Body was laid in the Grave; so his Soul went into *that Place and State*, (whatever that be) which is appropriated by God, for the *Reception* of all *separate Souls*, whether good or bad, and which the Greeks call *Hades*.

In this, as I shall afterwards shew, there are *two distinct Regions*; into the *first* of which the Souls of good Men go, as the Souls of the Wicked into the *other*. And that this is supposed by our Lord, in the Parable of *Lazarus* and the *Rich Man*, I shall afterwards prove.

Whether our Lord did, at all, visit the *dark* and *miserable Region* of *Hades*, during his abode in the State of the Dead, I shall not now enquire. But that (whether he did so or no) he did properly go into the *Happy Hades*, is certain from his own Words to the penitent Thief; *This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*. For that this does not denote *Heaven*, in the propereſt Sense, appears from hence, that our Saviour himself assures us, even after his Resurrection, that he had not as yet ascended to his Father. Which must denote that place, where his Father did principally display his Glory.

In the *Paradiſical Hades* therefore did the Soul of our Saviour reſide, whilſt ſeparated from his Body, from whence he brought the Souls of *many of the Saints, whoſe Bodies he rais'd alſo, after his own Reſurrection*, Mat. 27. 52. as a Trophy of his Power over the inviſible World of ſeparate Souls.

And as for himſelf, it was impoſſible, that he ſhould be detain'd in that Place or State, as *Peter* excellently argues, upon this Head, *Acts* 2. 27, 31. Where he comments upon the Propheſy of the Pſalmiſt of old, ſhewing us that the ſame could not be properly accompliſh'd in *David*, but that it was indeed really a Propheſy concerning Chriſt. But of this Text, as well as Subject, I ſhall ſpeak further afterwards.

In the mean time, let us only remember, that by Virtue of Chriſt's going into the State and Place of ſeparate Souls, and taking Poſſeſſion thereof, all dark Apprehenſions, as to this matter, are removed from the Saints; ſeeing we are now aſcertain'd, that *the Keys* both *of Death and Hades are in the Hands of this our Saviour*, Rev. 1. 18. who has conquer'd both, and *him that had the Power of both* of old, and has taken them under his own direct and appropriate Management. So that we may juſtly now ſay, by Faith, and in the proſpect of the final intire Deſtruction of theſe our laſt Enemies; O *Death, where is thy Sting*; and, O *Grave and Hades, where is your Victory*? And let this ſuffice, at preſent, to ſhew us, both the Importance and Uſefulneſs of this Article of our Faith: which certainly the Ancient Church did not put into the *Apoſtles Creed*, without very juſt Ground. But I ſhall ſay no more of this at preſent.

V. Chriſt's Reſurrection, and his 40 Days continuance afterwards on Earth.

I joyn both theſe in one, becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily be diſcours'd of ſeparately, and becauſe the *ſecond* is the moſt immediate and principal Argument which we have

have for the Verity of the *first*. For, as St. *Luke* says, *Acts* 1. 3. *To whom also* (*i. e.* to the Apostles) He *shewed himself alive after his Passion, by many infallible Proofs, being seen of them forty Days; and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.*

I shall not discourse now of the Resurrection of Men in general: for that must be left to its proper place.

By the Resurrection of Christ (whatever Disputes may arise about the Resurrection of Men at the last Day) we must of necessity understand, his arising from the Grave, by his Soul's re-animating his Body for that purpose, after it had left the same for a time.

The Heathens, generally speaking, seem to have had either no Notion of the Resurrection, or, at best, a very confus'd and imperfect one. And the Jews themselves seem to have had no very distinct Apprehensions of this matter; tho some Idea of this they had from *Job* 19. 25. and from some Expressions of the Prophets, such as that, *Dan.* 12. *ult.* and *Ezekiel*'s Vision of the Resurrection of the dry Bones, *Chap.* 37. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* so that it is not said unjustly, that the Doctrine of the Resurrection is peculiar to the Christians. And indeed the Excellency of our Religion is seen in this very thing; as well as the Essentialness of this Article thereof, and the necessity of its being believ'd. For, as upon the one hand Christianity, 1. Ascertains us of the Thing in general; 2. Gives us some Notion of the way and manner of it; And, 3. Gives us undoubted Instances this way: So, upon the other hand, 1. Where were our Religion and Faith, if we were not assured of Christ's Resurrection? And, 2. Where our Hope and Comfort, if we were not assured of our own? And, as to this last, the Power of God shews us that it may be, seeing nothing is impossible to him; and the word of God assures us that it will be, seeing we cannot doubt of the Divine Veracity.

But now, as to the Resurrection of Christ, seeing all our Religion depends upon this Article, it was absolutely necessary, 1. That Christ should really arise from

from the Dead: And, 2. That we ſhould be fully aſſured thereof.

1. It was *abſolutely neceſſary*, that *Chriſt ſhould riſe from the Dead.* For, 1. He could not otherwiſe have *finiſh'd* his *Work* with *Honour*, or been in a *Capacity* to *act* that part that remain'd to be accompliſh'd by him, as the Supream Ruler and Governour of the World and Church. For had he remain'd in the Inviſible State, it had been a *Proof* of his *Incapacity* to raiſe himſelf, and conſequently of his having been *conquer'd by Death*, and *him that had the Power thereof*: As, upon the other hand, his *Reſurrection* was a *Demonſtration* that *both theſe* were *conquer'd* by *him.* 2. He could not otherwiſe have *confirm'd* the *Truth* of his Doctrine, and laid a *Foundation* of our *Salvation.* For as the Apoſtle reaſons truly, 1 *Cor.* 15. 14, 15, 17, 18. *If Chriſt be not riſen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is alſo vain. Yea, and we are found falſe Witneſſes of God, becauſe we have teſtified of God, that he raiſed up Chriſt. If then Chriſt be not raiſed, your Faith is vain, ye are yet in your Sins. Then they alſo which have fallen aſleep in Chriſt, are periſhed.* Now the Importance of this Article is not only to be taken notice of, in reference to the Chriſtian Religion in general, but in relation to the Reſurrection of all Men in particular. For Chriſt has riſen, as the *Head* of *Men*, and conquer'd Death, not for himſelf apart, but in reference to the whole Family of Man. As therefore it was a poſſible thing before, now it is made a certain thing. And from this one Conſideration, the Force of the Apoſtle's Reaſoning is ſeen, *ver.* 15, 16. when he ſays, *God did not raiſe up Chriſt, if ſo be that the Dead riſe not: For if the Dead riſe not, then is not Chriſt raiſed.* That is, were the Reſurrection a real Impoſſibility in it ſelf; then Chriſt could not have riſen from the Dead. As therefore the Reſurrection is a poſſible thing: It is fooliſh to bring an Argument from the General Notion of it, as impoſſible, to run down a noted and unconteſted Fact. Now, as in this Point the Apoſtle argues from the Poſſibility of a Reſurrection in general,

to

to the Possibility of Christ's being rais'd from the Dead: So having once supposed the Certainty of Christ's Resurrection, he argues from thence strongly for the Certainty of the Resurrection in general, *ver.* 20, 21, *&c. But now is Christ risen from the Dead, and become the first Fruits of them that slept,* &c. Concerning the Force of which Reasoning, I remember I have formerly discoursed, and if I mistake not, in such a manner likewise, as brings in new Light to this place. And therefore, not being a Lover of needless Repetition, I must refer the Reader to the former (*y*) Volume of this Work.

But, 2. It was necessary, that we should be *assured* of *Christ's Resurrection*, as well as necessary that he should indeed rise from the Dead; For what Satisfaction or Comfort could this afford us, if there remain'd just ground to doubt of the Verity of this matter? Let us therefore thank God, that we have such a clear and plenary Evidence, as to this Point, that we cannot in reason desire more. For, 1. Christ was seen by and convers'd with those, after his Resurrection, that had known him long and intimately before his Death. So that, it was not possible that they could be mistaken. 2. This is further certain, because, at first, several of his Disciples were altogether incredulous as to this, and would not believe that he was risen from the Dead, as we see, *Luke* 24.11. and *Mat.* 28.17. their Words appeared to them, as an idle Tale, and they believed them not. Nay, *Thomas* remain'd an Infidel this way so long, that our Lord condescended to the utmost, to satisfie him, by desiring him not only to view the Scars of his Wounds, but to feel them too. And the satisfying of him, in so remarkable a Manner, is certainly one of the usefulest Passages of the Bible, to all Christians that live in after-ages, as it is recorded, *John* 20. 24, 25, 26, *&c.* 3. Because our Saviour was not seen once or twice on-

(*y*) Lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 216, 217, 218.

ly,

ly, by the Apoſtles and other Diſciples, but frequently, and ſometimes for a long time together, during the 40 Days of his Continuance on Earth. 4. Becauſe of the Number of the Witneſſes. For he was ſeen by no fewer than *Five Hundred at one time, of whom*, ſays *Paul*, *the greateſt Part remain unto this preſent*, 2 Cor. 15. 5, 6. So that there was no Poſſibility of doubting of this Fact. 5. And indeed ſo certain and unconteſted was this, that Satan himſelf never had the Impudence poſſitively and formally to deny it. For we do not find, that ever any of the Enemies of Chriſtianity, even the moſt ſpiteful, did inſiſt upon this Head. And it would ſeem, that it did not a little contribute to the General Belief of this; that the *Jews* gave Mony to the Soldiers, to tell ſo idle and ridiculous a Story, as if the poor, unpolitick, diſpirited and unarm'd Diſciples had ſtolen away Chriſt's Body. For, as it is uſual in ſuch Caſes, this tended only to ſpread and confirm the Fame of Chriſt's Reſurrection.

The only thing therefore, that can be objected againſt the Certainty of Chriſt's Reſurrection, is this; That it may be ſaid, If Chriſt did really riſe from the Dead; and if this was ſo neceſſary to be known, why did He not appear to *Pilate* and *Herod*, and to the *Jewiſh Rulers* and *People*, as publickly, as he did whilſt he was alive? *Anſw.* This was altogether inconvenient, as well as needleſs. (1.) Becauſe, ſuch a Management would have been inconſiſtent with the whole Scheme of that Divine Wiſdom, which was to ſhine forth in his Conduct, as the Meſſiah; according to what has been ſaid, this way, in the Firſt Chapter. For our Saviour, who was to act, in all reſpects, in a Method *oppoſite* to carnal, worldly and political Wiſdom, was oblig'd to act ſo here likewiſe: That his Procedure in this might be of a Piece with all his former Management. And a different, but eſpecially oppoſite Conduct, in this laſt and moſt weighty Part of Acting on Earth, would certainly have deſtroyed the Plan of the whole Scheme, according to which he had acted before;

fore; and consequently must have invalidated the very Nature and Design of those Evidences, that were to prove him to be a Divine Hero and Saviour, *viz.* from this very Consideration, because he acted in a Method contrary to all Human Political Wisdom, and yet in a Method of the truest Wisdom, when known. (2.) But, besides this General Reason, (the Force of which will easily and necessarily appear to any Person that has considered what I said in the first Chapter) I must say further; That our Saviour could not have acted, after that manner, that is supposed in the Objection; because this would have thwarted the whole Method of his Future designed Procedure, both with respect to the *Jewish* Nation, and the Christian Religion, as to its Success in the World; and would have been indecorous to himself, and his own Circumstances, at this time. To understand this, let us only make this plain and necessary Supposition: That the *Jewish* Nation, or the Bulk of that People, had believed in Christ, or not believed in him, upon such open Manifestations of him. Now, let us either suppose they had or had not, in this Case; and then we will easily see the Unreasonableness of the Objection. For, 1. If the *Jews* had universally or generally believed; Then *either* the *Jewish* Temple and Oeconomy had remained, *or not*. The *first* could not be, because this was altogether inconsistent with the end of Christ's Death, (who nail'd that Hand-writing of Ordinances, that was contrary to us, to his Cross) and with the very Being and Flourishing of the Christian Religion, which he came to erect; seeing the coming of the Antitype vacated the further Use of the Type, and the new and better Testament null'd and antiquated the former one. But if, upon the other hand, *it be supposed*, that the Temple, and all its Service must have been immediately, upon this their Belief, pull'd down; we are yet as far from all Reasoning. For I ask, By whom? Not surely by God or Christ immediately and supernaturally. For, it would have been altogether indecorous, and

and inconsistent with the Honour of God and Christ, and indeed with all Divine Management, to have pull'd down, in this way, that which had been erected by his own Order, and which he had so long, and so signally owned as his own Institution. It was not possible therefore, that God should be the immediate Puller down of this Erection, and that too, upon the Faith and Obedience of the People. For this had had the Appearance of a Judgment, if done in such a manner. Whereas this Oeconomy was to be taken away, as a Punishment to them for their Infidelity. Who then must have pull'd it down, upon this Supposition? Not the *Romans*. For they were to be made use of, to punish the *Jews*, for their Wickedness: But certainly not for their Piety and Obedience, in owning Christ, and submitting to him. And I suppose no Person can think, that ever the *Jews* could have so believ'd, as to have immediately joyn'd to pull down their own Temple; seeing we find, that even those few Eminent Persons that fell in with Christianity, were generally possest of this Notion, that Judaism and Christianity must be incorporated; and therefore taught, that *unless Christians were circumcised, and observed the whole Law of* Moses, *they could not be saved*, Acts 15. 1, 24. Therefore this part of the Supposition shews the Inconvenience of Christ's acting so, as the Objection would have had him. Let us consider the *other part* of it. Therefore, 2. Let us suppose, that the *Jews* had remained Infidels, notwithstanding Christ's appearing to *Herod*, *Pilate*, the *High Priest* and other *Priests*, and to the whole *Sanhedrim*, and all their *Doctors*, and with them, to the *whole People*; and his repeated Discourses to them, for their Conversion. What must have been the Consequence of this wilful Infidelity? Certainly nothing less than the immediate, total and final Destruction of them all, that were thus wickedly obdured and hardned against Christ. For nothing less can be supposed to have followed such a Rejection of Christ; after he had done the utmost, that was possible, for reclai-

claiming them. But now, let us consider again, how inconsistent this had been with all Divine Procedure, and with every Step of that wise Management, which became Christ to act, in the Affairs of the World and Church. For, by this, we must suppose Christ to have been changed immediately into the Appearance of an angry Judge, before his Ascention to the Father. Nay, this supposes, that Christ must have given the utmost Proofs of his being the Messiah, while he was on Earth. Whereas it was necessary, that he should give these from Heaven, as an Evidence of his being really ascended thither, and of his having been approved by his Father, in all he had done. Besides, that a Total and Final Extirpation of the *Jewish* Nation would have put a Stop to all the great and noble Ends of his Providence, in Relation to that People, who were to be preserved as a distinct People from all others. And, seeing they had rejected Christ, their true King, out of a pretended Loyalty to the *Roman* Emperour and People; it was altogether decorous, that Christ should make use of them as his Officers, to punish that Nation. But, when this was done, the Remains of that People were *afterwards* to be converted, in that way that should be most proper. In a Word, every thing almost lets us see, how *incongruous this Part* of the *Supposition* is, as well as the *former*; and consequently, how unjustly such an Objection is made. But however, that this may be thorowly put out of Doors for ever; I shall add one Reason more, to satisfie all Men of the Wisdom of Christ's Management in this Matter. I say, therefore, (3.) That there was no Reason for our Lord's appearing openly and frequently to the *Jews*, in order to their Conviction; in case he put this Matter out of Dispute with them, and all the World, another way. If therefore the end was as effectually reach'd, by a shorter and every way better Course; what need is there for making so unreasonable a Supposition, as I have prov'd that to be, which the Objection insists upon? For, as I said before, all things concurr'd,

curr'd to put this out of doubt. The rude Souldiers, as well as the Apoſtles, bore Evidence to the Truth of the Fact, *Matth.* 28. 11, 12. So that the *Jewiſh* Rulers could not doubt of Chriſt's Reſurrection: and their bribing the Souldiers to tell a fained Story, is Evidence of their Conviction as well as Wickedneſs; ſeeing they durſt not ſuffer the Fact to be inquired into. Nor could the People, unleſs Ideots, ever believe the Story they invented; becauſe it was ſo very ſilly and ridiculous. And therefore, tho *this Saying*, as *Matthew* tells us, *was reported among them*, *Chap.* 28. 15. Yet we find not that the fierceſt Enemies of Chriſtianity, durſt truſt to it, or car'd to make uſe of it. ——— But I ſhall not further detain the Reader, this way; for I hope I have ſaid enough, and that ſatisfactorily too, to anſwer the Objection.

However, ſeeing there is nothing I am ſo devoted a Servant unto, as Truth, next to the God of Truth, and therefore nothing that I am ſuch a Student of, as Impartiality and Candor: I find my ſelf oblig'd to give the ſame Satisfaction to others, that I have been truly concern'd to attain my ſelf, which I ſhall reduce to this plain Queſtion.

Queſt. Seeing Chriſt's Diſciples, eſpecially ſuch of them, as have had a Hand in Writing the Books and Epiſtles that compoſe the New Teſtament, are the only, or at leaſt principal Evidences of this Great and Fundamental Truth and Fact, *viz.* Chriſt's Reſurrection: Upon what Ground is it, that we, who live in theſe latter Ages, do ſo intirely confide in, and rely upon their Teſtimony?

Anſw. There is no Fact that can be doubted of, where all Evidence is for the Thing affirmed, and nothing that has the Face of Evidence for the Negative. But ſeeing the *Queſtion* puts us to the Proof of the *Credibility* of the Witneſſes; I ſhall put this out of doubt, ſeeing the Queſtion requires ſuch a Performance. And, ſeeing I am concerned to anſwer this, with equal Brevity and Pungency, I ſhall return my Anſwer to the

Queſtion

Queſtion propoſed, in a few *Queries*, that naturally offer upon this Head, and which I believe every Man's Reaſon and Conſcience will inable him to anſwer. *Queſt.* (1.) Whether were the *Apoſtles*, and *other Witneſſes* of Chriſt's Reſurrection, ſound in their Senſes? And whether ſome of them were not cautious enough, ſuch as *Thomas*? And others ſufficiently learn'd, as well as prejudic'd at firſt againſt this Truth, ſuch as *Paul*? (2.) *Queſt.* Whether it be not a Demonſtration, that the Publiſhers and Propagaters of this Doctrine, did believe it, in good earneſt, themſelves; not only as a Truth, but as a Truth of the vaſteſt Importance? 1. Seeing nothing can be ſuppoſed to make Men ſo fond of a Man, that was dead; that had died the Death of a Slave; and that under the Character of a Malefactor; had they indeed believ'd him to be a Cheat, and not riſen from the Dead? 2. Seeing they did not only conſtantly and unanimouſly preach this Doctrine, but lead a Life wholly conformable to it. 3. Seeing they ſuffer'd for this Doctrine, with the greateſt Conſtancy and Pleaſure, even unto the Death. 4. Seeing alſo, they lay'd ſuch Streſs upon this Article, as to declare it to be impoſſible otherwiſe, than by the Belief of this, for any to be ſaved. 5. Seeing, in ſuch a Number, ſome Perſon or other, (either thro' Temptation of Honour and Profit, or thro' fear of Suffering, or thro' Remorſe of Conſcience, eſpecially when call'd to ſuffer,) muſt be ſuppoſed, ſooner or latter, to have divulg'd the Cheat, if they had thought it to be ſuch. For it was never known, that 500 Men, did continue firm and conſtant to one another, in carrying on a Cheat, even to Death and under Torments. Nor, is ſuch a Thing ſuppoſible, in ſuch a Caſe. For in Nature it is impoſſible, as Men and Things are now conſtituted, without a Miracle. And to ſuppoſe a Miracle, in this Caſe, is to ſuppoſe an abſolute Impoſſibility; becauſe God cannot confirm a Lie any way, and far leſs in ſuch a manner. And therefore this will lead to a (3.) *Queſt.* Whether it be ſuppoſible, That the true

and juſt God ſhould bear Evidence to a Falſhood? Nay, to propoſe this more forcibly another way; Whether was not God obliged to detect this Cheat, in caſe it had been one, as *Gamaliel* argued? *Acts* 5. 8. Whereas, it is plain, God bare Evidence to this, in the moſt remarkable and eminent manner: 1. By enduing the Apoſtles with all neceſſary Qualifications for reaching their End, in a way of Reaſon, and convincing Men of this, as a Truth; by giving them, in a moſt peculiar and wonderful Way, both Wiſdom and Prudence, Courage and Bravery, *&c.* 2. By enduing them with ſupernatural Gifts; ſuch as that of ſpeaking and underſtanding all Languages, and of working innumerable Miracles, *&c.* 3. By ſending down the Spirit, in a viſible manner, as I have already ſaid. 4. By wonderful Succeſs, in Spite of all Oppoſition. Which gives Riſe to a (4.) *Queſt.* Whether it can, with any Colour of Reaſon, be ſaid, That the Diſciples were the Contrivers of the Goſpel; when every one muſt own, that it is the moſt unpolitick Doctrine that ever was, as being, 1. No way plauſible to corrupt Nature, but intirely oppoſite thereunto; 2. Inconſiſtent with all the Doctrines and Philoſophies, that then obtain'd in the World; ſo as to be *a ſtumbling Block to the Jews, and Fooliſhneſs to the Gentiles.* (5.) *Queſt.* Did the Diſciples ever uſe any thing, that could be call'd Artifice, in what they ſaid or did? Nay, did they not challenge the Reaſon and Conſciences of their Enemies, to try and judge what they ſaid and affirm'd? (6.) *Queſt.* Is it conceivable that ſo grand a Scheme, and ſo vaſt a Plot, which was deſign'd to new-moddel the World, could ever either be contriv'd by ſuch Heads, or carried on by ſuch Hands, as a few illiterate, poor and deſpiſed Men, had not God himſelf own'd them immediately, and carried on the Deſign? I need ſay no more. For the Truth ſhines ſo clear by its own Light, and the Evidence is ſo ſtrong and unanſwerable, that more were ſuperfluous.

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However, there is one Thing further, that it is fit I should consider a little, before I pass forwards to any new Head, *viz. What Christ did, during the* 40 *Days of his being on Earth, after his Resurrection?* And indeed this is a Question much easier started than answered. It is indeed easie to say, that his main end was to confirm us, as to the Certainty and Verity of his being raised from the Dead. But how he imploy'd himself all that time, is not so easie to find out; especially seeing the Evangelists give us but a few transient Hints this way. All that they say amounts only to these few Heads; 1. That an Angel told the Women that Christ was risen, and charged them to go and tell the Disciples these News, and that Christ was a going into *Galilee*, and that there, and not in *Judæa*, he would principally manifest himself to his Disciples and to them, *Matth.* 28. 2, 5, 6, 7. *Mark* 16. 1, 2, 5, *&c.* The Women frighted, and yet joyful, run to tell the Tydings to the Disciples, who were, at this time *Mourning and Weeping* for their dead and buried Master, as they supposed he still was, *Mark* 16. 10. But it seems the Disciples were not all of them together at this time, and that the Women separated themselves to find them out. *Mary Magdalene* goes and finds out *Peter* and *John*, and with them goes back to the Sepulchre, *John* 20. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* 2. In the mean time, while the *other Women* are going to seek out the other Apostles, Christ meets with them, and they held him by the Feet and worshiped him, *Matth.* 28. 9, 10. 3. But it seems that *Mary Magdalene* had met with *Peter* and *John* very soon, perhaps upon the way to the Sepulchre, seeing it is asserted that Christ appeared *first* to her, *Mark* 16. 9. So that the Case must have been this. While the other Women go forwards to *Jerusalem*, *Mary Magdalene* seeing *Peter* and *John*, going forward to the Sepulchre, goes and tells them her doleful Story, and so turns back with them; and not only so, but remained by the Sepulchre after they went homeward, *John* 20. 10, 11, *&c.* For tho *Luke* seems to relate things a little otherwise; yet certain it is, that

John must be supposed to relate this Transaction most accurately, who was so nearly concern'd to know it. And it is plain, that what *Luke* says of this Matter, is very generally and darkly, *Chap.* 24. 10, 11, 12. When therefore *Peter* and *John* had left the Sepulchre, Christ appears to *Mary Magdalene*, John 20. 14, 15, *&c.* which was the *first time* of his appearing to any. But it is probable, that Christ did not stay long with her, seeing he charg'd her *not to touch him*, *v.* 17. For his Words are as much as if he had said, *Do not lay hold on me now, so as to detain me, for thou wilt have time enough to touch me, and discourse with me, before I ascend to my Father, seeing I am to continue for* 40 *Days on Earth.* So that we may suppose, that He did, in a Moment, waft himself thro' the Air, to manifest himself to the other Women, who had been her Companions to the Sepulchre. But it is highly probable to me, that the other Women stop'd by the Way, until *Mary Magdalene returned*; and that Christ appeared the *second time* to them all joyntly, as he had done to her alone the *first time.* For this Supposition is the best Method that I can think of, to adjust the several Relations of the four Evangelists, who otherwise seem to differ among themselves. 4. The Women come and tell the Apostles that Christ was risen, and that they had seen him, and spoken with them. But the Apostles believe them not, *Mark* 16. 11. And perhaps they thought it incredible, that Christ should appear to the Women and not to them. 5. The third time, wherein Christ appear'd, was when he spoke and convers'd *Incognito* with the two Disciples, that were going to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. 13, *&c.* For *Mark* says, *Ch.* 16. 12. that he was in *another Form*, than that wherein he usually had been seen. But neither would the Apostles give Credit to the Relation of these two Disciples, *Mark* 16. 13. *Luke* 24. 33. It seems, that the Names of these two Disciples were *Cleophas*, v. 18. and the other *Simon*, v. 34. For *Cleophas* seems to have been the Relater of what happen'd to them, in the Way, appealing to this *Simon* for the Truth of what he said;

said; who ought not therefore to be confounded with *Simon Peter*, seeing it is said, that they related this Fact to the *Eleven* [Apostles] *whom they found gathered together, with other Disciples*, v. 33. Of which Apostles therefore *Peter* must have been one. 6. Now while these two Disciples are telling their Story, Christ himself *appears the fourth time to them all; upbraiding them with their Unbelief, and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them, who had seen him after he was risen*, Mark. 16. 14. Of which Conversation *Luke* speaks particularly, Ch. 24. 36, 37, *&c.* 7. The *fifth time* of Christ's appearing to the Disciples was when *Thomas* was present with them, who alone had been absent before. And of this *John* gives a distinct Account, *Ch.* 20. 24, 25, 26, *&c.* which was *Eight Days* after the former appearing of *Jesus*. 8. Now it seems, that Christ did after this depart unto *Galilee*, as he had intimated before; and that the Disciples went thither to obey his Orders, and to wait his Presence and Pleasure. But yet *John* intimates, that Christ had often appear'd to his Disciples, besides those times particularly mentioned, Ch. 20. 30, 31. However the *Sixth Recorded Appearing* of Christ to them, is that at the *Sea of Tiberias*, of which *John* gives us an Account, Ch. 21. 1, 2, *&c.* 9. But it would seem, that before Christ appeared to the rest of the Apostles, He manifested himself to *Peter*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 5. And this has made our Divines think, that this was the same *Simon* mentioned, *Luke* 24. 33. Nor shall I much contend about it, tho, for the Reason mentioned, I rather think that it was another *Simon*. But, however, it is plain, that Christ appeared to *Cephas* before he appeared to all the Apostles together. So that we have now *Seven Appearances* in all. 10. But *Paul* adds, 1 *Cor.* 15. 6. That, after that, *He was seen of* 500 *Brethren*; but when, or where, he mentions not; which was therefore his *Eighth Appearance*. 11. After that, it seems, he was seen by *James* alone, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. which was the *Ninth Time*. 12. And, after that, He was seen by all the Apostles

again, *Ibid.* 13. And *laſt of all,* (which was the *Eleventh Appearance*) ſays *Paul,* he was ſeen of me, as of one born out of due time, 1 *Cor.* 15. 8. becauſe this was after Chriſt's Aſcention.

When therefore we have ſum'd up the whole Account, we cannot find, that Chriſt appeared oftner, to the Apoſtles and other Diſciples, before his Aſcention, than *ten times.* And therefore the Queſtion remains ſtill, in a great meaſure unanſwer'd; *viz.* what Chriſt did on Earth during all the forty Days: For, by what appears, he was with his Diſciples only at times, and that not very often, nor very long. For, tho I ſhall readily grant, 1. That Chriſt might have appeared oftner to the Apoſtles, than we have any account of; 2. And have continued longer with them, when he appeared, than we are apt to think; 3. Nay and have alſo done more before them, and diſcourſed more diſtinctly and fully with them than we can apprehend now, (ſeeing all theſe ſeem to be inſinuated, *John* 20. 30, 31. *Chap.* 21. 25.) Yet, it is plain and apparent from the ſcriptural Account, that he was very far from remaining with them, as formerly; nay, that he was for the far greateſt part of the 40 Days of his abode on Earth, inviſible to them, and therefore moſt probably elſewhere. Only he took care, that they ſhould be with him, when he departed from this World, and took wing for the better. And he had ſo order'd Matters, for this purpoſe, that his Apoſtles ſhould be returned from *Galilee,* that they might ſee him aſcend to Heaven, which was from *Bethany,* as we ſee, *Luke* 24. 50, 51. which was about 15 Furlongs from *Jeruſalem.* And it ſeems that the Apoſtles, in their returning from thence, halted ſome time upon, or at the Foot of Mount *Olivet,* to worſhip him, which is about ſeven Furlongs, or a ſhort Engliſh Mile from *Jeruſalem*; which is the reaſon of the Evangeliſts mentioning their returning from thence, *Acts* 1. 10, 11.

But, after all, ſeeing it is certain, that Chriſt ſpent a great part, if not the far greateſt part of the 40 Days of

of his abode on Earth, not with the Disciples, but elsewhere, as absent from them; we are left in the dark, as to his Work and Imployment during the rest of the time. That he was constantly and nobly imployed, during his Absence from them, as well as Presence with them, all Christians must grant. And, that he had Work as necessary, when absent, as when present to mind, we must equally own. And to say more, with any thing like Positiveness, were Presumption, seeing the Scripture is silent. But however a modest Conjecture, which is all I pretend to further, cannot, I think, be unacceptable to a serious Person who is inur'd to Divine Meditation.

Now, in order to consider and understand, what I have to propose, without any Prejudice, I premise three things as Preliminaries. 1. That Jesus Christ was to merit, by his Actions and Sufferings, to be seated at the Head of the intellectual World, especially that of Mankind, as Man, tho as a Man related to and united with the *Logos*. This is so plain from all I have said, and is so expressly asserted by *Paul*, *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, *&c.* that it were impertinent to insist upon it here. Now, if this be true, it necessarily follows; 2. That the *Man Christ* must be gradually ripen'd, under the Conduct of the *Logos*, for so great and universal an Empire and Government. For, tho he was the most excellent of Creatures, Yet he was no more, as he was Man, whither we consider his Spirit or Body. And therefore seeing, *qua* Creature, it was impossible he should be infinite, either as to *Knowledge*, or *Authority*, or *Power*; it was necessary, that he should gradually advance in the *first*; in order to be intrusted more and more with the *second* and *third* of these. Therefore we are told, *Luke* 2. 5. That Jesus increased in *Wisdom* as well as *Stature*, and that in a Proportion to the Increase of his Wisdom, he increased also in Favour with God and Men. And therefore we may justly conclude, 3. That it was altogether fit, and ev'n necessary, in order to Christ's after-Government

of the World, That he ſhould, *as Man*, be acquainted with all the Parts of his vaſt Empire, and all the ſeveral Conditions of his Subjects of all ſorts; ſeeing nothing is more neceſſary, in order to Government, than ſuch a Knowledge. I know very well, that Chriſt, as *Logos*, needed not any thing like this. But however, this I ſay, that, ſeeing the *Man Chriſt* was to be the *Medium* of the Operations of the *Logos*; it was ſimply impoſſible for him to act by him, *as Man*, if we ſuppoſe, that the *Logos* did all immediately and formally, by himſelf, without the Intervention of the *Man Jeſus*, any other way, than *ad Preſentiam ejus*, *i. e.* under the ſhew of acting by him, at the ſame time that the *Man Jeſus* acted not at all. I am not willing to preſs home thoſe Abſurdities that muſt follow upon ſuch an Opinion; whatever way we take to ward them off. Let me only ſay here, that in caſe any Perſon ſhould ſuppoſe ſuch a thing, rather than fall in with this Preliminary Conſideration; he muſt either ſuppoſe, that the Human Nature was ſwallow'd up by, or changed into the Divine Nature, and ſo ſay there is no ſuch Perſon or Nature, as the *Man Chriſt* now in Heaven; or otherwiſe he muſt ſuppoſe, that there is no proper uſe for the *Man Chriſt* in Heaven. For, if the *Man Jeſus* remain in the Human Nature, unconfounded with the Divine; and if he be the *Grand Organ*, by which God, in and by the *Logos*, acts to us: Then, is it certain, that the *Logos* muſt act to and by the *Man Chriſt*, ſo, as a Finite Being or Nature, (however perfect otherwiſe) can allow of. And, if ſo; is it not very conſonant to the Method of Divine Procedure, to ſuppoſe, that the *Logos* would give the *Man Chriſt* an Opportunity to be acquainted with the Nature and Circumſtances of his Subjects, of all ſorts, and in all Parts of the Empire, over which he was to be ſeated. For my own part, I muſt declare, that this is ſo far from being a precarious Suppoſition; That, as I think it naturally follows from the two preceding Suppoſitions, ſo likewiſe, that this was one of the principal Reaſons (if not the principal

cipal of all) of Christ's continuing on Earth for the whole Space of 40 Days and Nights. For, *besides this*, I know but two supposible Reasons for this, *viz.* to convince Men of the Reality of his Resurrection, and to instruct the Apostles in what related to the Gospel. Now the *first* of these was, I confess, absolutely necessary, as I have said. But yet there was no Necessity, at all of this kind, for Christ's continuing for 40 Days: For had he continued but three Days, and continued all that time with his Disciples, it had been as certain a Proof of this Point. And, as for the *Second*, I cannot see that this was any main End of his continuing so long on Earth at all; seeing, as I have said again and again, our Saviour did not *fully* instruct his Apostles, during that time, but left this to the Holy Spirit, which was not to be given till Christ was glorified. And therefore, what Christ discoursed of, in Relation to the Gospel, before his Ascention, was rather a natural Concomitant of his appearing to them, than any proper End of his Abode on Earth. But, supposing it to be indeed one of the Ends of his continuing on Earth, for some time; yet neither *that*, nor indeed the *first*, can be supposed to be the *formal* or *proper Reason* of his continuing *so long* in the World, as he did. For, as I said just now, had Christ continued with his Disciples, for the whole Space but of Three Days and Nights, without leaving them all that time, I see not, but that he had answered both these Ends, as fully as he did by his Appearing, *now and then*, for 40 Days. Nay, I will say this further, That I cannot find, that the Time that was spent, by Christ, with his Apostles, during all the 40 Days of his Abode on Earth, amounted to the Space of 48 Hours. For it is plain, that some of the Appearances of Christ were but for a few Minutes; and that the longest of them did not continue for many Hours. And therefore, granting all the three Concessions, mention'd before, to be as certain, as any Man can desire; yet still, as I have already hinted, it was but a very small Part of the 40 Days of Christ's

Christ's Abode on Earth, that was imploy'd in the Company of any one, or all his Disciples. And this alone is, I think, sufficient to demonstrate, that tho both these might be Reasons for Christ's continuing on Earth, for some Days after his Resurrection; yet the Formal and Principal End of his staying on Earth for *so long a time as forty intire Days*, must be what I have supposed in this *Third* Preliminary.

And, if this be once allowed of, may I not suppose these Things (which are, as it were, involv'd in, or, at least, naturally deduced from the *Third* Preliminary) as highly probable. 1. That, as *Christ's Soul*, during the time of its Separation from the Body, went into *Hades*, or the State and Place of Separate Souls; so likewise, that one of his First Acts, was to return thither, after his Resurrection, to satisfie the *Souls departed*, that he had actually raised himself, and consequently that he would also raise their Bodies in due time. I mean not that he went to the *Dark Hades* of wicked and miserable Souls, (concerning which I pretend not now to say any thing,) but into the *Paradisical Hades* of good and happy Souls, where *Enoch*, *Moses* and *Elias* are with their proper Bodies, as others without them, tho perhaps with some sort of *Equivalent Vehicles*. And I ask, Whether some such thing be not denoted? *Matth.* 27. 52. where we are told, that *many of the dead Saints arose and appeared to many*, with this peculiar Mark as to the Time, *viz.* That it was *after Christ's Resurrection*. For, this seems to lead us to think, that Christ brought them from thence, as an Evidence of his having Power to raise all the rest of the Dead, and that he actually would do so at last. And the Time mark'd out seems to insinuate, that Christ brought them from thence, after his own Resurrection, and consequently that he himself went thither to fetch them. 2. And, seeing he bore a Relation, not only to the *Saints departed*, but to *Angels*, as being their Head; we may well suppose, that they came down, in vast Numbers, to *congratulate* Him, upon his having *conquered Death*

Death and Hell. And therefore some considerable Time, probably, was spent between him and them, during his Continuance on Earth; tho the sacred Historians, who wrote only what they saw or heard of, had no Information of these *Interviews*, far less of the Particulars that related to them. 3. And, seeing our Saviour's Grand Enemies were the *Apostate Angels*, may we not suppose, that He manifested himself so to them, as to give evident Proof of his having conquer'd them. 4. Nay, what if we suppose, that our Saviour went into the same Wilderness, where he had been tempted by Satan, to shew himself both to Angels and Devils; that he might *confirm* the *former*, that he was the same, that had given the *Law*, formerly there from *Mount Sinai*, surrounded with themselves; and that he might challenge *Satan*, and all the Powers of Hell, to appear, if they durst, against him, that had now espoused the Interest of Mankind, and own'd himself to be the *Second Adam*, and so the Federal Head of his Family. 5. But, seeing our Blessed Saviour had a peculiar Relation to Men, that did then live in the World, and were afterwards to live therein; seeing he was to be both the *King of Nations*, and the *King of Saints*: Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that a great Part, if not the far greatest part of that Time, that Christ spent on Earth, did bear a special Relation to them. When therefore we have closely considered the *former Preliminaries*, and particularly the *last*: It will not be, I think, liable to just Censure, for me to suppose it to be at least probable; That the *Man Christ*, might make a *Progress* thro' this *Habitable World*, (whose *Delights*, before his *Incarnation*, were *with the Children of Men*, Prov. 8. 31.) in order to view and contemplate, as such, what the several Nations of the Earth were a doing, and in what State and Condition they were; if it were only to have a Fellow-feeling and Simpathy with them. For, tho he was, for special Reasons, confin'd to *Judæa*, *Samaria* and *Galilee*, before his Death: Yet, seeing his Gospel was to be sent into all Nations, was it not congruous to his De-

sign,

ſign, to make an *Incognito Viſit* to the other Tribes, Families and Nations of Men?

Perhaps ſome Men, upon a tranſient View of theſe Hints, eſpecially if under prevalent Prejudices, may look upon theſe things, as meer *Whims* and *Chimerical Fancies:* Nor ſhall I be much concern'd if they do ſo; ſeeing the main of *Chriſtianity* is no ways concerned here, and that I propoſe them *Problematically* only. However, I am bold to ſay this, that a ſerious and judicious Student of Divinity will find a greater Foundation of their Probability, upon ſecond Thoughts, than upon a firſt View, eſpecially if he be apprized of my Scheme, in this Book, and particularly if he be Maſter of that Part of it, that he will find treated of in the 3d Chapter, and in that Part of this Chapter which I have already run thro'. And more I ſhall not ſay on this Head.

Only let me add this one Thing, in Relation to this Article it ſelf, *viz.* Chriſt's Reſurrection; That it is, if not the main Foundation of all our Hope, yet one main Pillar thereof, even ſuch a one, as that there were no Comfort or Hope without it. For, as the Apoſtle ſays, 1 *Cor.* 15. 19. *If in this Life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all Men moſt miſerable, i. e.* If Chriſt were yet dead, and actually under the Power of Death, inſtead of having conquer'd it, by raiſing himſelf from the Dead; We Chriſtians, who place all our Hope, in him, as riſen, were of all Men the moſt miſerable, eſpecially in times of Perſecution; ſeeing, upon this Suppoſition, we ſhould be found to build all our Hope and Comfort on a Falſhood. But now, if Chriſt be riſen, and has raiſed himſelf from the Dead; then we are the moſt happy of all Men. For, if Chriſt has raiſed himſelf, and has raiſed ſome Men already, and given Aſſurance that he has Power to raiſe them all, and that he will actually do ſo at laſt; then we cannot but have a raviſhing View of his Deſign, and the certainty of his Promiſes.

And therefore what remains, but that we ſhould,

1. Firm-

1. Firmly believe this great and important Truth; 2. Thank him for the undoubted Evidences he has given us of this; 3. Meditate upon it, and the State that Christ is now in, in Heaven, and the Work he is imploy'd in there; And, 4. Act, as the Genuine Subjects and Followers of this Risen and Glorified Saviour; by rising from Sin, by imploying our selves in his Service, as those that hope for Heaven, and by running and fighting for that glorious Prize, *If by any means we may attain to the better Resurrection*, as the Apostle says, *Phil.* 3. 11. For which ends, let us pray, with the same Apostle, *Heb.* 13. 20, 21. *That the God of Peace, who brought again, from the Dead, our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the Sheep, thro' the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant, may make us perfect in every good Work to do his Will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his Sight, thro' Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

VI. Christ's Ascention to Heaven, Glorification in Heaven, and Mission of the Paraclete from Heaven.

I joyn these Three in one, because, having been so long upon the Former Heads, I would tie my self up to the greatest Brevity upon these.

As to the 1st, *viz.* Christ's *Ascention*, I hardly need to say any thing, seeing it follows so necessarily, according to the Scheme and Plan of Divine Procedure, as I have explain'd it; That we cannot suppose Christ to have risen from the Dead, but we must suppose also, that this was in order to his being Exalted further, even to Heaven. But, besides this, we have ocular Demonstration here, seeing we are told, *Acts* 1. 9. *That while they* (*i. e.* the Apostles, and probably the other Disciples too) *beheld, he was taken up*, i. e. in the Air towards Heaven, *until a Cloud* (the constant Attendant of the Shechinah) *received him out of their Sight*, wafting him thus higher than they could discern him; tho they remained still (as it is said *ver.* 10.) *looking stedfastly*

faſtly toward Heaven, until two Angels awak'd them out of their Amazement.

And, 2*dly*. As Chriſt is aſcended to Heaven, ſo we are ſure he is *glorified there,* He himſelf having given Proof of the Verity thereof, in the ſolemn Miſſion of the Paraclete, to mention no other Evidence thereof now.

And therefore, 3*dly*. The *Miſſion of the Holy Spirit,* was the laſt extraordinary Proof of Chriſt's being the true Meſſiah, and of his being glorified and rewarded, as ſuch; eſpecially if we conſider how eminently it was given, and how plentifully, and to how many Perſons, and for how long a time; as alſo how many, and how ſignal the Gifts and Miracles were, that follow'd his being given.

But, as I put a Stop to my Pen, from inlarging, at this time, upon either of the preceding Heads; ſo I ſhall not ſay any thing in Relation to this Third. Only I cannot forbear, curſorily and incidentally, to obſerve concerning the *Paraclete,* 1. That his being repreſented under the Hieragliphick of a Dove, demonſtrates his being a Perſon or Being; ſeeing a Dove is an animated Being, ſubſiſting as an Individual of that Species of Creatures. For, tho no Similitude can perfectly repreſent the Thing adumbrated by it, eſpecially in ſuch a Caſe as this; and tho Human Emblems are often very extravagant: Yet Divine ones muſt ever be ſuppoſed to have Truth for their Foundation, and to be as proper as the Nature of things will bear. 2. That the Scripture uſes different Words, in ſhewing the Relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and to Chriſt. For, in Relation to the Father, He is ſaid to be, *The Spirit of God,* 1 *Cor.* 2. 10, *&c.* and to *Proceed from the Father,* John 15. 26. But, in Relation to Chriſt, He is ſaid to be *given by the Father,* upon *Chriſt's praying to the Father,* that it might be ſo, *John* 14. 16. and to be *Sent in Chriſt's Name,* or upon his Account, and as his Delegate, *ver.* 26. and ſo ſent, as to diſpenſe to Chriſtians what he received of Chriſt's, and nothing elſe; for

for ſo Chriſt ſays expreſly, *John* 16. 14. *He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you*; and, *ver.* 13. *He ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, that ſhall he ſpeak*, &c. 3. That becauſe the *Diſpenſation of the Spirit* is the *laſt*, and *concluding, and perfecting One of* Chriſtianity; therefore the *Sinning againſt him*, eſpecially that of *Blaſpheming him*, is more highly aggravated, than any Sin committed againſt the *Son of Man*, i. e. againſt Chriſt, while he was in a State of Tryal and Humiliation, and is therefore, in this Senſe, *unpardonable*, Matth. 12. 31, 32. But of this *Sin* I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak further afterwards.

But, tho I have thus confined my ſelf, at this time, ſo as not to ſpeak to all theſe Heads; yet I cannot diſmiſs them, without ſaying ſomething, as to their vaſt Importance and great Uſefulneſs. For, if Chriſt be now aſcended to Heaven, and if he be now glorified at the Father's right Hand, and that it was He that ſent the Paraclete; then we may juſtly and naturally infer theſe Things. 1. That He is the *True* and *Full Antitype of* the *High-Prieſts* going of old into the *Holy of Holies*, once a Year, with Blood, as the Repreſentative of the whole Body of God's People. 2. That all good People, tho *perſonally* on Earth, are yet *virtually* in Heaven; Chriſt being there as our Head. 3. That his Glorification is a ſure Pledge of ours, if we are indeed his Genuine Children, and continue ſo. 4. That our *Treaſure* in Heaven is ſecure, ſeeing Chriſt is both the *Guardian* thereof, and the very *Bank* wherein it is laid up. 5. That all Men are *pardonable*, and, upon their eſpouſing the Intereſts of Chriſt, may attain to Happineſs; which is not the Caſe of *Apoſtate Angels*; ſeeing Chriſt is in Heaven in our Nature and not in theirs. 6. That the *Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation*, and the *Lutheran Conſubſtantiation*, as well as their Notion of the *Ubiquity* of Chriſt's Human Nature, are falſe and abſurd, ſeeing He is now in Heaven, and is to remain there only, in this Senſe, until he come again at the laſt Day. 7. That Chriſt is now conſtituted the Head

over

over all Mankind, in order to approve himself the special Head of his Church. 8. That he is secured, as to the Efficacy and Success of all his Undertakings. 9. That God, in thus Glorifying and Rewarding the Man Christ, has most eminently manifested his Regard to true Piety, and a worthy and useful Life, in the Discharge of ones Trust; and has given us, this way, a true and perfect Mirror, wherein we may see, what, and how impartial, his Estimate and Procedure is, both as to Persons and Things. 10. That it is our Duty, to pay that Worship, and those Acknowledgments, both to the Father, Son and Spirit, which is their Due and Right. 11. That we may hence be assured, that *Our Work and Labour of Love shall not be in vain, in the Lord Jesus*, Heb. 6. 10. For as the Apostle says, *ver.* 19, 20. *This Hope we have, as an Anchor of the Soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entreth into that which is within the Veil, where the Fore-runner is entred for us, even Jesus*, &c. 12. That therefore our Thoughts ought to be raised and elevated above the World, and all terrene Things, and our Lives be such, as that they may be seen to bear a Relation to Heaven, and our Master who is there, and there *for us*, as our Advocate and Intercessor. But now, that I have mention'd this, I am led forward to consider,

VII. Christ's present Work in Heaven, and the Assurance he has given us, of his coming from thence at last, as the Great and Universal Judge.

But seeing the *latter* of these will more properly fall in to be treated of, towards the end of the 5th Book of this Work, as relating to *Christocraty*, or the Government of Christ, as such; I shall say nothing at all upon this Head now; excepting this, That I would beg every Christian, that reads this part of my Labours, to remember that all that I have said, or have to say further, in Relation to Christ, points forward to the *Grand Assises* of the last Day, where Christ will fit

ſit as *Supreme viſible Judge*, to give forth an *Univerſal Award*, to *Angels* and *Men*; after an impartial Inquiry into their ſeveral Managements; Diſtributing thus Rewards and Puniſhments, exactly proportion'd to their Actions, and the Circumſtances wherein his Providence had plac'd them, whilſt in this preſent World.

I ſhall therefore confine my ſelf at this time, to the Conſideration of Chriſt's *Work in Heaven*. But alas! What can a Mortal ſay of it, who is a Sojourner in this World, and at ſo vaſt a Diſtance from the Place where Chriſt is. Surely Chriſt has a great deal of Work there, in Reference to God, and in Relation to the innumerable Armies, and ſeveral Degrees of Angels, which we can pretend to ſay little, if any thing, unto. Nor can I ſay much concerning Chriſt's Work and Office there, as it bears a Reference to us. *Four Things*, indeed, we have a Foundation for, and ſome Account of, in the New Teſtament, *viz.* 1. That Chriſt governs the whole World, from Heaven, by his Providence, and the Miniſtration of Angels; 2. That He preſides in all that the Holy Spirit does, with Relation to the Inlightning, Converting, Sanctifying, Comforting and Preſerving his Special or Elect People; ſeeing all that the *Paraclete* does, is done *as from him*, and *in his Name*; 3. That, as He prepares us for Heaven, ſo he is gone thither, to prepare *Places* or *Manſions* for our Reception; and, 4. That he is there agenting our Cauſe, by Interceding and Pleading for us there. But now, ſeeing the *Firſt* and *Second* of theſe Heads do moſt properly belong to *Chriſtocraty*, or the Government of Chriſt, as *Loganthropos*; it is proper likewiſe, to adjourn the Conſideration of them, until I come to that Part of my Work, if it ſhall pleaſe my gracious God, and dear Redeemer, to honour me to finiſh that eminent Part of this *Synopſis* and *Specimen* of *Chriſtology*. All therefore that I have to do here, is to ſay ſomething in Relation to the *Third* and *Fourth* of theſe Heads,

which I shall endeavour to do, with all possible Brevity.

And, 1*st*. Let us consider, That Christ is gone to Heaven, to *prepare Mansions* or *Places*, that may be fit for our Reception, and consequently such an appropriate Share of Happiness, as he sees fit in his un-erring Wisdom; and that in a Reference unto our Behaviour, as to Integrity and Serviceableness, in this State of Tryal, under the Circumstances wherein he was pleased to appoint us to be, during our Abode in this present World.

I have, in this Proposition, summ'd up all that relates to this Part of our Saviour's Imployment in Heaven, so far as I can find it spoken of in Scripture. Now what I find there, is, 1. That our Saviour is gone to Heaven, as our Head, in order to serve our Interest there, by his doing so. And therefore, not only is Christ called our *Fore-runner*, in this respect, but it is said expressly, that he is *entred for us within the Vail*, Heb. 6. 19, 20. *i. e.* that he is gone into the most Holy Place, upon our Account, and for our Service and Interest. And this the Apostle illustrates, from the High-Priest's going into the most Holy Place of old, once a Year, with Blood, in the Name of all *Israel*, as their Representative, to act for them there with God; for which see *Heb.* 9. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, *&c.* 2. That Christ will reward his Followers, with lower or higher Degrees of Honour, Happiness and Trust, as they have acted more or less for his and his Father's Honour and Interests, in this World, in a Proportion to the Circumstances they were under. This is insinuated in the Parable of the Talents, *Matth.* 25. 14, 15, *&c.* But it is more plainly denoted, in the Parable of the Pounds, *Luke* 19. 17, 18, *&c.* For to him that had increased his *Pound*, so as to gain *Ten Pounds* more, it is said, *Well, thou good Servant, because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou Authority over ten Cities.* And so likewise, it is said to the second Servant, that had gained *Five* Talents, *Be thou also over Five Cities.* But, see-

ſeeing I have (z) formerly ſaid enough to clear this Point, even to a Demonſtrarion, I ſhall neither trouble the Reader, nor my ſelf, with any thing further now. 3. That therefore, it is one Part of Chriſt's Imployment in Heaven, to *prepare Places*, fit for the Reception of his Saints, agreeable to their ſeveral Services on Earth, and conſequently to thoſe various Stations and Services that he deſigns them for in the happy World. This I think is plainly and fully enough, tho briefly, inſinuated by our Lord himſelf, *John* 14. 2, 3. *In my Father's Houſe are many Manſions. If it were not ſo, I would have told you. I go to prepare a Place for you. And if I go and prepare a Place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my ſelf.* [And then it is added] *That where I am ye may be alſo.* In which wonderfully conciſe, but equally comprehenſive Words, there are four diſtinct Sentences, containing juſt ſo many diſtinct Propoſitions. And therefore, it may be equally pleaſant and profitable, to conſider them diſtinctly and cloſely. For I am much miſtaken, if they have been to this Day fully conſider'd.

Prop. 1. That in the Future Happy World, called by Chriſt *his Father's Houſe, there are many Manſions.*

By *God's Houſe*, all are agreed, that nothing elſe is meant, but the *Happy World*, where the Angels of Light have their Reſidence and Abode; which is called the Houſe of God, becauſe there he manifeſts himſelf in a more full, free, and glorious Manner than here below.

By *Manſions*, therefore, in that *Houſe* or *World*, muſt be meant ſeveral *Diſtricts*, or, I may ſay, *Countries*, where the glorious Spirits are ſeated, in ſeveral Regions, as ſo many Societies and Communities, under the Government of the Supreme King, according as, in his Holy Wiſdom, he ſees moſt fit and proper to regiment them, in Relation to their Services, and the Ends he has further to ſerve by them. For μονὴ, which

(z) *See* Chriſtol. Lib. 1. *Page* 81, &c. *as alſo my Practical Diſcourſe, occaſion'd by the Death of King* William, *Page* 86, &c.

we render *Manſion*, ſignifies *any manner of Place* where Men inhabit; as it is derived from the Verb μένω, which ſignifies, in the general, to *dwell*, to *remain*, to *abide*, or to *inhabit* any Houſe, Place or Country, *as a proper* and *conſtant Inhabitant* there, in Oppoſition to a *Pilgrim*, *Stranger*, *Sojourner*, or *tranſient Lodger*: For all which, I remit the Reader to our beſt *Lexicons*: Only I ſhall take notice of this by the by, that the *Greek* Fathers, (*a*) frequently uſe the Word μονὴ, to denote what has been ſince call'd a *Monaſtry*: Which I do the rather take notice of, becauſe every one knows, that a *Monaſtry* is a Place *inhabited* by *ſuch*, *or ſuch* a *Society of Men*, under *particular Regulations* or *Rules*.

The *Jews* talk ſtrange things of the vaſt Extent of the *Manſions* of *Paradiſe*, Moſes Haddarſon, *in Gen.* 2. 9. ſays, that there are *ſeven Manſions*, which are each 12000 Miles long, 10000 broad, and 10000 high. But how ridiculous ſoever ſuch Determinations may appear to be; yet ſure the *inviſible World*, muſt be ſuppoſed infinitely to exceed this little Orb of ours, in Extent and Capaciouſneſs, as well as in other reſpects; in which, notwithſtanding there are ſo many vaſt Regions, and Kingdoms: And one might be tempted to think, that the *Multiplicity* of *Manſions* in the future World, may bear a Relation to the *ſeveral Worlds* of *intelligent Creatures* in a *State of Tryal*: For I am very apt to believe, that *ours* is not the *only one*; concerning which I may perhaps have an Opportunity afterwards to offer ſome rational, tho conjectural Thoughts. And in the mean time I remit the Reader to a calm and ſober Peruſal, (*b*) of ſomething which I ſuggeſted formerly on this Head.

(*a*) *Balſam*, ad Can. 41. Concil. in Trullo, *page* 411. ὁ τῆς μονῆς, ἤγουν μένος ταῦτα ἐξετάζεται. Et *Act.* 1. Concilii ſub *Mena. P.* 579, 580. frequenter occurrit, in Subſcriptionibus; ἐγὼ —— πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς —— ὑπέγραψα. (*b*) *See the 2d of my Four Diſcourſes*, viz. *that concerning God's dwelling with Men*, Page 83, &c.

But

But however this be, certain it is, that there are *many vaſt and diſtinct Regions*, in the *Paradiſial World*. And, tho we know not how they are ſituated, diſpos'd of, or govern'd; yet it is highly probable, that they will all be repleniſh'd fully at length. And, ſeeing Men have been in all Ages, and ſtill are diſtinguiſh'd by various Circumſtances, and, in ſome Senſe, are under various Diſpenſations, as well as canton'd into different Regions; why ſhould it be improbable, that the wiſe God ſhould accordingly diſpoſe them, in the World of Rewards, with ſome Relation to theſe; and therefore as variouſly, if not more than he did, when they were here in this World of Tryal? Surely, his Providence, from firſt to laſt, is all uniform, and of a Piece. And why then ſhould we doubt, whether his Management, in the diſpoſing of us in the other World, bear a Relation to his diſpoſing of us, in this World, and our managing of our ſelves, in a Relation to both theſe? For Example, ſeeing God muſt be ſuppos'd ſo to diſpoſe of us after Death, in the Paradiſical World, as ſhall conduce moſt to our Happineſs; may we not think, that near and dear Relatives, or other Friends on Earth, that lived together in Holy and Chriſtian Fellowſhip, will be allowed to be ſeated nearer to one another, in Paradiſe, than to thoſe that they did perhaps never hear of, whilſt alive. Is it reaſonable to think, that the *Apoſtles* and *Apoſtolical Men*, will be ſeparated at vaſt Diſtances from one another? Is it not more reaſonable to think, that they will be ſeated together, tho they may have Communication likewiſe, more or leſs, (as no doubt they will) with all others? I am therefore inclin'd to believe it, as more than probable, that the *Ante-Diluvian Saints*, may be more nearly ſeated together, than with thoſe that are yet to live, in the laſt Days. And the like Suppoſition I do make, as to all others; ſuch as the *Shemites*, the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Job's Country-men* of the *Eaſt, of old*, &c. To this

purpose I expres'd my self, formerly, in a (c) *Juvenil* Poem,

Behold, a Mansion *is for you prepar'd,*
And in the same, as part of your Reward;
You may observe it so to stand,
As to have nigh at Hand
The Mansions *of all those, conjoyn'd to thee on Earth,*
By Nature's *or by* closer Friendship's Birth.

And, now that I have liv'd near 20 Years, since the Time when that Poem was compos'd, which was upon a (d) memorable Occasion; I see not, why I should look upon this Notion as Chimerial: If others do so, yet, I hope, they will allow, that it is a very innocent one: But, whatever be thought of my Exposition of the *many Mansions* in *God's House*; still it must be allowed, that the general Truth it self doth include something of the most weighty Concern; seeing Christ adds, *That had it been otherwise, He would have told us so.* Which leads us therefore to a new Consideration.

Prop. 2. That the *Belief* of this, that there are *many Mansions* in the *Paradisical World*, is of that Importance, That had it not been so, to such an Exactness, as that there was no fear of our forming some such Idea of it, as I have done, our *Saviour* had been *oblig'd*, in *Faithfulness*, to have *given us the very opposite Idea*, and told us *that it was not so.*

This, I am sure, is the genuin Design of Christ's Meaning, if I understand either the Original or common Sense.

(c) *Called the* Extasie, *being one of the* Pindaricks, *which with some* Miscellanies, *are added to my* Poetical Paraphrase *on* Solomon's Song, *which was printed* A. D. 1691. (d) *See what is said of that Poem, in the Preface.*

And,

And, if it be ſo, then I cannot be reflected upon, in making the beſt of this General Aſſertion of Chriſt, that I was capable of in ſo ſmall a Compaſs.

And this I do, at leaſt, gain; that no Notion, directly oppoſite to, or inconſiſtent with the General Aſſertion of Chriſt, concerning *Many* diſtinct *Manſions*, or *Countries*, in the other World, according to my Notion of it; that, I ſay, no ſuch *Counter-Notion* to mine, can either be true or conſiſtent with Truth. And this is all I am concerned for. For I never pretended, either in this or any ſuch caſe, to propoſe Particulars, as explanatory of a general *Indefinite* Aſſertion, otherwiſe than as conjectural: Tho I can honeſtly, and without Vanity, ſay likewiſe, that I never propoſed, that I can remember, any ſuch particular Explication of *ſuch* a General; without what appear'd, to me, to carry along with it, at leaſt, a very plauſible Evidence of its being rationally deducible by a cloſe Thinker, from that which I was convinc'd muſt have been the meaning of the Author or Relater of ſuch a general Expreſſion. And ſure I am, that our *Saviour's* not having *limited* us to *narrower Ideas*, than thoſe I have hinted, is a plain allowing us Freedom to reaſon about this matter as we can.

Prop. 3. That *one great End* of Chriſt's going to reſide in the other World, was to *prepare a Place*, or *diſtinct Country* or *Manſion*, for his Apoſtles and other Diſciples.

Our *Saviour* having, in the firſt Sentence or Propoſition, aſſured us that the happy World conſiſted of many *Manſions*, *Countries* or *Places*; and it being rational, and, in ſome ſort, neceſſary to ſuppoſe, That the *ſeveral Orders* or *Sorts* of *Glorious Angels* did occupy ſome of them; and likewiſe very probable, that the *Glorified Spirits* of the *ſeveral Sorts* of *Men*, who had liv'd under *different Oeconomies*, did inhabit others of them, *viz.* the *Ante-diluvian Sethites*, the *Poſt-diluvian Shemites* and *Abrahamites*, and the *Poſt-Moſaical Iſraelites*, &c. I ſay, theſe things being once

ſuppoſed, we cannot but conclude from thence, that our Saviour would have the Apoſtles know, that it was neceſſary that he ſhould go to Heaven; if it were only upon this account, That he might canton out a particular *Country*, *Manſion* or *Place* for them and other Chriſtians to inhabit. I ſay, *to other Chriſtians*, becauſe it were very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that he meant them only, excluſively of others; ſeeing we cannot think that he went to Heaven upon their account only. And, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that he ſpeaks to them as the Repreſentatives of all Chriſtians, even as the Father did, *Mat.* 17 5. when he ſpoke to the three Apoſtles only, in an immediate way, commanding them to *hear* and obey *his Son*. And ſure, if he intercede for all his People, he went alſo to prepare *this Place* for them, of which he ſpeaks, as well as for his Apoſtles. We are oblig'd therefore to believe, that he ſpeaks here, thro' the Apoſtles, to all his Followers, in the ſame manner, as in all his other Diſcourſes; as when he ſays, *What I ſay unto you, I ſay unto all, Watch*, Mark 13. 37. and ſo *John* 17. 20. *I pray not for theſe alone (i.e.* in a Separation from others*) but for them alſo who ſhall believe on me, thro' their Word.*

Seeing therefore our Saviour firſt aſſerted a *Plurality*, nay a Multitude of *Places* or *Manſions* to be included in his Father's Houſe or the Heavenly World; and now comes to ſpeak in the *ſingular Number*, of *one Place* to be appropriated for Chriſtians: What can we think, but what I have now ſaid, that there is a peculiar Region in Heaven aſſign'd and mark'd out, to be inhabited by the Souls of Chriſtians that die in Chriſt. And what elſe can this be, than a part of that World, into which all righteous Souls have gone, and in which they have ever been plac'd: call'd by the Ancients, nay by the Sacred Writers themſelves, *Paradiſe*, or the Paradiſical World, yea and by Chriſt too, as alſo by the Name of *Hades*.

And let us not forget, that our Saviour's Words do neceſſarily denote, that this Place or Region that Chriſtian Souls were to inhabit after Death, was not *yet actually*

actually mark'd out for them; and no wonder, seeing this was to be consequentially only upon Christ's having finish'd his Redemption-Work; as being part of his Reward in a State of Exaltation, to have this Authority and Power confer'd upon him. The Place therefore was not prepared, as yet, when he spoke these Words, but was to be prepared by himself, after his Arrival at his Father's House.

Whether this does denote any thing of his being about to create a new World or Country, for us Christians to inhabit, is what we can determine nothing about; tho he had formerly used the like Expression, in relation to the Mosaical Creation, *Prov.* 8. 27. *when he prepared the Heavens, I was there*, &c. Only I shall take this occasion to say, that a vulgar Notion, that has too long obtain'd, is a very precarious one, nay I must say a very presumptuous one likewise, *viz.* that of asserting, that because God is said to *have rested from his six days Work of Creation*, that therefore he neither ever made *any thing* or *any World*, before that *Creation* of which *Moses* speaks, and that he has made none since, or ever will again. Who made such Men Counsellors to the Eternal and Almighty Lord of all, that they dare thus limit him, and determine so positively in such Matters? But, as I have said, let the Notion of the Word *prepare*, in our Text, be what it will; certain it is, that *that Place, that the Apostles were to inhabit after Death, was not prepared for them, until Christ went to Heaven to do it.* If then it was, for Substance, made before, at least it was not as yet prepared for the Reception and Entertainment of Christian Souls. Nay, I think the Expression does also denote this, that it was to be left to *Christ's Choice*, when he should arrive at his Father's Court, what Country or District, or Place, he pleased to have or to mark out for the Reception of those that did believe in him, or should hereafter do so. Tho I question not but that this as well as other things, was agreed upon between the Father and Son, in the Covenant of Redemption; and that this there-

fore

fore may be that Kingdom, which Christ speaks of, *Luke* 22. 29.

And now that I have cited this place, I must say, that tho I own that the usual Comments of Protestants upon Christ's Words, *Luke* 22. 29, 30. are true, as to the Reference they suppose they bear to the Church on Earth: Yet I must be so bold as to think that this is neither the whole Truth, not the Principal Truth, that these Words look to and do include. For the Words are too lofty, and the Promise too expres and special, to be thus limited. And therefore I cannot but suppose, that our Saviour had this very Notion in his View, when he says, (as a special Reward of their continuing with him in his Temptations, of which see *v.* 28.) *I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom, and sit on Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of* Israel.

One thing only I shall say further, as to these Words of Christ [*I go to prepare a Place to you*] *viz.* that they are spoken in Allusion to something higher, than the Generality either of Criticks or other Commentators and Annotators have thought of. *Grotius* says it is, (*e*) *a Similitude that is taken from one of several Fellow-Travellers, who goes before the rest to some Inn, to make Choice of Chambers for the rest, and to take care to have them prepared for them against they come.* But seeing a Servant or one of the meanest of the Company, is usually pitch'd upon for this Office, I do not think our Lord alludes to this in the least. Besides, that *Grotius* might have remembred that such Inns or Publick Houses of Entertainment, were unknown in ancient times, when Hospitality was more generally look'd upon, as a Duty. And, tho some such Customs began to obtain about this time, yet I find not that the *Jews* had any

(*e*) Similitudo sumpta ab uno Comitum, qui in itinere prægressus ad Diversorium, ibi ceteris cubicula assignat, & efficit ut venientibus parata sint.

such

ſuch Houſes among them, during their Continuance in their own Land. Upon theſe Conſiderations I am fully perſwaded, that Chriſt did not in the leaſt, allude to any ſuch Cuſtom as that which he mentions. And did I think, that Chriſt did at all allude to any Human Practice, I ſhould be apt to think, that he had an eye towards the Practice of a wiſe and provident General, who, in marching his Army, went before them, himſelf, in order to view the Ground, that was moſt proper for him and his Souldiers, to incamp in, with Security and Advantage. But I muſt profeſs, that I cannot imagine, that our Saviour alluded to any ſuch thing, as even this, at leaſt directly. I do therefore believe, that he alludes to nothing Human, in theſe Words, but only to his own Practice formerly, as the General, King, and Saviour of his ancient People, before whom he marched to mark out their ſeveral Stations in the Wilderneſs, in order to lead them into the Promiſed Land. And this he did, in a twofold Emblem, *viz.* that of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, and that of *the Ark*. And *firſt* he lift up his Enſign in *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, marking out their ſeveral Encampments this way, from their firſt Removal from *Egypt*, until they arrived at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*. Of which *Moſes* gives us this Account, *Exod.* 13. 21, 22. *And the Lord went before them by Day, in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire to give them Light, to go by, Day and Night. He took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by Day, nor the Pillar of Fire by Night, from before the People.* He took it not away, he means, in a relation to that part of their Travels, which he is there relating. For certain it is, that when they came to Mount *Sinai*, *this Pillar of Cloud and Fire* fixed upon the Top of that Mountain, and remained there during all that time, that the *Shechinah* was giving forth their Laws, and the whole Plan of their after-Government. Nor did this eminent Emblem of his Preſence leave that place, until the *Tabernacle* and *Ark* were fully finiſh'd. And then indeed did the *Logos* remove this Pledge of his

Preſence

Preſence and Authority, to reſide in the inmoſt part of the Tabernacle, ſitting thus, as it were, upon a *Throne* over the *Mercy Seat*, when the *Tabernacle reſted*; and retiring within the *Ark*, as into a *portable Chair* of *State*, when it *removed*; giving warning likewiſe this way, when they were to fix or remove the Tabernacle and Ark, by making the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* hover over the Ark, either in a way of Motion or Reſt; which was to them accordingly a Signal, either to go forward or make a Stop. Of this *Moſes* tells us, when he ſays, *Numb.* 10. 33, 34, 35, 36. *And they departed from the Mount three Days Journey. And the Ark went before them three Days Journey, to ſearch out a Reſting-place for them. And the Cloud of the Lord was upon them by Day, when they went out of the Camp. And it came to paſs, when the Ark ſet forward, that* Moſes *ſaid*, &c. *And when it reſted, he ſaid*, &c.

Now, ſeeing the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire firſt*, and the *Ark*, with the ſame Pillar of Cloud and Fire in it and over it *afterwards*, was Emblematical of Chriſt's more ſpiritual Government of his Church after his Incarnation; and ſeeing the *Earthly Canaan* was typical of the *Heavenly* one: It is evident to me, that it is to this ancient Diſpenſation, that our Bleſſed Saviour does allude, in theſe words. And indeed our Saviour does almoſt ſpeak in the very Words of *Moſes*. For, as *Moſes* ſays, that *the Ark went before them to ſearch out a Reſting-place for them*; ſo our Saviour ſays alſo, that *he went before his Apoſtles and his other Diſciples to prepare a Place, i. e.* a Reſting-place for them.

So that, upon the Whole, it is plain to me, that as He went before his People, of old, to mark out a Country, wherein he was to ſettle his *Iſrael*; other Nations having been ſettled before: ſo he is gone before his People now, in order to prepare another Country for them, wherein they are to take up their Reſidence, until the *Laſt Day*. I ſay, until the *Laſt Day*; becauſe I have ſome new Thoughts to deliver further

on

on this Head. For which end, I muſt illuſtrate the remaining Words of our Saviour.

In the mean time, what hurt is there to ſuppoſe; that as *Iſrael* was ſettl'd in *Canaan*, after the diſpoſſeſſing the old, but wicked Inhabitants; Chriſt may be gone before, to diſpoſſeſs ſome wicked Inhabitants (whoſe Cup was at this time grown full) in order to ſettle his new Colony, or new Iſraelites in their Stead?

Prop. 4. That, as *Chriſt* is gone to his *Father's Houſe*, in order to *prepare a Place* or *Country* for true Chriſtian Souls to inhabit: So it is equally aſſerted by him, That *he will come again* into this World; and that when He comes, *He will then* (and therefore not before then) *receive them* into that *Place* or Manſion, *where he himſelf now is*; ſeeing *then*, and not till then, He promiſes, that *where he is, there his Followers ſhall alſo come to be.*

I have, in this Propoſition, kept ſo critically cloſe to our Saviour's Words, in *ver.* 3. that I may venture to ſay, That I have given not only the *only Senſe* they are capable of; but likewiſe their *full Senſe*, as far as a General can be well ſuppoſed to expreſs.

For it is as plain, as ſo few Words can expreſs it, that this is a *further* Promiſe, additional to the Former, and not to be accompliſh'd fully until his *Second Coming*. And that his Second Coming is here meant, I do ſuppoſe none queſtions; ſeeing *the Heavens muſt retain him, until the times of the Reſtitution of all things*, Acts 3. 21. Where obſerve, by the by, that it is not ſaid *Time*, far leſs *Day*, but *the Times*. So that if there ſhould be many Ages, and various Periods of Time, included in the General Expreſſion of Chriſt's Second and Glorious Coming, it will be no ways inconſiſtent with the General Aſſertion, that Chriſt is to remain in Heaven until then. And I give this General Hint now; Becauſe, perhaps I may afterwards have an Occaſion to preſent the World with a new Scheme, and yet a Scriptural one, of very conſiderable Thoughts, upon this Subject. And therefore I would here only lay a Foundation, for the Prevention of a ſeeming Inconſiſtency,

ſiſtency, which might otherwiſe be formed into an Objection, afterwards, againſt what I have yet in Reſerve to propoſe, in relation to the Reſurrection and Laſt Day or Time, in its proper Place.

But to return; I ſay, That our Saviour does plainly inſinuate here, That *the Place* he was *immediately* to *prepare* for his Saints, upon his Arrival to Heaven; and *that Place*, that he was to *introduce* them into, *after his Second Coming*, were *really diſtinct*. So that tho the one, as well as the other of theſe, be included in the general Notion of *Manſions*, *Places* or *Countries*, in the *Glorious World*, called by Chriſt *his Father's Houſe*: Yet, *that Place* that the Souls of the Apoſtles were to be in, from the Time of *Chriſt's Aſcention*, to the Time of his *Coming again*, was diſtinct from, and of an inferiour Nature to that Place, which they were to be admitted into, after the Reſurrection, and at the time of his Second Advent. For, after Chriſt had ſuppoſed, not only the *Preparation* of the *Firſt Place* for their Recepion, but their having been there; (*i.e.* ſuch of his Saints as ſhould depart this Life, before his Coming again) He tells them, that one end of his *Second Coming*, was to bring them into *another Place*, as a *higher Degree* of *Exaltation* and *Glory*. And *this Place* he characterizeth, by the deſcriptive Deſignation, that it was the *ſame Place*, wherein He himſelf did moſt properly reſide. And therefore he calls their Introduction and Admittance into this Place, to be *his Receiving them unto himſelf*, adding, that then *they ſhould come to be where he himſelf was*. Which, if it do not denote, that, *before* his *Second Advent*, he was *not to receive* them *unto himſelf*; in the *ſame Senſe* that he was to do *then*, when he ſhould *come again*; and that, conſequently, they were not to be *ſo* with him, *where he was to go*, *as* they were to be after his *Second Coming*: I ſay, if theſe Expreſſions do not denote thus much, I muſt profeſs, that I am incapable to judge of theſe, or any ſuch Words or Expreſſions, for the future.

And,

And, as this is, and must be, the Sense and Design of Christ, in this Text: So it is nothing, but what is agreeable with the Sense of Scripture in other Places; which, tho almost lost to the Bulk of later Divines, was known to, and own'd by all the Ancient Fathers. I have said something, that may lay a Foundation of our understanding this Matter, when I consider'd the Article concerning Christ's *Descent into Hades*. And I am not willing to prevent my self here, by expatiating upon this Subject now; which I reserve to a more proper Place. I desire, in the mean time, that the Reader may consult Dr. *Whitby*'s *Note* on this Text of ours, and consider what he says on *Heb.* 11. 40. but especially his Annotations on these Words, 2 Tim. 4. 8. *From henceforth is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord* Jesus *the Righteous Judge will give me at that Day, &c.* And indeed these Words alone are sufficient, to convince us, that the Apostle expected not his full Reward until the last Day. So that it was not without just Reason that (*f*) *Origen* asserts, *That* Abraham *and all the Patriarchs, are waiting until all the Saints be gathered into the Place, where they are, that then they and the Prophets may attain perfect Bliss.* Nay, says he, (*g*) *Even the Apostles themselves have not yet received their Happiness* (*i. e.* compleat) *but wait until I* (*i. e.* such as I am) *come also to be a Partaker with them: For the Saints departed, receive not the full Reward of their good Actions, but wait for us, who yet stay behind.* And indeed *Origen*, is so far from being singular in this Opinion, that he speaks the current Sense of all the Primitive Church, if we may judge of this from the Writings of the Fathers, that now remain. Therefore *Chrysostom* asserts, *That* Abel *and* Noah, *and all the Saints*

(*f*) 1 Levit. Hom. 7. F. 71. D. (*g*) Ibid. Nondum enim receperunt Lætitiam suam, ne Apostoli quidem; sed & ipsi expectant ut & ego Lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam; neq; enim decedentes hinc sancti continuo integra Meritorum suorum Præmia consequuntur, sed expectant etiam nos, licet morantes.

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of old, had their Crown of Glory deferr'd, because God has appointed one time for the General Coronation of all the Saints. And, to the same purpose, what *Theodoret* says, *That the Saints departed have not yet obtain'd their Crowns; God expecting, that those also, who were yet to combat, should arrive at the Place where they are; it being his Purpose to proclaim them all Victors together.*

If any say; but if this Notion hold, How can we understand *Paul*'s Meaning, when he desires to *be dissolved*, in order *to be with Christ*, Phil. 1. 23. I answer, That the *Paradifical Hades*, is a *Place*, wherein Christ manifests himself, in a more glorious Manner than here below. And therefore it may justly be said, that, *comparatively* with the Discoveries given here, *to be there*, is to be *more directly with Christ*, than our being here can admit of. Nay, the very Name that Christ gives it, in the Parable of the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, is that of *Abraham's Bosom*, (*i. e.* his own Bosom, who is the true Father of the Faithful;) and so the Ancient Fathers us'd to call it. But yet, this does not hinder our conceiving, that Christ's most proper and immediate Residence is in another Region. Thus the *Logos*, tho he was Resident, on Earth, in the Temple of old, among the *Jews*, so as he was in no Country on Earth, yet this did not hinder Mens supposing him to have been more gloriously present with the Angels above, and more directly, and conspicuously, Resident in the highest Heavens.

Hence therefore, a just Foundation is laid of making a Distinction, between that Part or Region of *Heaven*, (which is a General Word, of equal Extent, in Regard to the particular Countries, into which it is divided, as the Word *World* or *Earth*, in Relation to the several Countries thereof,) which Christ calls, by the Designations of *Abraham's Bosom*, of *Paradice*, and of *that Place*, which he was *to prepare for them*; and which *Paul* calls, *a Place where we shall be with Christ*, and elsewhere, *the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and that other *Higher* and *more Glorious Country*, or *Region* of *Heaven*, where he

he ſuppoſes *the Father himſelf moſt properly to be*, and where *he likewiſe does principally reſide*, and into *which he will*, at laſt, *introduce his Saints*, after the Reſurrection, and the final Judgment are over. And then, and not till then, will the *Lord Jeſus*, as Loganthropos, *deliver up the Mediatory Kingdom to God, even the Father*; ſeeing then will be finiſh'd his own immediate Government, both over Men on *Earth*, and the Souls of good Men, in the Paradiſical *Hades*: For upon his Introducing his redeemed ones into the higheſt Heavens, his Work, as Redeemer, will be compleatly finiſhed. And then ſhall *He himſelf be ſubject* (as Loganthropos) *to him that put all things under him, that God* (the Father, Son and Holy Spirit) *may be* (more directly and immediately.) *all in all*, 1 Cor. 15. 24, 25, 28. But of this Scripture, I may have Occaſion to treat further afterwards. Only I would have it obſerv'd here, that Chriſt had not a Liberty, (becauſe it was not congruous to the Decorum of Divine Procedure, that this ſhould be) to introduce his Followers into the more immediate Preſence of God, whilſt they were in the Paradiſical Hades: And there may be *Four* very good *Reaſons* aſſigned for this; (beſides the ſuppoſed Agreement, between the Father and Son, in the Covenant of Redemption) The 1. is, That the *Soul*, being but *Part of Man*, and conſequently *Part of Chriſt's Redemption*; it was not proper, that it ſhould be equally advanced, as to Degrees, in Glory, as the *whole* and *intire Man*. Nay, it does not ſeem that it was capable of this, becauſe it could not, in a proper Senſe, be called *the Man*. Therefore Chriſt muſt raiſe the Body from the Grave, and re-unite it to the Soul, in a purified and glorious Manner, in order to Mens being fully rewarded. 2. Nor can we ſuppoſe it proper, that the *full Glory* of the *Saints* ſhould *commence*, until *all their Enemies ſhould be conquered*: And therefore, as *their laſt Enemy Death*, was to be only fully conquer'd by their Reſurrection to eternal Life: So their inveterate Enemies, viſible and inviſible, muſt be puniſh'd alſo, before this. And it is certain, that neither

ther wicked Men, nor Devils, will be finally either conquer'd or punish'd, until the Judgment of the great Day, as the Words of *Peter*, 2 Ep. 2. 4. assure us, to mention no more now. 3. Nor was it proper, that Christ should come to Judgment at all, if the Saints were *before* this, *as highly exalted*, as they could possibly be; and the Wicked likewise, both of *Angels* and *Men*, punish'd to the *utmost* already. For, if we suppose these things; so solemn a Judgment, as the Final is represented to be in Scripture, must be look'd upon to be a meer solemn Pagentry, or Piece of formal Grandeur only. But, as it is horrid to admit of any such Thought; so we must allow my Notion, materially at least, if we would prevent such Absurdities. 4. Nay, How could Christ receive the *Full Reward*, until he had finish'd his *whole Work*? Now this was not to be done, until the Resurrection and Judgment both were over. And then indeed, but not before, was it proper to allow him to dispose of his purchas'd ones, so as to put higher Marks of Honour upon them. And therefore, as he says himself, that tho he went to *prepare a Place* of Happiness, for them to go into, at Death; yet he must *come again*, before he could *receive them to himself, that where he* most properly *was, they might come then to be also.*——— And thus I have given some new, and yet I hope scriptural and edifying Thoughts of this Part of Christ's Work in Heaven, viz. *to prepare Mansions* for his *People*.

The 2d Part of Christ's Work in Heaven, (that falls under our present Consideration) is that of his *Advocateship* there, or his *Interceeding* for us. And, indeed, this is one eminent Part, at least, of the *Method* that he uses, to *prepare* and *secure Mansions* for us in *Heaven*.

Intercession is a Law-Term, denoting the Action of a Barrester, Advocate, Attorney, Solliciter, or any such Person that manages our Interest, for us, at our Desire, or in our Name; suing out, this way, the Rights of his *Clients*, and Answering or Obviating the Objections of the *Plaintiff*.

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In a Divine and Sacred Senſe, there is a *Threefold Interceſſion*. The 1. is, that Part of Prayer, that is called by that Name, and conſiſts in Petitions, which are ſometimes mixed with, or changed into humble Expoſtulations and Reaſonings, when the Mind is more than ordinarily fervent, or under deep Impreſſions of the Things prayed for. Thus every Chriſtian is oblig'd to be an Interceſſor with God, not only for himſelf, but for others alſo: For which ſee the Rule, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. The 2. Sort of Interceſſion, is that which is aſcribed to the Holy Spirit, operating this way in good Men, and which may be called, upon this Account, the *Helping Interceſſion* of the Spirit; for ſo the Apoſtle characterizeth it, *Rom.* 8. 26, 27. Upon which *Epithet* of the Spirit's Work, as it is mentioned, in this Text, I (*h*) once gave a critical Remark, as to the Emphaſis of the Original Word; which, I humbly conceive, may deſerve to be look'd back upon again, in Caſe it has been at all conſidered before. But 3. There is alſo an authoritative or legally allowed of Interceſſion, as being ſuch, *ex Officio*, perform'd by Virtue of an Office, to which the Perſon Interceding, is authorized, as an allowed of and qualified Patron, to us, as his Clients. And this is peculiar to Chriſt; in which Senſe he is the only Interceſſor.

This Interceſſion was begun on Earth, during the State of his Humiliation, as we ſee *Luke* 23. 34. *John* 17. 24. *Heb.* 5. 7. But we are here only to conſider it as carried on in Heaven; of which we read, *Rom.* 8. 34. 1 *John* 2. 1. *Heb.* 7. 25.

Now, ſeeing the Interceſſion of Chriſt has been ſo often, and ſo largely inſiſted upon, both from Pulpit and Preſs, I ſhall ſay but little this way. And yet, I am miſtaken, if I ſhall not gratifie the judicious Reader more, by including the Summ of all has ever been

(*h*) *See my Practical Diſcourſe, occaſioned by the Death of King* William, *Page* 67.

ſaid, upon this Head, within the Compaſs of a very few Pages, than ſome have done, by haranguing ſo long upon it, till they have confounded both their own and other Mens Thoughts, and loſt their very Subject it ſelf, in the Croud of other things, pretty foreign to it. My Deſign is only to direct the Reader to a true and genuin Conception of the Things I treat of. And, for this end, I deſire, that theſe few Particulars following may be gradually conſider'd, with all due Seriouſneſs.

1. That Chriſt's being admitted, as *Loganthropos* and *Redeemer*, to ſit at God's right Hand, in the higheſt Glory, is a Demonſtration, that the Father has approved all that He did and ſuffer'd on Earth, for his People.

2. That Chriſt's very being *thus* exalted and own'd by his Father, and his appearing there with him, as ſuch, is a virtual Interceſſion and Pleading for us. Conſider, for this End, what the *Angel of the Covenant* ſays to *Satan*, concerning *Joſhua* the High Prieſt, in his repreſenting the People, *Zech.* 12. 1, *&c.* And remember, that *Chriſt*, as *Fore-runner*, is ſaid to have *entred into Heaven, for us*, or upon our Account, and as our Repreſentative, *Heb.* 6. 20. and that it is alſo ſaid, that *His very Appearance there*, i. e. *as Man* and *Redeemer*, is likewiſe relative to us, and is therefore ſaid to be *for us*, *i. e.* upon our Account, and in order to carry on our Buſineſs and Intereſt.

3. That therefore Chriſt, in his Appearing for Men, in Heaven, muſt be conſider'd, both as the *True* and *proper Repreſentative* of *all Mankind* in general; and, in a more eſpecial Senſe, of thoſe Holy and Choſen ones, who believe in him, and give him Imployment there, by putting their Cauſe and Concerns into his Hands. And, in this, He is to be look'd upon, as the true Anti-Type of the High Prieſt of old, when he entred into the moſt Holy Place of the Temple, once a Year, with the Names of all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, ingraven on his Breaſt-Plate. See for this, what the Apoſtle ſays,

Heb.

Heb. 9. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, *&c.* and consider the Import of that memorable Expression, *Eph.* 2. 10.

4. That, as the High Priest, went into the most Holy Place, *with Blood*, so our Saviour presents his Blood virtually there, in his Interceding for us; *i. e.* he presents or pleads his *Merits*. So that Christ's Intercession in Heaven is not properly *a Begging*, but a *Pursuing a Right*, by Arguments drawn from *Justice* and *Equity*, and a claiming such and such Things, in Behalf of his Clients and Followers, by Virtue of his own Purchase, pursuant to the Articles agreed on between God and him, when he undertook the Work of our Salvation: See *Heb.* 8. 7, 11, 12. 1 *Pet.* 1. 18, 19. 1 *John* 2. 1, 2.

5. Christ argues for us, not only from what He has done, but upon the Account of the *Relation* which such and such Persons bear to Him, and their having, in Compliance with the Father's own Will, *believed* in his Name, and accepted him, in all his Offices, upon the Terms proposed in the Gospel. See, as an Example of this, how Christ makes use of his Disciples Obedience and Faith, by way of Argument in pleading for them, even while he was yet on Earth, *John* 17. 6, 8.

6. Nay, so kind and generous an Intercessor is He, that he pleads the Cause even of the worst of Men, as far as it will go. Thus he argued in behalf of his very Persecutors and Murderers, that *God would forgive them, because they knew not what they did.* And sure he is not less merciful and compassionate now in Heaven, than he was whilst on Earth. We may justly, therefore, believe, that it is, by reason of Christ's Intercession, that the Punishment of wicked Men is mitigated. God bears so or so long therefore, with obstinate Sinners, in hope of their Amendment, (according to the Import of the Parable, concerning the unfruitful Fig-Tree, spar'd from Year to Year, upon the Intercession of the Dresser, *Luke* 13. 6, 7, 8, 9.) so that even the worst of Men have some Advantage by the Man Christ, which no Apostate Angel can hope for.

7. Christ Jesus, as He pleads for his own People, upon the Account of their Relation to himself; so He presents also their Performances before God, for the same end. So that here is a mighty Incitement to Diligence and Industry, in Christ's Service; seeing, in a Proportion to the same, they are represented to the Father, in lower or higher Recommendatory Addresses, in order to be proportionably rewarded. So, that as the wicked are said, to *treasure up unto themselves Wrath against the Day of Wrath*, Rom. 2. 5. God, as it were, writing over against every new Sin, a new Degree of Punishment: So good Men, by *Good Works, and particularly by Works of Charity*, are said to *lay up for themselves, in Store, a good Foundation against the time to come*, in order to their *laying hold* thus on *eternal Life*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 18, 19. God writing as it were over-against every good Deed, a new Degree of Honour and Happiness. Consider for this the Import of *Matth.* 6. 19, 20. and of *Heb.* 6. 10.

8. And, in a particular manner, let us remember, that Christ ratifies our *Intercession* by his own, and pleads our Arguments over again; assuring us again and again, that *Whatsoever we ask in his Name, believing in him, as to things agreeable to his revealed Will, we shall obtain*, either as to kind, or as to an Equivalent, that shall be as good or better, with Relation to the Honour of God and our Benefit. See for this the Five Qualifications of Praying successfully; The 1*st*, in *Mark* 21. 22. & *Jam.* 1. 6. The 2*d*, in *Jam.* 4. 2, 3. The 3*d*, in 1 *John* 5. 14. The 4*th*, in *John* 14. 13, 14. & Chap. 16. 23, 24; And the 5*th*, in *John* 15. 7. & 1 *John* 3. 22, 23. And remember, withal, that it is in the *Golden Censer* of *Christ's Intercession*, and by the Virtue of the *Incense* thereof, as being offered up by *him*, and at the *Altar* of his *Satisfaction*, that the Prayers of the Saints become prevalent with God; as the Case is Emblematically represented, *Rev.* 8. 3.

Now, from these Things, we see Christ's All-sufficiency to save. For the Apostle founds this, upon Christ's being

being in Heaven, and his Interceſſion for us there, *Heb.* 7. 25. *Wherefore he is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God thro' him, ſeeing He ever liveth to make Interceſſion for them.*

But then, let us remember, that the ſame Words are incluſive of a *Limitation*, not indeed as to *Chriſt's Sufficiency* to ſave, abſolutely conſidered, but as to the *actual Beſtowing* of *Salvation* upon Men, according to the *Goſpel Method.* And therefore is Chriſt ſaid to *be able* thus *to ſave thoſe*, and thoſe only, *who come unto God, thro' him.* For *He that believeth not*, but obſtinately rejects Chriſt and his Offers, *ſhall* as certainly *be damned*: as it is certain that *He that believeth in him, ſhall be ſaved*: For the ſame Mouth has pronounced both, and that with the ſame Strength of Evidence and Aſſeveration, *Mark* 16. 16.

And now I have finiſh'd what I had to ſay, in reference to Chriſt, conſidered as to his *Perſon*, and *thoſe Articles*, which I propoſed to diſcourſe of, with Reſpect to Him, *thus* conſidered. And, I hope, I have ſuggeſted upon moſt of them, if not all, ſuch Thoughts, as the judicious and ſerious Reader will look upon to be equally ſolid and profitable, as new and uncommon; and that therefore He will be ſo Candid and Fair, as for the Sake of theſe, to paſs by ſuch Eſcapes, as he may perhaps diſcern in other things, that may have dropt from me unawares, in the Purſuit of ſuch deep Meditations, as God has been pleaſed to direct me to, upon this great and profound Subject. And having hinted this, I proceed, thro' the good Hand of my God upon me, to run thro' a New Stage of this Mental Journey.

CHAP. VI.

The Office *of Christ the* Loganthropos *considered; wherein, besides a General Idea of it, a* New Account *is given of the* Parts thereof; *which is wholly Scriptural, and by which the Imperfection of all Systems, in Explaining this Head of Divinity, is discover'd.*

THE *Office* of *Jesus*, in the General Notion of it, is that of his being *the Messiah*, by way of Eminency, according to the *Hebrew*, which is interpreted *Christ* in the *Greek*, and signifies *Anointed* in the *British*, *i. e.* one solemnly authorized, inaugurated, and invested with the Office of a Divine Hero, Benefactor, Patron, Saviour or Redeemer, in Relation to the Human Race. So that, the Word *Messiah*, *Christ*, or *Anointed*, is a figurative Expression, denoting indeed the Office of Jesus, but taken from the Rite or Custom of Anointing with Oil, which was used of old, among the *Jews*, as a Declaration of such or such a Person's being solemnly set apart to this or the other publick Office. Thus the *Priests* were set apart, when first instituted, *Exod.* 30. 30. But the *high Priest* most eminently. For we do not find, that ever any *ordinary Priest* was *thus* set apart, after the first Institution of the *Aaronical* and *Levitical* Priesthood; it being thought (*i*) peculiar to the *High Priests* afterwards, to be set apart thus. And in like manner, tho *Kings* were thus inaugurated to their Office; yet not *all Kings*, nay nor *any King*, that succeeded *lineally* to the Crown; but only *such Kings* as were chosen immediately by God and the People; either by a *new* and *extraordinary Revolution* and Alteration of the Government, as in the Case of *Saul*, *David*, *Jehu* and

(*i*) *See* Selden de Succ. 2. 9.

Hazael;

Hazael; or then, when their *Title* to the Crown might be *controverted*, as in the Case of *Solomon* and *Joash*. The same is also to be observed, in Relation to *Prophets*. For we do not find, that the *ordinary Prophets* were ever thus set apart; but only such Persons, who were *successively* chosen by God, to be the *Heads* of the *Prophets*; and were therefore, *as such*, the *Representatives* of the *Shechinah*. Such was *Elijah*, and therefore when he was about to be taken away, he has Orders, this way, to mark out his Successor *Elisha*, as we see, 1 *Kings* 19. 16. tho I do not think that *Elisha* did ever represent the Person of the *Shechinah*, at least so eminently and directly as *Elijah* did; as I observed formerly, *Lib* 1. of Christology, Page 55. However, to return; by the Hints given, we see that it is nothing but a vulgar Errour, that has obtain'd hitherto, in so many Systems; when it is supposed, that all Kings, Prophets and Priests, were thus set apart of old, among the *Jews*. For none were so, but those, that in one respect or other, were *Types* of the *true Messiah*. It is true, that this Custom seems to have been very Ancient, and to have obtain'd amongst other Nations, before the *Jewish* Monarchy began, as appears from the Parable of *Jotham*, Judg. 9. 8. *The Trees went forth, on a Time, to anoint a King over them, &c.* But then, as his Words intimate, this seems then only to be used, when there was a *new Revolution*, and a *King elected by the People*. At least, we know nothing of this Rite's having ever been used more generally, among the Ancients, than upon such Occasions. However, it may suffice us, to understand the Original Use of this Custom; and that, when God makes use of this Name, it denotes One especially and solemnly authorized and invested, with such or such an eminent Office, and appointed for some remarkable Service. And therefore it is said of *Cyrus*, Isa. 45. 1, 4. *Thus saith the Lord to* Cyrus *my Messiah, &c.* So the Hebrew. *To* Cyrus *my Christ, &c.* So the *Septuagint*, the *Chald. Par.* the *Syr. Arab.* and *Vulg. Lat.* *To* Cyrus *my Anointed*, &c. So our Version

and

and moſt Modern ones. But all is to the ſame purpoſe. For the original Word is the ſame there, as in *Pſal.* 2. 2. which is accordingly by ſome tranſlated *Chriſt*, and by us *anointed.*

The Name *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt*, which is now principally uſed to denote his Office, was not uſed for a long time in the ancient Jewiſh Church; nor is it to be found (*k*) frequently in the Old Teſtament. And there may be this good Reaſon aſſigned for it; *viz.* that God did, on purpoſe, order that it ſhould be ſo, that, this way, Impoſtors might be prevented from aſſuming it; and that for this end, the Divine Wiſdom thought fit to make uſe of equivalent Words inſtead of this; as being ſuch, as could not ſo eaſily be aſſumed by any Man; which will eaſily be obſerv'd by any that duly conſiders them. Such are theſe Words or Names following. *The Seed*, Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18. See Gal. 3. 16. *Shiloh*, Gen. 99. 10. or (*l*) *Shelah*, Exod. 4. 13. *Emannuel*, Iſa. 7. 14. *Jehovah Tſidkenu*, which we tranſlate *the Lord our Righteouſneſs*, Jer. 23. 6. *The Everlaſting Father*, Iſa. 9. 6. *Netzer*, or the *Branch*, or, as the *Septuagint* renders it, the *Eaſt* or the *Riſing Sun*, Zech. 6. 12. and *chap.* 3. 8. *Iſa.* 4. 2. and *chap.* 11. 1. *Jer.* 23. 5. and *chap.* 33. 15.

The *Thalmudiſts* make this *Name* or *Office* of the *Meſſiah* to be one of thoſe ſeven Things, which were conſtituted before the Creation of the World: For before this, they tell us, that theſe *ſeven Things* were ſettl'd and appointed, *viz. The Law, Repentance, Paradiſe, Hell, the Throne of Glory, the Sanctuary*, and *the Name of the Meſſiah.* And concerning this Name's being thus ſet apart from Eternity, they interpret, *Pſal.* 72. 17. and alledge the Words, as a Proof of this their Notion. Our Tranſlators have given us the Senſe, thus; *His*

(*k*) *We find it only in* Pſal. 2. 2. Dan. 9. ver. 25, 26. (*l*) *See my Note upon this Word, in my Diſcourſe concerning the Miniſterial Work, which is the* 3d *of my four Diſcourſes*, Pag. 161.

Name

Name shall endure for ever; His Name shall be continued as long as the Sun; and Men shall be blessed in him; and Nations shall call him blessed. But then, as if they had been diffident of their own Translation, they add a Marginal Note, over against this Verse, intimating that the Hebrew seems to run thus, (as to the second Clause of the Verse) *He shall be a Son to continue his Father's Name for ever.* *Arias Mont.* renders the first and second Clauses thus: *Erit nomen ejus in seculum; ad facies solis filiabitur nomen ejus; i. e.* his Name shall remain for ever; his Name shall be Sonned before the Face of the Sun; which is as much as to say, his Name shall be owned to be that of the Son of God, in the open View of the World and before the Sun. This I take to be the sense of the Words in general; as it is beyond Controversie, that the whole Psalm relates to Christ principally, and that several things therein are applicable to none but him. But the Question still remains, whether these Words relate to Christ, in the future or preterit Sense? Our Modern Versions run all in the future Sense. Nor do the Ancient ones vary from them in this, excepting that they seem to have expressed their Sense of the second Clause, in such a manner, as that we may interpret their Words both ways. Thus the *Septuagint*, πρὸ τοῦ ἡλιὸς διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; which may indifferently be rendered; either thus, *his Name does remain before the Sun*, that now is; or *his Name does remain before the Sun* was made. And the *Syriack* and *Arabick* seem to have been expres'd, after this Version, with the same Indefiniteness. But the Jews contend, that the Hebrew ought to be rendred in the Preterit altogether. And indeed the *Chaldee Paraphrase* is positive this way, with respect to the second Clause, tho they render the first in the future Tense, as we do. Their Version runs thus: *His Name shall be eternally memorable; and, before the Sun was prepar'd, his Name was*, i. e. was appointed and known, *viz.* in Heaven. I leave every Man to his own Judgment. Only I incline my self to believe the Jews, as best skill'd in their own Language; especially seeing

ing the ordinary Interpretation of both Clauſes, in the future, ſeems to be too like a needleſs Repetition; Whereas the Chaldee Paraphraſe gives us a noble View of the Name and Office of Chriſt, both with reſpect to Time, or rather Eternity, conſidered both forward and backward, by a direct and reflex View thereof.

That our *Jeſus*, and no other, was the true, expected and promiſed *Meſſiah*, has been ſo largely treated of, and ſo irrefragably proved by abundance of Authors, both Ancient and Modern, that I am ſav'd the Trouble of this Work here. And beſides, I have ſaid enough this way my ſelf, particularly in the firſt Chapter of this Book.

But beſides this, there are two Conſiderations of the *Meſſiah*, that deſerve to be thought of here. The 1*ſt* is, his being the *Son of God*: The 2*d*, That he is *our Lord and Maſter*. In the *Firſt*, we ſee his Relation to God: In the *Second*, his Relation to us.

1*ſt*. He is to be conſidered, in a Relation to God as he is his Son, and ſent by him upon the Errand of our Salvation.

And here, I muſt advertize the Reader, that I am not here upon Chriſt's *Eternal Sonſhip*, as he is the *Logos* of God: For I have ſufficiently treated of this already in the *Second Book*. But I am to conſider, that Chriſt, even as he is the *Loganthropos* and *Meſſiah*, is to be look'd upon and owned to be the Son of God; tho not, in the former, and moſt proper Senſe; yet in ſuch a one as is peculiar to himſelf, and to no Creature beſides.

To *Beget*, according to our Notion of it, is to produce one of the ſame kind with him that begets. But, tho Creatures, by a derivative Power, may do ſo: yet no Creature can beget one, that ſhall be, in all reſpects, the ſame with himſelf. And yet there is no Impoſſibility or Contradiction in this, according to the abſtract Notion of the thing, upon the Suppoſition, that a Being infinitely Perfect be the Begetter. As therefore Reaſon muſt acquieſce, as to the Poſſibility of this,

upon

upon this Supposition: So it can be noways absurd, in case Revelation assure us, that it actually is so. Now, it is certain, that Revelation has assur'd us, that *God* has *begotten his Son*, and him only, after this manner. And the same Revelation, which is the only Directory of our Thoughts, in such Matters, has likewise told us, that a third *Being* or *Person* (for here we want proper Words) *proceedeth* from the Father and the Son. Of which sort of *Production*, we know no more, than of the former, as to the *Modus* or Manner of it. Only we are taught, that it is different from the *former Production*; and therefore this is always called *Procession*, and never *Generation*; as the former always is. And this we are likewise taught, by the same Revelation, that *both these Sorts of Procession*, are quite different from *any sort of Creation*. For *Creation* is *either* a Production immediately out of nothing, *or* a Change of a thing already created thus, out of one Form into another. But in neither of these does God propagate or impart his own Essence. Whereas we are given to understand, that both in *Generation* and *Procession*, the *Divine Nature* is *communicated*, to the *Person Generated*, and the *Person Proceeding*. But this I only hint, by the bye, in order to assist our Conceptions, with respect to the *Trinity*, and particularly with respect to *Christ's Eternal Sonship*, as he is the *Logos*.

But, besides *this Sonship* of Christ, as the *Logos*, we are led to consider *his Sonship*, as he is the *Loganthropos* and *Messiah*: For thus the Scripture speaks, and therefore gives us allowance to do so too.

Now I find, that the *Loganthropos* is spoken of, as the *Son of God*, in reference to *three Things*, that are peculiar to him, as such. The 1*st* is, with respect to his *miraculous* and *extraordinary Conception* and *Generation*, *Luke* 1. 35. *Gal.* 4. 4. *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22. The 2*d* is, with respect to his *extraordinary* and *supernatural Resurrection* from the Dead, Ascension to Heaven, and Elevation there to the Throne of his Father, *Heb.* 1. 6. *Phil.* 2. 8,9,10,11. *Rev.* 3. 21. The 3*d* is, with Reference to his

High

High and *Glorious Office*, of being the *Messiah* or *Redeemer*, *John* 10. 36. I have barely cited these Places, as to Chapter and Verse, for brevity sake. But I am sure, they are plain and sufficient Proofs of Christ's being intitl'd the Son of God, as he is *Loganthropos* or *Redeemer*; in such a way as no Creature ever was.

For, in case it be objected against the 1*st* of these; That the *Production* of *Angels* and *Creation of Adam*, seem to be as extraordinary as the Formation of the *Man Jesus*; I answer, that we are not *barely* to consider Christ's *Formation* here, but his *Union* also with the *Logos*, and his being form'd for this purpose. And, in this respect no Creature, besides himself can be intitl'd to this Character, of being God's Son.

And, if it be objected against the 2*d*; That others shall be *the Sons of the Resurrection* as well as he, nay and ascend to Glory too; it is easily answer'd, that the Resurrection of Christ and that of others, are no way parallel. For Christ *raised himself* by his own Power, and ascended in the same manner also. And I suppose none will say, that any or all the Saints shall be, or can be, equally glorified, as Christ is, this way. So that upon all these Account, *Christ* may be justly called *God's Son*, even *as Man*, in a Sense peculiar to himself, and no way appropriable to others.

And, in case it be objected against the 3*d*; That all the Saints are made *Kings* and *Priests to God*, and are therefore in Scripture stiled the *Sons of God*; I answer, what then? Are they so intitl'd Sons in respect of Power and Authority, as Christ is, into whose Hands all Government and Authority are plac'd, to execute Judgment, even as he is *the Son of Man*, as he himself tells us, *John* 5. 22, 23, 27.

Whether therefore we consider *Christ*, as being the *Son of God*, in the most proper Sense, as the *Logos*; or whether we consider him, as the *Son of God*, in a secondary Sense indeed, as he is the *Loganthropos*, but yet in such a Sense, as is peculiar to himself, and applicable to no other: still we are let in to see, what Adoration and

and Reverence is due to him, and what a solid Foundation is laid, for our Souls to found upon with reference to Eternal Felicity and Glory. No wonder then, if (*m*) one of the Ancients should say, ἡ ἐν σαρκὶ παρουσία τοῦ σωτῆρος, θανάτου λύτρον, καὶ κτίσεως πάσης σωτηρία γέγονεν; *The very Presence of such a Saviour in the Flesh, became a Ransom from Death and Salvation to every Creature,* i. e. of the Human Race. And to the same purpose speaks (*n*) another Father; μὴ θαυμάζῃς εἰ κόσμου ὅλου ἐλυτρώθη, ὁ γὰρ τυχὸν ἀνθρώπου φίλος, ἀλλ' υἱὸς θεοῦ μονογενὴς, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἀποθνήσκων, &c. *Wonder not, if the whole World was redeem'd; for it was not a mere Man, but the only Son of God that died for it.* See to the same purpose the force of these Expressions, 1 *Pet.* 1. 18. *Heb.* 9: 12. 1 *John* 1. 2, 3, 5. *Rom.* 8. 39, &c. 1 *Tim.* 4.

Here we have a large Field for practical Reflections, as to the Love of God and Christ, and the endearing Engagements we are brought under this way, to honour and love, and serve the gracious God and our kind Redeemer. But seeing these may be easily infer'd by every serious Christian, and would tend to swell this Volume too much, I forbear.

2*dly.* Christ, as *Loganthropos,* or *Messiah,* is to be considered, in a reference to us, as he is not only *the Lord* from Heaven, but also *our Lord.*

The Name *God,* in the New Testament, which answers to *Eloah,* or *Elohim* in the Hebrew, is, by way of *Specialty,* tho not *exclusively,* given to the Father.

And, upon the other hand, the Name *Lord,* in the New Testament, which answers to *Jehovah* in the Hebrew, is, by way of *Specialty,* tho in no *exclusive* Sense, given to the Son.

Both these are plain, if it were only from what we read, 1 *Cor.* 8. 4, 5, 6. — —*There is none other God, but one. For tho there be that are called Gods* ——*Yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all*

(*m*) Athan. ad Adelph. (*n*) Cyril Catech. 13.

things,

things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. And therefore the Angel gives Christ this Name *Lord*, by way of Specialty, as soon as he was born, *Luke* 2. 11. *This Day is born unto you,* σωτὴρ, ὅς ἐστι χριστὸς κύριος, *a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord,* or *the Lord Christ.*

And here then, by the bye, is it not plain that he that assumed the Name *Jehovah*, by way of Specialty, to *Moses*, was no other than the *Logos*, who has since assum'd our Nature, as I shewed in the preceding Book?

And if this be true, may we not justly suppose, that both Jews and Christians have been hitherto under a Mistake, when they do suppose, that the Name *Jehovah* was directly and immediately expressive of the Divine Essence and Nature, without any proper Relation to us? For to me it appears probable, at least, that we have no Name, that either is or can be *immediately* expressive of the Divine Essence; and that this (as well as all the other Names that God is known by in Scripture) is only a *Characteristick Appellation* of him, under some Relation or other to his Creatures; tho I own at the same time, as I think I have proved (o) elsewhere, that this Name *Jehovah* is apropriable to no mere Creature.

But, to proceed; whatever Peculiarities may be supposed to be denoted by the Hebrew Word *Jehovah*, yet seeing it is rendred, almost constantly, by the Greek Word κύριος, in the New Testament: We are oblig'd, if we believe the Spirit of Christ himself to be his own best Interpreter; to suppose, that the principal Import of *Jehovah* in the Hebrew, is to specify him (to whom it is applied by way of Specialty) as the *Lord* over Men, in a most peculiar and immediate Sense.

(o) Christol. Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 197.

Now

Now a *Lord* is a direct and immediate Superiour over them, whose Lord he is, and is therefore only to be understood from his Relation to such. And I do not find, but that the Greek and English Word are used in the same Variety of Signification, with respect to such or such a Sort of Relation. Thus a Prince is called Lord, in reference to his Subjects; a Master with respect to Servants; a General, or other such Commander, with respect to Soldiers; and an Owner of Lands or Goods, in reference to them.

And indeed *our Lord* Jesus is *a Lord*, and *our Lord*, in all manner of respects whatsoever.

1. According to every *Notion* and *Acceptation* of the Word *Lord*. For he is not only *interpretatively*, but frequently very *expressly* called by this Name, as he is *our Prince*, *Isa.* 9. 6, 7. *Heb.* 1. 8. *Luke* 1. 33. *Eph.* 1. 22. 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. As he is *our Master*, *Matth.* 10. 25. *Heb.* 3. 6. *Matth.* 24. 25, 46. *John* 13. 13. As he is *our Captain* and our *Leader*, *Heb.* 2. 10. *chap.* 12. 2. And as he is our *Owner* and *Landlord*, 1 *Cor.* 6. 19, 20. And indeed he is called *our Lord* almost in every respect, that we can think of, either in express Words, or in equivalent Expressions. See for this these Scriptures, among others, *Acts* 3. 15. *Heb.* 3. 1. 1 *Pet.* 2. 25. and *chap.* 5. *v.* 4.

2. He is *our Lord*, according to every *Relation* or *Capacity*, whether in point of *Nature* or *Office*. For he is so, whether we consider him, as the *Son of God*, who by a natural and necessary Right and Propriety is such to us, as being *the Jehovah Sent* from his Father, as *the Jehovah Sending*, according to the Import of the Words, *Zech.* 10. 12. He is so, even as he is *Man*, i. e. the perfect Man and Head of Men, as such; *God having made the same Jesus, who was crucified, both Lord and Christ*, *Acts* 2. 36. See *Phil.* 2. 8, *&c.* And he is so, as he is the *Loganthropos*, as we see *Acts* 10. 36. 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. In which respect, he is called by the Name, both of *Christ*, *Luke* 2. 11. *Acts* 3. 36. and of *Jesus* or *Saviour*, *Isa.* 45. 11. and *chap.* 5. 31.

3. He is called *our Lord* also, with Respect to *every Foundation* or *Ground*, upon which *Lordship*, Superiority or Dominion is founded. For, if an uncontrollable Authority, Power and Ability to govern, be any Foundation this way, our blessed Saviour may justly claim this Title, in the highest Respect, *John* 17. 2. & Chap. 13. 3. *Matth.* 16. 18. *Heb.* 7. 25. Or, if He that preserves, upholds, maintains, and provides for others, deserve this Name from them, how much more He, *in whom we live and move, and have our Being*; Acts 17. 28. God the Father *upholding all things by this Logos of his Power*, *Heb.* 1. 3. Or, if Conquest over all Enemies merit this Title to a mere Man, how much more to our Saviour? See *Eph.* 1. 22. Or, if Purchase give a mere Man this Title, in a temporary Respect, how much more is this due to Christ, *who, for this end, both died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the Quick and of the Dead?* Rom. 14. 9. Or, if such a Title may be given, for the Reward of eminent Services, to a faithful and useful Person, imploy'd about weighty Affairs by his Prince; surely much more to Christ, for his Services, may this Title be appropriated, by way of Reward? *Heb.* 2. 9. —— *We see Jesus, for the suffering of Death, crown'd with Glory and Immortality*, &c. See Chap. 12. 2. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, &c. *Isa.* 53. 12. *Psal.* 110. 7. *Acts* 5. 31.

But, besides all these, there are yet some other Grounds of this Lordship of Christ, that bears a special Relation to some Persons, and not to all. Thus he is so *our Lord*, as we are visible *professing Christians*; as He is not in Reference either to *Jews*, *Pagans*, or *Mahometans*.

And yet there is a more special Foundation or Ground of Lordship, upon the Account of which some Christians may call him *our Lord*, and *my Lord*, which all visible Christians are not intitl'd to; and that is, by Reason of true and real inward Conversion. And Christ is *our Lord*, if we be such, in a special and peculiar Manner, and by Virtue of a great many Ties, *viz.*

viz. by Reaſon of our having ſolemnly Dedicated our ſelves to him as *our Lord*; by innumerable Favours beſtow'd upon us, by repeated Acts of Covenanting with him, as particularly at the Sacrament of his Supper; and indeed by all the Acts of our Devotion and Worſhip.

This is a Subject, if any, that relates to Divinity, that is eminently Practical, as every one muſt ſee and own. And I could, with Pleaſure, give a Vent this way, both to my Thoughts and Pen. But I muſt forbear at preſent, conſidering that I am like to be ſtraitned enough, without this Excurſion, in bringing this Book within due Compaſs.

I proceed, therefore, to the main and great Thing, which I propoſe in this Chapter, *viz.* a *New Account* of the *Parts* of *Chriſt's Office*, as *Mediator* or *Loganthropos*.

The *Mediatorial Office* of Chriſt has hitherto been ever conſider'd, to be *fully* as well as *truly* divided into *Three*, viz. the *Prophetical*, *Prieſtly* and *Kingly Office*. And I know of no Confeſſion of Faith, Catechiſm, or Syſtem whatſoever, which does not acquieſce in this Diſtribution; as that, according to which, every thing that relates to Chriſt's Office, as he is Redeemer and Mediator, may and ought to be explained. And I do readily ſo far agree with them, that I believe *each* of *theſe Offices* ought to be aſcribed to Chriſt, as *Mediator*, and come naturally, and neceſſarily, to be conſider'd as *Parts* of his *Office*, as ſuch, conſider'd in the general.

But then the Queſtion remains ſtill intire; whether *theſe* be *all the Offices* of Chriſt, or all the *Parts* of his *Mediatorial Office*?

Nay, this further Queſtion will likewiſe remain in its full Force; whether this be the *proper Diſtribution* of theſe, moſt accommodated to the *Scriptural Hypotheſis*?

Theſe Queſtions have, I think, hardly ever been thought of; And, in caſe they were ever ſtarted be-

fore, they have, at leaſt, never been ſufficiently, if at all, anſwered.

For my own Part, I think the *common Scheme* is a very *defective One*. And, tho this may be look'd upon to be a very bold Saying; ſeeing *Preſcription* has made this paſs current, as every way a full and perfect Scheme with the Bulk of Men, nay, and ſo far as I know, with all Chriſtians, of all Denominations: Yet I am much miſtaken, if I have not that Evidence to bear me out, that will change the Thoughts of every one, that will allow himſelf, calmly and ſeriouſly, to conſider what I have to ſay on this Head; tho I ſhall induſtriouſly and ſtudiouſly labour after Succinctneſs and Brevity here, as well as in other things.

To evince therefore the Defectiveneſs of the ordinary Scheme, I ſhall give two Inſtances.

In the *firſt* Place, there is nothing attributed to Chriſt more plainly and expreſly, than that he is as much the *Head* and *Father* of his People, in a ſpiritual Senſe, as *Adam* was of his Poſterity in a natural Senſe. Hence the Apoſtle calls him *the laſt* or ſecond *Adam*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 45. And it is plain, that the Parallel is run between theſe *two Adams*, with a great deal of critical Exactneſs, *ver.* 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, and in *ver.* 22. and ſo alſo in *Rom.* 5. *ver.* 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Now unto which of Chriſt's Offices ſhall this be aſſigned, that he is the *Second* and *Spiritual Adam*, or the *Everlaſting Father*, as he is called, *Iſa.* 9. 6. For the *Kingly Office* does not neceſſarily involve this, that he muſt beget his Children. It is true, Parental Government was the firſt. But this does rather bring the *Kingly* Government under the *Parental*, as the *Genus*, than the *Parental* under the *Kingly*. And it is plain, that theſe are conſidered, in Chriſt, as diſtinct in Scripture. Whence Chriſt is ſaid to be *both* the *Everlaſting Father*, and the *Prince of Peace*, Iſa. 9. 6. And as for Chriſt's *Prophetical* and *Prieſtly Office*, it is plain, that neither of them can be a *proper Genus* for the *Paternal*. There is not the leaſt Shadow of Ground for the *Prophetical Office*

fice this way. And as for the other, if, of old, the *Prieſthood* belong'd to the Firſt of the Family, it was becauſe he was ſuch. So that the Parent, or Firſt of the Family, was *Prieſt* and *Prince*, becauſe of this *previous Right*. But no Man will ſay, in any proper Senſe, that he was *Father*, becauſe he was *Prieſt* or *King*.

In the *next* Place, it is as certain, that Chriſt gave out the *Goſpel* or *New Law*, as that *Moſes* gave forth the *Old Law* to the *Jews*. As for thoſe that will have the *Goſpel Oeconomy* to be in no Senſe a Law, we ſhall probably have to do with them afterwards. And in the mean time, it is enough to ſay, as to this, that as the Goſpel is *frequently* called *a* (*p*) *Law* in the New Teſtament (tho diſtinguiſh'd from the *old Law*, by particular Epithets:) So if it were not *a Law*, there could be no Tranſgreſſion or Violation of it, by any manner of Diſobedience, as *Paul* ſpeaks, *Rom.* 4. 15. & 5. 13. Therefore the Apoſtle, when he ſays, that when he became all things to all Men, in order to gain upon them, for their Good, and for that End, acted as *under* the *Law* of *Moſes* to the *Jews*, and *without* it to the *Gentiles*; adds immediately, that he might not be miſtaken, *being*, however, *not without Law to God*, *viz.* in ſo acting; nay, ſays he, on the contrary, I acted, in all this, as *under the Law to Chriſt*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 21. But to return from this Digreſſion, certain it is that Chriſt was as really a *Legiſlator* to *Chriſtians*, as *Moſes* was to the *Jews*. For, tho the *Law* of *Chriſt* and that of *Moſes* be vaſtly different; yet this does not hinder, but that the one as well as the other was a *Legiſlator*; and the one *Conſtitution* or *Oeconomy* a *Law*, as properly as the other. And if the more imperfect Oeconomy of *Moſes* give Denomination to him, as a Legiſlator, who was but *a Servant*, tho a faithful one: How much more, as the Apoſtle argues, (*q*) ſhall Chriſt be prized and valued, *as a*

(*p*) *See* Gal. 6. 2. Heb. 7. 12, 16. Jam. 1. 25. & 2. 8. (*q*) Heb. 3. 3, 5, 6.

Son over his own Houſe; whoſe Houſe true Chriſtians are. Whence the Apoſtle argues, (r) that if the *Jews* could not enter into the Land of *Canaan*, becauſe of their not believing *Moſes*; we are much more liable to God's Wrath, in being ſhut out of the heavenly *Canaan*, if we reject Chriſt and his Meſſage, by Unbelief. Now, if Chriſt be really, tho ſpiritually, a *Legiſlator*, under which of his Three Offices, as uſually deſcribed, ſhall this Legiſlative Office be brought? Surely not under his *Prophetical* or *Prieſtly Offices*. For Prieſthood and Propheſie, do not, in the leaſt, involve or denote *Legiſlation*. And, as for the *Regal Office*, tho it have more Affinity with that of a *Legiſlator*, than the other two: Yet it does not neceſſarily include it. For the *Kingly Office* does only denote properly the *executive Power*, with a *Dignity* ſuitable to ſuch a Station and Truſt. So that it does not involve, but rather ſuppoſe the *Legiſlative Office* and *Power*. For, ſeeing *Laws* muſt be ſuppoſed to be made, before they can be put in Execution: It follows, that their Office, who make Laws, muſt be Prior to the Office of him, who is inveſted with the chief Truſt of executing them. *Tyrants* indeed, who have uſurped the *Legiſlative Power*, have aſcribed it to themſelves equally with the *Executive Part*. But this can be no parallel Caſe to that of our bleſſed Saviour. For, it is plain, that tho he be himſelf *one*, yet his *Legiſlative* and *Regal Office* are as diſtinct as his *Prieſtly* and *Regal* are. For, having once made and given forth an exact *Corpus Juris*, a Syſtem of Laws, which are holy, juſt and divine; he ties up his *Regal Office*, to an exact Obſervance of them in the Execution; excepting in ſuch Caſes, where he ſees fit to reſerve to himſelf, a *Prerogative* to do good in an extraordinary manner, as in the Caſe of *Paul*'s Converſion.

Theſe things being premiſed, I ſhall now humbly offer my Thoughts, upon this great Head. And, as I

(r) Heb. 3. 15, 19. Chap. 4. 1, &c. *See* Chap. 2. 1, 2, 3.

offer

offer all I publish, in order to be examined: So I hope it will not be ungrateful to inquisitive Persons to consider, whether the following Account be not more agreeable to the Latitude of the *Scriptural Hypothesis*, than that which has been so long, and so universally received.

I conceive therefore, that the sacred Oracles do seem to speak of the *Office* of *Christ*, as *Threefold*; viz. *Patriarchal*, *Legislatorial* or *Legislative*, and *Executorial* or *Executive*.

1. Christ may be considered, as the first and great *Patriarch* of Christians, and his Office therefore as *Patriarchal* or *Paternal*.

In this Respect, he is that *spiritually* to us, which *Adam* was *naturally* to all *Mankind*, and which *Noah* was afterwards to the *Post-Deluvians*. And, in this respect also, he is that to Christians, which *Abraham* was to the *Jews*, *viz.* the *first Patriarch*, or *Founder* of a *New Family*, or *New Society*, of which he is the *Original* and *Head*. He is the *Original* and *Source* of *Christians*; for he *begets* them to himself, by his *Word* and *Spirit*, that they may become the Children of God. And he is the *Head* of Christians, by Reason of this *Paternal Relation*.

But seeing his Design is, by begetting us to himself, to make us the Children of God, by *Adoption*, (as he is his only Son by *Generation*, as he is the *Logos*, and his only Son likewise, in a most special manner, as he is *Loganthropos*:) Hence he comes under the Denomination of the *Elder Brother*, and allows us to be called his *Brethren*, as Heirs and Joynt-Heirs with himself. In this respect God is the Father, and Christ the *Patriarch* of Christians, as He is the *first Born*. For this is spoken, in Allusion to the Right of the *First-Born Son* of old: Who, besides the *double Portion* above his Brethren, was *Priest* and *Prince* of his *Family*.

Now to trace this to the first Rise; we all know, that *Adam*, by natural Right, was the *First Prince* and *Priest* of Mankind, as he was their *First Parent* or *Patriarch*. But, when he had abused this Power, to the

Detriment and Ruin of his Posterity; God, out of Pity to Mankind, was concerned to raise them up a new Head; *Adam* having declared himself, by his Folly, incapable to act so, any more, as being disabled from governing his Posterity, by reason of his Rebellion against God, and Treachery to the Interest of Men. Christ is therefore designed and appointed, under the Designation of the *Seed of the Woman*, who was to revenge Man's Quarrel, as well as God's, upon the great Apostate and Rebel, by *bruising his Head*, and breaking his Power. So that the first Promise, is concerning Christ's being raised up as *another Adam*, to exercise the *Patriarchal Office*, for the good of Men, which the *first Adam* had forfeited and fallen from, by his Sin and Folly. And in order to Christ's exercising the *Patriarchal Office*, it was necessary, for the Reasons abovementioned, that he should become the *Seed of the Woman*, that he might have the same Nature, with those he was to be *Patriarch* over, who must be of the same Family with himself. But it was equally necessary, that he should not be begotten by Man, but that himself, as *Logos*, should produce the Manhood, in the Womb of a Virgin, and unite it with himself, that he might not so descend, as others, from *Adam*, but might owe his human Nature to his own Production. And that it was the *Logos* that over-shadowed the Virgin, and not the *Third Person* of the *Trinity*, we have had Occasion to prove. In the mean time, we are to observe, that when the Angel says to the Virgin, (*f*) *The Holy Ghost*, or Holy Spirit, *shall come upon thee*, he immediately explains what Holy Spirit he means; not the *Third Person*, that usually goes under that Name, but the *Second Person*, or the *Logos*, (who is likewise described as *an Holy and Quickning* (*t*) *Spirit*,) for he adds, *and the Power of the Highest shall over-shadow thee*; a Phrase which doth properly denote the *Logos*, as we

(*f*) Luke 1. 35. (*t*) *See* 1 Cor. 15. 45, &c.

have

have proved in (*u*) its proper Place; where we alſo ſhewed, that this Phraſe is a plain Proof of it, ſeeing the Angel himſelf infers, from what he had ſaid, that *therefore alſo*, (*i. e.* upon that Account that the *Logos* ſhould over-ſhadow and impregnate her Womb,) *that Holy Thing which ſhall be born of thee ſhall be called the Son of God, viz.* becauſe the *Logos*, who is the Power of the Higheſt, and his Son, ſhould unite to himſelf what was thus formed of her Subſtance. But to return,

Let us conceive, that, after the Creation of Man, the Law of Innocency given forth, and the Breach of that Law, by the Lapſe of *Adam*, (waving the Decree or Secret Will of God, which we can only gueſs at, having, in lieu of this, conſidered the Covenant of Redemption) the Juſtice of God was immediately about to take Place, in executing the Puniſhment threatned upon *Adam*, in Caſe he ſinned. And here let us conſider, what the threatned Puniſhment was. It is expreſſed thus, according to the *Hebrew* Phraſeology, *Gen.* 2. 17. *In the Day thou eateſt, dying thou ſhalt die*, or as our Verſion excellently renders it, *thou ſhalt ſurely die.* The Thing threatned then, according to the Letter, was the Extirpation of *Adam*, and of Mankind in him. For what we have, *Gen.* 6. 5, 6, 7. may be a Comment upon this; when it is ſaid (after the manner of Men, when God ſaw how great the Wickedneſs of Man was, *viz.* after having repriev'd and ſuſpended the Execution of the Threatning ſo long;) *that it repented the Lord that he had made Man on the Earth, and it grieved him at his Heart; and he ſaid, I will deſtroy Man*, &c.

Therefore we are led on, in a natural Train of Thoughts, to conceive further, that Chriſt ſtept in, before the Execution, as the (*x*) Patron of Mankind, eſpouſing his Intereſt, and undertaking for him, as

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(*u*) Viz. *In the preceding Chapter, when we diſcours'd of Chriſt's Incarnation.* (*x*) *See what I have ſaid upon this Head, in the* 3*d Chapter of this Book.*

Moſes

Moſes did afterwards for *Iſrael*, when God was about to extirpate, and cut off all that Race of Men. And here we may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that Chriſt did intercede for Man, as God is brought in ſpeaking concerning *Ephraim*, *Hoſ.* 11. 7, 8, 9. " O my Father, " let not the threatned Evil be executed upon the mi- " ſerable Race of Man, upon the Account of the Sin " of their firſt Parents. Why ſhould the Children be " cut off, and thus ſuffer, who have not yet a Being " properly, and therefore could not actually ſin? " Their Caſe is quite different from that of the Apo- " ſtate Angels, who joyn'd with their Head, the grand " Rebel, againſt thee, not by a natural Neceſſity, but " voluntary Conſent. It is Reaſon they ſhould ſuffer " in their own Perſons, who perſonally ſinn'd. But " ſeeing the Caſe is otherwiſe here, let Mercy pre- " vail. For how canſt thou give up with all Mankind? " How canſt thou treat thoſe that are unborn, as " *Adam* and *Eve*? How is it conſiſtent with thy Good- " neſs, to deal with them with the ſame Rigour as " with the Apoſtate Angels? Why ſhould Human " Race be wholly extirpated? Can no Uſe be made of " them? Shall the grand Uſurper be gratified, in this " Deſign of his, alas! too ſucceſsful Temptation? Is " there no way to counter-act him, and defeat his U- " ſurpation over this new World, and this new Race? " Yes, ſurely, there is. I will undertake for loſt Man- " kind. And ſeeing *Adam* has acted the Part of a *Pa-* " *triarch* ſo ill to thee and his Poſterity; I will put " my ſelf in his ſtead, and become the *Patriarch* of " Men, *&c.*

Now upon the Suppoſition of our Saviour's offering himſelf thus, as the Patron and Patriarch of Men, and the Father's accepting of his Offer, and accordingly authorizing him to act for the Future, as the Ruler of Men, in order to be their Saviour: I ſay, upon the Suppoſition of theſe Things; we will naturally be led by an eaſie Gradation, to ſee the Truth of all thoſe Heads of the Covenant of Redemption, of which I did

did discourse particularly in the 3*d* Chapter. But seeing this has again fallen in my way, I shall not grudge a little further Pains to confirm what I then said. Therefore to proceed; let us suppose that Truth which I have but just now laid down, as a Supposition, *viz.* Our Saviour's offering himself (in some such manner, as I have mentioned) to become the Patron and Patriarch of Men: Our Minds will be naturally directed; (1.) To contemplate, what the Scheme probably was, that the Father and Son agreed in, as to the Government, Redemption and Salvation of Men. In which our Thoughts will be directed, in some measure, by considering these Hints from Scriptures, consonant to what I mention'd before, *viz.* That the Father, on his Part, did agree that Christ should undertake this Work, 1 *Pet.* 1. 20. that he should be every way fitted and qualified for it, *Isa.* 7. 14. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *Heb.* 10. 5. that he should be actually set apart for it, *Isa.* 42. 6. invested with Offices and Trusts for managing it, *Psal.* 89. 19. and sent by him with a Commission to execute it, *John* 6. 39. And that, upon the other hand, the Son did agree to all these things, and whatsoever he was to do or suffer in pursuance of this great Design. He agreed to be design'd for this Work, *Psal.* 40. 6. *Isa.* 50. 5, 6. to put himself into a low Condition, in order to be fitted and qualified to accomplish it, *Heb.* 2. 7. *Phil.* 2. 6, 7, 8. to be called and set apart for it, *Heb.* 10. 5, 7. to be invested with Offices and Trusts required to the Discharge of it, *Prov.* 8. 23. *John* 17. 2. and to be actually sent and commissioned, in order to execute the same, *John* 4. 34. (2.) We may contemplate the immediate Result of this greement, between *God* and the *Logos*; *viz.* the suspending the Execution of the threatned Punishment, so as it was not executed according to its extent. For the Race of Man was continued, and common Mercies vouchsaf'd. Nay, which was still more, Man was settled in a salvable State, so as to be sav'd from Misery, upon reasonable and easy Terms. And of these things the Longevity of *Adam* and *Eve*, and the Acceptance

ceptance of *Abel*'s Sacrifice and Services, are a ſtanding Monument. And if *Cain* forfeited Happineſs, it was his own Fault only. For God frees himſelf from Partiality to Brother, when he tells him, *Gen.* 4.7. *If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doſt not well, Sin lies at the door*; i. e. the Puniſhment of thy Sin is certain, and thou canſt not eſcape it. Now, ſays God, conſider that thou art the elder Brother, and act accordingly: For if thou do ſo, *unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him.* (3.) We are to conſider, that in purſuance of this Agreement with God, the *Logos* acted ever after as the Patriarch and Patron of Men, in relation to the Ends of his Divine Government. So that, as he ruled all Men by a *General Logocraty*, he did erect a ſpecial *Theocraty*, or rather *Logocraty*, over the Jews, upon the occaſion of the General Apoſtacy that began to over-ſpread the World in *Abraham*'s time, and which came to be fixed afterwards in the Days of *Moſes*. (4.) We are further led in to ſee, from what we have ſaid, that it was in purſuance of this Agreement with God, that the *Logos*, who had acted ſo long as the Patron and Patriarch of Men, before his Incarnation, by virtue of his Promiſe and Engagement to become Man; did, in the *fulneſs of Time*, take upon him our Nature, ſo as to become a real Man. From whence we ſee, (as I have already hinted in the Introduction to this Book) that the Stir and Controverſy about the End of Chriſt's Death, (*viz.* whether he died to *ſave all* or *ſome*) has been very frivolous. Seeing Chriſt's End in dying, was not *formally* to *ſave ſome*, or to *ſave all*; but to procure to himſelf as *the Chriſt*, *Meſſiah* or *Loganthropos*, a Right and Power to govern *all Men*, that would ſubmit themſelves to him, in order to ſave ſuch as ſhould do ſo, in a right manner. For which Purpoſes he was to promulgate the *new Law* of *Faith*, under the Notion of the *Goſpel* or *glad News* of Salvation, and erect a new Diſpenſation of Grace accordingly; by which Men are to be judged, and to be approved or rejected, ſaved

or

or loſt, according as they receive or reject it, live up to it or not; in order thus to act as *Patriarch*, or as the *Loganthropos*, for the general Good of Men; but ſpecially for this end, that he might erect a new Model of Government, which we call by the Name of Chriſtocraty. And, in this reſpect, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Heb.* 7. 22. he was made the Surety *of a better Teſtament*; or, as he ſays, *Heb.* 8. 6. he obtained a *more excellent Miniſtry*, than that of the Prieſts under the Law, by how much he is the *Mediator of a better Covenant, which was eſtabliſhed upon better Promiſes.* (5.) We are here to conſider this particularly, that as the *Logos* agreed to become our *Patriarch*, ſo the Father did expreſly ſtipulate and agree that he ſhould have a *ſpecial Seed* and ſpiritual Poſterity, that ſhould derive their Original, *as ſuch*, not from the *firſt Adam*, but from him the true *Adam* and *Patriarch of Men.* Therefore we are aſſured, *Iſa.* 53. 10. That *when he ſhould be bruiſed, and made an Offering for Sin, he ſhould ſee his Seed, and prolong his Days, and the Pleaſure of the Lord ſhould proſper in his hand*, i. e. whatever God did take pleaſure in, ſhould flouriſh under his Management. And *this Seed* are thoſe who are born ἄνωθεν, *from above*, or, as we render the Word, *again*, *John* 3. 3. i. e. *ſuch are born* not only *of Water*, as being baptized, but *of the Spirit* alſo, as being regenerated, as Chriſt explains himſelf, *ver.* 5. Theſe *Peter* calls *Elect according to the Fore-knowledge of God the Father, thro' Sanctification of the Spirit, unto Obedience and Sprinkling of the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 *Ep.* 1. 2. And *John* deſcribes them, as thoſe *that are born, not of Blood, nor of the will of the Fleſh, but of God, Chap.* 1. 13. and of ſuch he gives this Character, 1 *Ep.* 3. 9. *Whoſoever is born of God doth not commit Sin: For his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin becauſe he is born of God.*

Now from theſe things, as it will, I think, unanſwerably appear, that *one*, and indeed the *firſt Office*, aſcribed to our Saviour, is that which I know no Name ſo expreſſive of, as that of *Patriarchal*: So likewiſe that this is of a greater Latitude and Extent, than that it can fall under

der any, or indeed all the Offices that are vulgarly ascribed to Christ. Nay, from what we have said, it will rather appear, That the *Patriarchal Office* includes all these three *Offices, viz.* his *Kingly, Priestly* and *Prophetical.* For, as the first two belong'd of old to the Head of a Family, as his Birthright: So it became him to be a Prophet too, in the general Sense of the Word, that he might teach and instruct those that were under him, which was part of *Abraham*'s valuable Character, as a *Pater familias, Gen.* 18. 17, 18, 19. Nay, of old time, the eminent Patriarchs were endued with a Prophetical Spirit also, in a strict Sense, as appeareth in the instance of *Noah, Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob,* who thus *blessed their Seed.* But, whatever was the Case, as to other Patriarchs, we are sure Christ was such a one, as that all these three Offices of *Priesthood, Prophecy* and *Regal Power* are involved in this his *Patriarchal Office.*

Here I might take occasion to shew, how all the ancient Patriarchs, and those that acted as such, and are reckoned to this Class, were Typical of Christ; such as *Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Shem* or *Melchisedeck* (or both if they are different Persons, as some think) *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob.* But these Contemplations would lead me too far.

Let it suffice to observe, that tho some of these were Patriarchs in a more proper Sense than others, as being the first Heads of new Families, *viz. Adam, Noah* and *Abraham:* Yet all of them did equally act as Patriarchs; tho we have not so large an account of some, as of others. Of *Adam* little is said this way; but we may justly conclude that he acted both as *Prophet, Priest and King.* And we reasonably judge the same of *Seth, Enoch* and *Methuselah.* But it is plain that *Noah* acted the part not only of *Prince,* but of *Priest* in offering Sacrifice, and of *Prophet* in blessing his Sons prophetically. The Patriarch *Melchisedeck,* the most Illustrious Type of any, as to Christ's Patriarchal Office, was not only *King of Righteousness,* as his Name signifies, and

King

King of Salem or Peace, but *Prieſt alſo of the moſt High God.* And that he was the *Great Prophet* of God alſo, in thoſe Days, appears from his *bleſſing Abraham*, and that in a Prophetical Strain too. And we have already obſerved, that in the *Patriarchal Office* of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, the *Prophetical* Office as well as *Prieſtly* and *Regal* Power were included. And the ſame may be ſuppoſed, as to the twelve Sons of *Jacob*, who are ordinarily called the twelve Patriarchs. For, as it is certain they were the Princes and Prieſts of their Poſterity, ſo they were the Teachers of them, or Prophets, in an Ordinary Senſe. For it was not until *Moſes*'s *Time*, that *Prieſthood* was taken from the *Firſt-born*, and fixed in the Tribe of *Levi*. *Numb.* 3. 12, 41, 45. and *Chap.* 8. 18. and that the *Kingly* and *Prophetical Office* were adjudged to belong to any whom God pleaſed to honour this way; of what Tribe ſoever they were deſcended. So that, from the Inſtances of all thoſe, who were *properly Patriarchs*, we may ſee, that the *Prophetical*, *Prieſtly* and *Regal* Office, are included in the *Patriarchal*, as the *proper Genus*. And much more then is it ſo, in relation to Chriſt. So that it may be juſtly wondered at, that no mention ſhould be made of Chriſt's *Patriarchal Office*, in any of our Bodies of Divinity to this day; when both the Name Father, and the Deſcription of his Office, as Father or Patriarch, is ſo plainly ſet down in Scripture. And I do the more inſiſt upon this, in order to revive the Scriptural Notion of it, becauſe I ſee not how either the *Kingly*, *Priſtly* or *Prophetical Office* can be rightly explained, unleſs this be underſtood.

Having thus given an Account, what the Patriarchal Office of Chriſt is, and how improvable; it were high time to proceed to his other Offices. But there is one thing I would firſt touch upon, and add, as a *Coronis* to what I have been upon already, and that is to give ſome account of *Melchiſedeck*, ſeeing I have made mention of him. I know much has been ſaid on this Head already. But I hope it may not be amiſs to add ſomething, concerning ſo great a Perſon, and ſo illuſtrious a

Type

Type of Christ, as to his Patriarchal Office, as the Apostle makes him to be, in the 7*th* Chapter to the *Hebrews*, which is, if I may so say, nothing else but a Sermon or Comment on one Text, *viz.* *Psal.* 110. 4. where it is expresly foretold, that *Christ should be a Priest for ever*, not after the Order of *Aaron*, but *according to the Order of Melchisedeck*. Which the *Targum* gives us this Paraphrase of, *God has sworn (and shall never repent that he has done so) that he will constitute thee to be his Great Priest in the World to come*, (i. e. in the times of the New Testament) *because thou hast merited this Office, in being the true Melchisedeck*, or *truely righteous King*. It may not be amiss therefore critically to consider the short Account of this great Personage, which we have, *Gen.* 14. 18.

That he was *Priest of the most High God*, and a *King* likewise, is expresly asserted in that place: And that, besides the mystical Signification of *Salem*, he was a temporal Prince that reigned at *Jeru-salem* or *Jebus-salem*, the *Salem* of the *Jebusites*, which in his Days was called *Salem* only, seems very plain to me from *Psal.* 76. 2. where *Jerusalem* is called by its Name *Salem*. And here, by the way, I can't but take particular notice, that the Psalmist doth there allude to the History of *Abraham*'s defeating the four Kings, and of his being met by *Melchisedeck*, and blest by him. For having said, *In* Salem *is God's Tabernacle and his Dwelling-place in* Sion, which was within *Salem*; he immediately adds, *There brake he the Arrows of the Bow, the Shield and the Sword, and the Battle. Thou art more glorious and excellent than Mountains of Prey.* Which I hope I may be allowed to paraphrase after this manner: "In *Jerusalem*, of old called "*Salem*, thou hast now thy Tabernacle, O Lord, ha- "ving made choice of *Sion* for thy Dwelling-place. "And well may it deserve the Name of *Salem*, which "it was anciently known by. For it was *there*, even "that thou didst of old break the Power of the insulting "Kings, by the Hand of thy Servant *Abraham*, who "upon that occasion had the Patriarchal Blessing given "him

" him by the Great Patriarch *Melchiſedeck* the King of " *Salem.* And there it was that *Abraham* gave this " Teſtimony to the Honour of thy Service, that he " reckoned thee more Glorious and Excellent than " *Mountains*, or mountainous Heaps of *Prey*, which he " had taken from thoſe Kings, of which he ſcorned " to take to the Value of a Shoe-latchet, tho offered " him by the King of *Sodom*; but gave all back again, " leſt it ſhould be ſaid that he grew rich any other way, " than by the Bleſſing and Donation of God alone.

Now the Hiſtory of the War between the *four Kings* and the *five*, mentioned in the 14*th* Chapter of *Geneſis*, may help us to underſtand what we intend. Of which we have this account. The *King* of *Sodom* and the neighbouring Princes, having rebelled againſt *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* or *Perſia*, after they had been Tributaries to him twelve Years; *Chederlaomer* raiſeth an Army to ſubdue them, and gets three Confederate Princes to go along with him, and to aſſiſt him in his Expedition. So he and his Aſſociates begin their Invaſion of the Land of *Canaan*, at the *North* End without *Jordan*, and having defeated the King of *Sodom* and the reſt of the Kings, and being thus fluſh'd with Succeſs, reſolves upon an intire Conqueſt of the Country within *Jordan* alſo. For this end he enters into the *South* Part of *Canaan*, and paſſeth victorious as far as *Hebron*, where *Abraham* then reſided, as we ſee, *Gen.* 13. 18. tho *Abraham* did not dwell in the City it ſelf, but in the Valley of *Mamre*, which was contiguous, and belonged to it, as we may ſee, if we compare *Gen.* 14. 13. with *Chap.* 13. 18. This he paſſeth by, and penetrateth to the Borders of *Dan*, not far from *Salem* or *Jeruſalem*; tho we hear not whether he had any Deſign upon that place. However the Country being then under Terror and Conſternation, *Abraham*, both upon this Account, and a Concern he had for his Friend and Kinſman *Lot*, parts from *Hebron*, which, according to Dr. *Lightfoot*'s Account, is about 18 Engliſh Miles diſtance from *Jeruſalem* to the *South*; from whoſe Towers

the Jews say it might have been seen, *Hebron* having the Advantage of being situated in the Hill-Country of *Judah*, as we see, *Josh.* 21. 11. Now from *Hebron* *Abraham* goes to the North-West, or North North-West after the Enemy, and overtakes and defeats them near the Borders of *Dan*; and therefore the place of the Defeat was either at *Salem*, or very near it. For it appears that the Borders of *Dan* were very near *Jerusalem* from this, that the City of *Baalah*, afterwards called *Kirjah-jearim*, was so in the Border of *Judah* and *Dan*, as to be ascribed to both. For in *Josh.* 15. 29. it is said to be upon the South of *Judah* towards *Edom*, *i. e.* South South-East from it. And in *Josh.* 19. 44. it is said to stand in the Border of *Dan*. The Case was this. The City it self belonged to *Judah*, and the Fields, and perhaps Suburbs, to *Dan*. Now this City Dr. *Lightfoot* judgeth, with great probability, to have been 6 or 7 English Miles from *Jerusalem*. It is true *Abraham* pursued the Enemy some Days Journey Northward, after the Defeat, as we see, *Gen.* 14. 15. But it is as true that he returned to *Jerusalem* with all the Booty. For it was there that he was met and blessed by *Melchisedeck*, and that he gave back the Prey to the *King* of *Sodom*: Both these Accounts, being so interwoven one with another, as if it were on purpose to shew, that they happened at the same Time and Place. Now the Place of this remarkable Interview is said to be *the Valley of* Shaveh, or the *King's-dale*, (as it was afterwards called) *Gen.* 14. 17. And therefore, if we can find out where this was, it will help to clear what we intend. Which will be no difficult thing; seeing we read, that in that very place *Absalom* erected his noble Pillar, 2 *Sam.* 18. 18. the Remains of which continue to this very Day, as both Jews and Christians tell us, who have travelled into *Judæa*. Now this *Dale* or *Vale*, where *Absalom's Pillar* stands, and which was anciently called the *King's Dale*, because the *Kings* of *Judah* used to divert themselves there in their Chariots, and in other

Amuse-

Amuſements, was but two Furlongs without the Wall of *Jeruſalem*, as we are told by thoſe that have given the beſt Deſcriptions of the Place. It lay juſt under the *Temple* to the Eaſt, between that and the Mount *Olivet*, the Brook *Cedron* running through it; and it is ſuppoſed to be the ſame, that was afterwards called the *Valley* of *Jehoſhaphat*, to the South of which lay another *Valley*, infamous for the Murder of Children, whom Idolaters ſacrificed alive to *Moloch*; which is called ſometimes *Tophet*, and ſometimes *Ghehennon*, i. e. the Valley of *Hennon*, or the *Sons of Hennon*; from which the Name *Gehenna*, which ſignifieth Hell, takes its riſe. From whence it appears plainly, that *Melchiſedeck* did not dwell in that place, which is called *Salem*, *John* 3. 23. as Dr. *Whitby*, after *Jerom*, imagines. Which Miſtake ariſes from not diſtinguiſhing between the Place where *Abraham* attack'd his Enemies, which was upon the Borders of *Dan*, *Gen.* 14. 14. and the Place towards which he purſued them afterwards, which was over againſt *Damaſcus*, v. 15.

From this Hiſtorical Account, it ſeems to be plain, beyond all diſpute, that *Melchiſedeck* was a Man, that liv'd at *Salem* or *Jeruſalem*, who was ſo eminent for Righteouſneſs, both as Prieſt and Prince, that he came to be known at length by no other Name but that of the Righteous King, (for ſo his Name *Melchiſedeck* ſignifies in the Hebrew) who was the Prieſt of the Supreme God, in oppoſition to thoſe that were Prieſts of ſuch Deities as began then to be univerſally worſhipped, as the Tutelary Gods of Provinces and Tribes. So that there is no Foundation, that I can ſee, to imagine that he was an *Angel*, far leſs the *Logos* himſelf appearing as a Man, as ſome do imagine. And, if he certainly was deſcended from ſome Father and Mother, as all other Men are; which is not formally denied by the Apoſtle *Heb.* 7. 3. if we ſhall conſider, that the Apoſtle does only aſſert, that as there is no mention made of his Father and Mother as he is called *Melchiſedeck*, ſo the Perſon

that goes under that Name had really no Father and Mother, in the Senſe that he was Prieſt and King; *i. e.* he was not poſſeſt of theſe Offices, in an ordinary way of Deſcent, by the Right of *Primogeniture*. But he had theſe by an immediate Donation and Grant from God, in ſuch a manner as *Jacob* obtain'd the firſt Bleſſing, tho the youngeſt Son, tho he uſed no Trick to procure it, ſuch as *Jacob* made uſe of. And, in like manner, he was without Deſcent or End of Days, becauſe his Prieſthood did not deſcend to any Man after him, as that of *Aaron* did. In all which reſpects he was made like unto the Son of God, as being an eminent Type of him, and indeed the moſt perfect of any, and therefore is ſaid *to abide a Prieſt* (without being changed or ſucceeded by others, as was the Caſe of the Aronical and all other Prieſts beſides) *continually, viz.* in the laſting Regiſter of Scripture, which ſpeaks of him, as containing (in this Senſe I have given) all his *Species* in himſelf, none ſucceeding him in his *Patriarchate*, or any Branch of it, in any proper Senſe (as we ſhall further ſee) until Chriſt himſelf came and took up his Office, in an higher Senſe ſtill, as the *Everlaſting Melchiſedeck* of the *Spiritual Salem* or *Jeruſalem*, where he reigns as *King*, governs as *Prieſt*, and inſtructs as *Prophet*. Now who ſhould this great Man be, but *Shem*. For to him, and him only, all that the Apoſtle ſays of *Melchiſedeck* is applicable. In order to underſtand this, I muſt give the Reader ſome Thoughts in relation to his Hiſtory. All Men know, that *Noah* had three Sons. Of theſe I think it is plain, that *Japhet* was the firſt-born, *Shem* the next, and *Ham* the youngeſt. That *Shem* was younger than *Japhet* is owned by all: For ſo we are told, *Gen.* 10. 21. where he is called *the Brother of* Japhet *the Elder*, or *Firſt-born*. And *Ham* is in like manner ſpoken of as the younger, with reſpect both to *Japhet* and *Shem*, *Gen.* 9. 23, 24. To *Japhet* therefore the Right of Primogeniture did belong by a natural Right. But God did order things otherwiſe, and did by the Mouth of *Noah*, whom

whom he did divinely inſpire for this End, give the *firſt Bleſſing* to *Shem*, and the *Second* only to *Japhet*, as we ſee, *Gen.* 9. 26. By *which*, as by an expreſs *Commiſſion* from God, *Shem* is conſtituted and appointed to ſucceed his Father, contrary to the ordinary Law of natural Deſcent, to be the firſt Patriarch of the whole Family deſcending from *Noah*, and in this Senſe the Supreme and Univerſal Prince, Prieſt and Prophet of Men. Now the Land of *Canaan*, and *Jeruſalem* particularly, being mark'd out by God to be the Great Theater, where the moſt remarkable Tranſactions of Providence were to be, in a Gradation of ſeveral and various Scenes, down from *Shem* to the *Meſſiah*; it deſerves a ſpecial Remark, that the Peculiarity of *Shem*'s *Bleſſing*, as well as of *Ham*'s *Curſe*, is relative to the Dominion and Poſſeſſion of that Country. Therefore *Ham* is characterized, in Relation to his Sin, not ſimply by his own proper Name, or as the Son of *Noah*, but as *the Father of* Canaan, *Gen.* 9. 22. And when he is curſed, it is not by his own Name, but by the Name of his youngeſt Son *Canaan*, Gen. 9. 25. for it is not ſaid, curſed be *Ham*, but *curſed be Canaan*. By which the other Sons of *Ham*, viz. *Cuſh*, *Mizraim* and *Phut*, are paſt by and exempted from the Curſe. Which, by the by, doth rectifie a vulgar Errour, as if this Curſe had been upon *all* Ham's *Poſterity*. Now wherein this Curſe pronounced upon *Canaan* and his Poſterity doth conſiſt, we may eaſily ſee in the Words, compared with the Event. For it is ſaid, in the general, that he ſhould be *a Servant unto his Brethren*, Gen. 9. 25. and then it is added, that he ſhould be *firſt* a Servant unto *Shem*, v. 26. and *afterwards* unto *Japhet*, v. 27. All which was litterally, as well as ſpiritually, verified afterwards. For *Canaan* took Poſſeſſion of the Land, which took its Name from him; from whom a numerous Poſterity did ſpring, divided into ſeveral Families or Tribes, of which *Moſes* enumerates Eleven, *Gen.* 10. 15, 16, 17, 18, viz. *Sidonites*, *Hethites*, *Jebuſites*, *Emorites*, *Girgaſites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Arvadites*,

Zemarites and *Hamarites*. But he adds, *and afterwards were the Families of the Canaanites ſpread abroad.* By which I underſtand, that there was afterwards ſome Grandſon or Great Grandſon of *Canaan*, of his own Name, who erected a new Tribe, which made up the Number of Twelve in all. For beſides, that all thoſe Tribes were ſometimes called by the general Name of *Canaanites*, it is obvious and plain, that there was a particular Tribe to whom this Name was ſpecially appropriated, as we ſee, *Joſ.* 11. 3. and in many other Places. I take notice of theſe things here, the rather, tho by the by, becauſe, if I miſtake not greatly, they will afford a better Comment upon a dark Piece of Scripture, than any that has yet been given, *viz.* upon *Moſes* his Words, *Deut.* 32. 8, 9. *When the moſt High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the Sons of Adam, he ſet the Bounds of the People, according to the Number of the Children of Iſrael*, &c. which I chuſe to paraphraſe thus. " When the moſt High divided to " the ſeveral Nations deſcending from *Noah* and his " Sons, their ſeveral Allotments of the World to in- " herit; and when afterwards he ſeparated and ſcat- " tered abroad thoſe Sons of *Adam*, or Tranſgreſſors, " who at *Babel* were confederated to oppoſe the Or- " der of God, by *Noah*, as to the Allotments aſſigned " them and their Brethren: In both theſe Times, God " evidenced his Reſpect to his People *Iſrael*, (tho not " then in being actually) in appointing *Canaan* to be " their Inheritance. And that even when the *Canaanites* " uſurped the Land, which was by God and *Noah* ap- " propriated to the Poſterity of *Shem*, ſtill he did ſo " order Matters, that the Bounds of their Habitation " was mark'd out to Twelve Tribes, according to the " Number of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, which were to be " the true and laſting Poſſeſſors of that Country. And this brings me back again to what I was upon. For, as it is only *one Branch* of *Ham*'s *Poſterity*, *viz.* the Children of *Canaan*, that came under the Curſe here: So we ſee this was fulfilled afterwards, when they were either

either cut off, or made Slaves to *Israel*, the Posterity of *Shem*. And afterwards they being themselves cut off, or expell'd the Land of *Canaan* by the *Romans*; God's converting them and the *Greeks*, and others descended from *Japhet*, was a Verification of the other Part of the Prophecy, that God would inlarge *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*: Which was made good in a temporal, as well as spiritual Sense. But to return to *Shem*, we see that the Specialty of his Blessing was, that *Canaan* should be his Servant. Therefore, tho *Canaan* had seized upon that Country, in Defiance to the contrary Order of *Noah*, (which I suppose was at, or after the Attempt of the Builders of *Babel*;) *Shem* fixes his Seat in *Salem*, taking Possession thus of that Country, by Virtue of the Promise, as knowing that his Posterity would, at length, recover their Right to it, and be the Possessors of it, and that the *Canaanites* would be their Servants.

That *Shem* was alive in *Abraham*'s Time, is agreed upon by all. He was an hundred Years old, when he begat *Arphaxad*, which was two Years after the Flood; and he lived 500 Years afterwards. Now the War between the *five Kings* and *Four*, happened, according to *Usher*'s *Chronology*, in the Year of the World, 2092; whereas *Shem* did not die until the Year 2158. So that *Shem*, if he was *Melchisedeck*, liv'd, after his blessing *Abraham*, no less than 166 Years. And seeing he was alive, who was constituted Patriarch, as we have said, and was consequently, in all Equity and Right, or (to use the Modern Way of speaking) *de jure*, King and Priest of the whole World, after his Father *Noah*'s Death (who died 86 Years before the Battle of the Kings, *A. M.* 2006;) I say, this being considered; who can be supposed to be *Melchisedeck* but he. For, as the Apostle says, *Heb.* 7. 4. Consider how great this Man was, to whom even the *Patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the Spoils*, &c. Surely then, they that make him a *Canaanitish* King, (as even the great *Calvin* does, to my Astonishment, at so odd a

Miſtake) ſeem not to conſider what they ſay, when they make one of the accurſed Seed not only to be greater than *Abraham*, but to hand over to him the Bleſſing that *Noah* gave to *Shem*, as we ſhall quickly ſee he does. Where, by the way, let me ask, whether it be poſſible to conceive, that any could act to *Abraham* as a Superior in all Reſpects, who himſelf was a *Patriarch*; excepting only the *firſt Patriarch*, from whom he himſelf was deſcended; who therefore could be no other but *Shem*, ſeeing we are ſure he was then alive.

But to bring further Light into this Matter, and to ſhew the *Rationale* of the Scheme I am upon, let us look into the Hiſtory we have been upon, with inlightned Eyes. We have ſeen *Shem's Bleſſing* and *Right* to the *Land of Canaan*, and we have ſeen *Chedorlaomer's* Conqueſts and Defeat. Let us now conſider the Ground and Occaſion of the War. In order to underſtand which, we muſt remember that *Shem* had four Sons, viz. *Elam*, *Aſſhur*, *Arphaxad* and *Aram*, as we ſee, *Gen.* 10. 22. And without doubt *Shem* had made them acquainted with *Noah's Prophecy*, and that he had obtain'd the firſt Bleſſing; by Virtue of which, he had Right to the Land of *Canaan*, tho the Poſterity of *Ham* had taken Poſſeſſion of it. *Elam* therefore, as the eldeſt Son, did juſtly lay Claim to the Country of *Canaan*, tho it ſeems he was not able to conquer it in his Days; but was forced to remove further into the Heart of *Aſia*; where he occupied that Country, which from him took the Name of *Elam*, and was afterwards called *Perſia*: At the ſame Time, that his Brother *Aſſhur* ſettled, in the Country, that was from him called *Aſſyria*; and *Arphaxad* near *Babylon*, from whom that part of *Aſſyria*, which was of old called *Arphaxitidis*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Arrapachitis*, took its Name; and from whom, afterwards, the *Hebrews* did deſcend, taking their Name from his Grandſon *Heber*. But in the mean time *Shem's* youngeſt Son *Aram*, having probably a more numerous Poſterity than his Elder Brethren, at firſt took Poſſeſſion of part of the Land of *Canaan*, from whom the

Syrians

Syrians deſcended. But in Proceſs of Time, it appears that the *Elamites* did increaſe in Number and Proweſs. For tho *Nimrod*, the Son of *Cuſh*, and Grandſon of *Ham*, erected the firſt Monarchy that was after the Flood, occupying the Land of *Shinar*, *i. e.* the Country about *Babylon*, and conquering the Poſterity of *Aſhur*; from whoſe Name, however, the Country and Monarchy came to be called: Yet the *Elamites* remained unconquer'd, and were govern'd by their own natural Princes. Nay, it would ſeem, that in *Abraham*'s Time, the *Elamites* were the moſt powerful People in *Aſia*: Seeing the King of *Shinar* or *Babylon*, as well as the two other Kings mentioned, *Gen.* 14. 1. did only aſſiſt the King of *Elam*, who therefore ſeems to have been the Chief of all the Four. However, ſuch was the Name and Dignity of the Kings of *Shinar*; that not only *Amraphel* is firſt named, *Gen.* 14. 1. but the *Epocha* is mark'd out from him. It is therefore ſaid, *That this War happened in the Days of* Amraphel *King of Shinar*, in which, he and three other Kings made an Inroad into *Canaan*. And yet it is added, that *Chedorlaomer*, and the Kings that were with him, did ſo and ſo, *ver.* 5. By which *Moſes* ſeems to inſinuate, that the King of *Elam* was the greateſt of the Four: At leaſt he was the Chief in this Expedition, ſeeing it was undertaken wholly upon his Account, in order to recover his Right. For, as *Elam* was intitled to the Land of *Canaan*, as the eldeſt Son of *Shem*: So, tho he was not able to conquer it in his Time, yet *Chedorlaomer* his Son, Grandſon or Great-Grandſon, did actually poſſeſs himſelf of a great Part of it, if not the Whole. This Acquiſition was fourteen Years before this War was, which was commenced to reduce the King of *Sodom* and his *Aſſociates*, who had rebelled againſt their Sovereign *Chedorlaomer*, whom they had ſerved peaceably for twelve Years. *Chedorlaomer* therefore, the Head and King of of the *Elamites*, took this Opportunity to aſſert his Title to *Canaan*, by conquering and reducing it under his Obedience, as the firſt Male Branch of all *Shem*'s *Poſterity*.

rity. Tho, in this he acted, in all Appearance, as a Head-ſtrong Man, without (if not againſt) the Advice of *Shem*; without whom he ought to have done nothing, ſeeing his Right was only derivative from that of his Great Anceſtor, he being then alive. And, as God preſerved *Shem* to bear up his Name ſo long, ſo we cannot doubt, but he was well acquainted with *Abraham* and his Vocation, and God's promiſing the Land of *Canaan* to him: And therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed that he ſhould patronize *Chedorlaomer* in his Invading *Canaan*. Nay, it may be probable, that he might incourage *Abraham* to oppoſe this Invader, who would act thus without his Conſent. And perhaps *Chedorlaomer* himſelf might be advertized of *Abraham*'s Claim to this Land, ſeeing he himſelf had been Maſter of it ſo long: For *Abraham* was a conſiderable Prince, and *Chedorlaomer*'s Kinſman, who had lived before in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, Gen. 11. 27, 28. whoſe Removal thence, with *Terah* his Father, and *Lot* his Brother's Son, muſt have made a great Noiſe in thoſe Days, and eſpecially to the *Elamites*, who muſt be ſuppoſed to be jealous of *Abraham*'s poſſeſſing the Land of *Canaan*, which they laid Claim to. And the fear of this, as well as the Revolt of the King of *Sodom*, and others, might induce *Chedorlaomer* to make ſure Work of it, by ſubduing the whole Country.

But *Abraham*, having got from God a new and certain Title to this Land, *Gen.* 12. 1, 6, 7. & Chap. 15. 14. both to aſſert his own Right, and to deliver *Lot*, whom *Chedorlaomer* had made Priſoner, and was probably reſolv'd to carry back with him into the Country from whence he came; he thought it high time to appear againſt thoſe proud and inſulting Invaders. For this end he arms his Servants, who were *born in his own Houſe*, being 318 in Number, and joyns with his Neighbours *Mamre*, *Eſhcol* and *Aner*, and their Forces, who were his Confederates at that Time. And with this ſmall Army, truſting in his God, and in the Faith and Aſſurance of God's Faithfulneſs to fulfil his Promiſe, taking the

the Advantage of the Night, he falls upon this adventerous King and his Associates, and routs them, and pursues them until he had recovered all that which they had taken away. Which Victory was undoubtedly given, as a Pledge of the Certainty of what God had promised, that his Seed should possess that Country, and consequently of the Rightfulness of that Claim, which he himself had unto it at that Time.

Upon the Fame of this, good old *Shem*, whose Eminency and Worth had made him universally known, by the Title of *Melchisedeck*, or the Righteous King, and whom all Men reverenced as the Great Patriarch of Men, and Priest of the Supreme Lord of the World, comes forth from *Salem* (where he reign'd and enjoy'd a happy Peace, and promoted it among Men,) and meets *Abraham*, and blesseth him; as understanding now more clearly, than perhaps he had done before, in *what Branch* of his Posterity God was about to accomplish the *Promise* made to *him* by *Noah*, that *Canaan* should be his Servant. He sees now the Scale cast, and that God himself had visibly appeared to decide the Controversy between *Chedorlaomer* and *Abraham*, in the Favour of the latter. And therefore he hands over to him, that Part of the Blessing *Noah* had given him, in Words, almost of the same Import that *Noah* had used to himself, however with the same Design: Only he acts a prudent Part in his wording himself, lest he might expose *Abraham* to the united Rage of the *Canaanites*; which he had certainly done, had he, in express Terms, told him, that they should be the Slaves of his Posterity, and destroyed by them. Whereas therefore *Noah* had said, *Gen.* 9. 25, 26. *Cursed be Canaan, a Servant shall he be unto his Brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his Servant.* He thinks it no way fit to irritate the *Canaanites* against *Abraham*, especially at this time, that they were his Confederates, by speaking out all he thought. Therefore he contents himself with giving over this Blessing, in a general way of speaking (which he knew *Abraham* knew the meaning of; tho neither

neither *Mamre*, *Eſhcol* nor *Aner*, nor yet the King of *Sodom*, nor any elſe preſent, unleſs *Lot* perhaps, could underſtand him) after this manner, *Gen.* 14. 19, 20. *Bleſſed be Abraham of the moſt High God, Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth; and bleſſed be the moſt High God, who hath delivered thine Enemies into thy Hand.* Where two things are plainly intimated. *Firſt*, That thoſe that *Abraham* conquered, were, in a peculiar manner, *his Enemies*; tho they gave out no ſuch thing directly, but pretended only to reduce the *Sodomites*, &c. And *then*, that God, who had Right to diſpoſe of his own World, which he had made, as he pleaſed, had now diſcovered how, and in what manner, and to whom he was to diſpoſe that Part of this habitable Earth.

It may not be amiſs to take Notice, that the *Three Targums*, *viz.* that of *Onkelos*, *Ben Uziel*, and *Jeruſalem*, do all agree, that *Salem* was *Jeruſalem*. And the two latter Paraphraſes do expreſly ſay, that *Melchiſedeck* was *Shem* the Son of *Noah*. And that this has been the generally received Opinion of the *Jews*, is beyond Diſpute; and this anciently, as well as in latter times, as appears from *Jerom. Tom.* 4. *in Ep. ad Evagrium*; who is himſelf of this Opinion, And ſo is *Enoherius*, *Lib.* 2. *in* Gen. *Cap.* 25, *&* 27. and others of the Fathers. In which Opinion were the Ancient *Samaritanes*, as well as *Jews*, as appears from what we have in *Epiphanius*, *Hæreſ.* 57. But I muſt not inſiſt on theſe things: For I have dwelt, it may be, too long on this Subject already. And yet I muſt ſay, that I knew not well how to avoid ſaying ſo much, without leaving the Subject dark. For my Deſign was to illuſtrate, by this, the *Patriarchate* of Chriſt. And indeed, tho all, or moſt of thoſe that come under the Name of *Patriarchs* in Scripture, may be juſtly ſuppoſed to typifie Chriſt, in ſome reſpect or other; yet there is not one that does ſo exactly repreſent him as *Shem*. A Man is rather confounded than edified by what the Apoſtle ſays of *Melchiſedeck* in the 7*th* to the *Hebrews*, when he is in the Dark, how all the Characters there can be given to a Man,

Man, viz. *That he had neither Father nor Mother, nor end of Life,* &c. But when he comes to understand, in what Sense this is said, he is abundantly satisfied and edified. And I am bold to say, that it is not possible to find any Man that can answer the Character given there, but *Shem* only. He indeed, as he was the first and Universal Patriarch of Men after the Flood, and invested with the Regal, Priestly and Prophetical Office, *was without Father, without Mother,* (*y*) *without any Recorded Genealogy,* (or any Register'd Account of his Birth and Descent) *and without beginning of Days,* according to the usual way of Reckoning of one Man's succeeding another: Seeing *Japhet* was the Successor of *Noah,* according to natural Right, had not God cut off the Entail. And seeing after *Shem* there never was any universal Patriarch more in the World, (*Abraham* being the Patriarch only of his own Posterity, and *Chedorlaomer* having forfeited the special Blessing) until Christ himself came; therefore he is justly said to be, as such, *without end of Life,* and to be *made like unto the Son of God*; and, (having no Successors as *Aaron* had) *to abide a Priest continually.* In all which respects *Shem* or *Melchisedeck* is justly to be look'd upon as the greatest Type of the Patriarchate of our Saviour, particularly as to the Priesthood. But it is high time to proceed to the other Offices of Christ. Therefore,

II. Christ may be considered as the *Great Legislator* or *Law-giver,* and his *Office* therefore as *Legislative,* or *Legislatorial.* He is expressly so called, *Jam.* 4. 12. as

(*y*) *It ought to be taken Notice of here, that our Translation has quite miss the Sense of the* Greek *Word, which is not* ἀγένητος, *but* ἀγενεαλόγητος; *a Word, which, when rightly rendred, is a Key to the Apostle's Discourse, as shewing it to be parabolical.* Obj. *But* Shem's *Genealogy is upon Record, and so this militates against you.* Answ. *Not in the least. For it is not* Shem, *as a Man, that is spoken of, but as* Melchisedeck *and* King of Salem. *And, as such, there is no Account of his Genealogy in the Scripture; nor was it possible there could be any, if we rightly apprehend the Design of* Shem's *being made a Type of Christ, in this Respect.*

alſo *Iſa.* 33. 22. (for it were eaſie to prove that theſe Words relate to him) And our Saviour himſelf ſays the ſame thing, *John* 5. 22. as I have ſhewed, at large, in the firſt Book of *Chriſtology*.

In the preceding Book, I have fully and largely proved, that it was our Saviour, as He was the *Logos* or *Shechinah*, that gave Law of old, both to the World in general, and to the *Jewiſh* Church in particular: So that I need ſay nothing upon that Head here.

I have likewiſe, but juſt now, ſhewed ſufficiently, tho briefly, that Chriſt was as really and truly a *Legiſlator* in a *Spiritual Senſe*, as *Moſes* was in a *Political one*. And that conſequently the *Goſpel* is as properly *a Law*, as that was which we call *the Moſaical Law*, tho not in the ſame Senſe.

So that all I intend to do further in this Place, is to compare the two *Legiſlators*, as the one is a Type of the other, even as I have ſaid ſomething, in the general, by way of Compariſon, between *Melchiſedeck* and *Chriſt*, as to the *Patriarchate*.

Only previouſly to this, let me take Notice of one Thing, which if duly conſidered, might be of great Uſe to allay the Heats of a great many worthy Perſons, who under the Name and Notion of *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, or Predeſtinarians and Free-willers, fight endleſly, and with terrible Fury, becauſe they contend in the Dark. The thing then, that I would have Men take Notice of, is this, that the Belief of *Abſolute Decrees*, and *the Goſpel's being a Law*, according to which we are to be judged and acquitted, or condemned, are equally true. So that tho we ſhould not be able to ſolve all Difficulties in this Matter, yet we are bound thus to believe. For God could not determine, or decree, otherwiſe than as our abſolute Sovereign, in conſiſtence with his own Nature and Perfections. And, on the other Hand, it is equally impoſſible, that he could act otherwiſe towards us, than by Law; ſeeing he muſt act in a Conſiſtency with the human Nature, which he himſelf has made, in diſpenſing Rewards or Puniſh-

Puniſhments. Only it muſt ever be remembred, that ſeeing the latter of theſe is our Rule, and the other not ſo; we are not to let looſe our Speculations, concerning the Decrees or Purpoſes of God, ſo as to pretend to give any Scheme this way, as if we could determine the Method of them, from our way of thinking. For, as to do this exactly, is an Impoſſibility in it ſelf; ſo God has expreſly required us not to meddle with theſe; when he tells us, *That ſecret Things belong to God only, and that* Things revealed *are the only Things that do properly belong to us, as being thoſe only that can be regulative of our Practiſe.* (z) And ſure if the Eternal Counſels of God's Will be not ſecret Things, I know not what Things are. I think therefore, it is high time to learn Wiſdom from the Folly of others, who have tir'd themſelves and the World, with endleſs Volumes, upon this Head, to no purpoſe; which are at this day juſtly look'd upon, as the moſt uſeleſs Books of our publick Libraries. It was a ſevere Cenſure, which *a Perſon* of Eminent Quality and Worth, paſt upon a bulky Treatiſe upon this Subject, when the Reverend and Learned Author ask'd his Opinion of it. " I have " read it, *Doctor*, ſaid he, with great Application, " more to ſatisfie you, than for any Advantage that I " have got by it: For indeed, I ſhall not again undertake " ſuch a Task, as to read ſuch another Book; but ſeeing " you did not only bring me under an Engagement to " read it thro', but have alſo brought me under a " ſolemn Promiſe to give you my Opinion of it, with- " out any Reſerve; and that you now urge me to ful- " fil my ſaid Promiſe, as a Man of Conſcience and " Honour: I find my ſelf oblig'd to ſatisfie you, even " tho I run the Risk of offending you. Therefore, " Sir, ſeeing I am forc'd to uſe Freedom, I muſt tell " you, That had I been to give a Scheme of the De- " vil's Deſigns and Purpoſes, and the Method of car-

(z) Deut. 29. 29.

" rying

" rying them on, I think I must have proceeded al-
" most in the same way you have taken to illustrate
" the Decrees of God. Now, said he, seeing I am
" sure there is an utter Opposition between the Designs
" and Actions of the Supreme Good, and the Father
" of Evil, I should think my self oblig'd, were I in
" your Place, to find out another Scheme of God's
" Purposes, than that which seems to have so near an
" Affinity to the Nature and Working of the great Au-
" thor of our Misery. But in order to *satisfie* your
" self further, as to that Scheme, which you have al-
" ready publish'd; Pray, let me intreat you to draw a
" Counter-Scheme to it, if you can, of the Decrees,
" and Designs, and Conduct of Satan, in his Opposiți-
" on to God and Men. And then, said he, when you
" have done this; you, and I, and all others, will be
" more capable to judge, by the Opposition of the
" Divine and Diabolical Schemes (for I suppose they
" are Opposites) whether your present Elaborate Book
" contain as true a Scriptural and Divine Scheme of
" God's Decrees, as it does a Scholastical One, *i. e.*
" a Heap of dark and obscure Terms and Distincti-
" ons.

And here let me tell the Reader a certain Story, which I hope may not be un-edifying, in Relation to this Subject. There were two Persons, of very different Notions, as to this Subject of God's Determinations, and acting accordingly; one of which, to speak plainly, was a *zealous Calviniſt*, and the other as *zealous an Arminian*; who, notwithstanding their different Speculations, were most intimate Friends, and spent much Time in spiritual Converse and Prayer, one with another. And I am sure, I had good Reason to know both of them thoroughly; tho the *First* upon more peculiar Accounts than the *Latter*. And now, that they are both dead, I must give them this Testimony; that I never knew any that exceeded them in Holiness and Experience. And sure none ever went more triumphantly to Heaven; tho both of them kept

their

their Notions to the laſt. But, while they liv'd together in all Chriſtian Affection; tho their Notions never made them jar or quarrel, yet they agreed, now and then, to canvaſs the Points wherein they differed, with mutual Promiſes to yield to the Truth, on what ſide ſoever it ſhould lie. Sometimes their Diſputes were verbal: At other times they gave their Thoughts in writing. And many Papers paſt between them, which had no other Effect, than to rivet and confirm them in their firſt Sentiments, neither of them yielding to the other. Only they acknowledg'd that they received this Advantage, that as they grew more confirm'd in their own Opinions, they grew in Love and Charity to one another, as finding that each of them had more to ſay for himſelf than the other could well anſwer: So that they were equally certain of their Faithfulneſs to their Light; and were therefore reſolv'd, that *wherein they had attained to know the Truth, they would walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame things,* (a) as the Apoſtle requires Chriſtians to do; leaving the full Knowledge of things, to the State of Perfection.

While they liv'd thus in true Chriſtian Friendſhip and Love, they thought fit to condeſcend ſo far, as to take in a *Third Perſon* into their Society, tho one very diſproportion'd to ſuch Perſons, as Companions, in Regard of Age, Gravity and Experience. However, they were pleas'd to think it proper, that it ſhould be ſo; as it would ſeem, that *Job*, and his Three Ancient Friends, allowed of a *Young Elihu* of old, to hear and interpoſe in their Diſputes. Now after ſeveral Conferences had paſt between them, it was agreed, that a certain Day ſhould be ſet apart, purpoſely to muſter up the Strength of what each of them had to ſay for himſelf, in order to have this younger Perſon's deliberate Opinion, to which Side Truth ſeem'd moſt to in-

(a) Phil. 3. 15, 16.

cline. This Perſon having heard both out, deliver'd his Sentiment, with all the Freedom which they required of him; ſhewing the Weakneſs and Fallaciouſneſs of ſome Arguments on both Sides, (tho uſed by them ſincerely) and how much both Parties had miſtaken the Senſe of ſome Scriptural Paſſages. And he concluded his Diſcourſe to this Purpoſe: Let me, ſaid he, ſuppoſe, that we Three were found guilty of Treaſon and Rebellion againſt our Prince, in concert with many more, and were ſo purſued upon this Score, as to be reduced to the greateſt Miſery and Diſpair; and while we were ſitting together, not knowing to which Hand to turn our ſelves, a Friend ſhould come in with a *Declaration* or *Proclamation*, from our Sovereign, to this Purpoſe. "Whereas ſuch or ſuch Perſons have "lately conſpired againſt their Prince, in a moſt baſe, "barbarous and wicked Deſign; His Majeſty, to "ſhew his unparaleil'd Clemency and Mercy, does "hereby declare, that he does freely and fully indemnifie and pardon them all, and that in all Reſpects, "and promiſeth, upon his Honour, and before the "World, to take them under his Protection for the "future, as tho they had never ſinn'd and rebell'd "againſt him: Provided always, and upon this Condition only, that they do come to his Son againſt ſuch "a Day, and do beg by him to be introduced into "their Sovereign's Preſence, to beg Pardon, upon their "Knees, for the Indignity offered unto his Majeſty; "and that they do there promiſe, for the future, to behave as true and loyal Subjects, *&c.* Now, ſaid he, let us ſuppoſe, that, upon the reading this ſurprizing *Manifeſto*, one of you ſhould begin ſuch a Diſcourſe as this. "My Friends, let us conſider the Nature and "Riſe of this general Indemnity. As for the Nature "of it, I think it is conceived in ſuch plain Words, as to "give us intire Satisfaction. But the Riſe and Spring "of it is ſo ſtrange, that it will deſerve our moſt ſerious Thoughts. For my own Part, I have this Notion of it: I know the King is a wiſe and cunning

"Po-

" Politician. He has a mind to ſhew himſelf every way " Clement and Merciful; ſo that if any fall under the " Stroak of Juſtice, it ſhall be ſeen to be their own " Fault, in not accepting of Pardon, when offered " upon ſuch eaſie Terms. But then, tho he offer Par- " don to all, yet he knows all his Rebels ſo well, that " he *foreſees* who will accept of his Indemnity, and " who will be ſo obſtinate as to refuſe it, and accor- " dingly is reſolved and determined to act, as Men ſhall " be found to act to him. Now, ſaid the ſame Perſon, I ſuppoſe the other of you, purſuant to his Scheme, would interpoſe here, and ſay, " Pardon me, Sir, if " I differ from you in this Matter. I agree with you, " indeed, in the general, that the King deſigns, in " this Act, to appear univerſally clement and merciful. " But, I ſuppoſe, that he has a *ſpecial Favour* and *Re-* " *ſpect* to ſome of us Rebels, and *as ſpecial a Hatred* to " others, abſtracting from the Conſideration of their " equal or common Rebellion; nay, and perhaps pre- " vious to the ſame: which yet he might let go on ſo " far, from this very View, of ſhewing himſelf *Gracious* " to thoſe whom he *lov'd*, and *ſevere* to thoſe whom he " *hated*. And, tho he does not diſcover this, but " ſeems to avoid the Suſpicion of it; yet he is reſolved " to reach his End another way. He has, no doubt, " abundance of Agents at work, proper and fit for " his Purpoſe. And theſe will play their Part ſo well, " and ſo cunningly, that none ſhall accept of this In- " demnity, but thoſe the King has a mind to ſave. So " that the other ſort, whom the King hates, ſhall be " ſo wrought upon, as to ſtand out, and refuſe the of- " fered Pardon: by which means they ſhall, at length, " fall a Sacrifice to his Wrath; tho none will pitty " them in this Caſe, ſeeing this will be found to be the " Effect of their own Obſtinacy; for had they not " ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon, they had the " ſame Foundation of Safety and Impunity as the o- " thers. Here, ſaid the Perſon, I foreſee that you would be apt to quarrel, as to your Speculations; at leaſt here ye

would differ widely in your Notions. Now, said he, I would crave leave, in this Case, to say this only: "Gentlemen, I think it altogether Foreign to our Business to inquire into what I am never like to know, "*i. e.* what the *Arcana Imperii* are, in this Case; or "what are the *State Maxims*, from which the King "acts; or the *Political Views* (as you represent them, "tho variously) for which he acts in this matter. It "is enough to me, that here is his *Declaration*, from "which he cannot in Honour go back. Therefore let "me be one whom he wishes to accept, or desires to "refuse what he now offers; my Business is to *acquiesce* in the *Pardon promised*, upon such *easy Terms*: "And then I am safe and secure. My Friends, added "he, I need make no Application of this, to the Question in hand. I only desire you both to consider this, "that you that are the *Calvinist* are obliged to preach as "the *Arminian*, in offering Salvation to all that will "accept of it, upon Christ's Terms; and that you "that are the *Arminian*, find your self oblig'd to pray "as the *Calvinist*, acknowledging that all your Sufficiency is from God's Grace and Spirit, without which "you cannot think one right Thought, or move one "Step in the way to Heaven. Seeing therefore it is thus, and that it is too rash and presumptuous for us to meddle with God's (*b*) *Secret Will*, as if we had sat in Counsel

(*b*) *One would think, that Divines of all sorts ought to be very modest, upon such Points, as they themselves own to be past searching out: and yet it is astonishing to see, almost all Systems full of Magisterial Assertions on this unknown Head, and that sometimes with such Madness and Malice, as to damn one another, for what no side pretends to understand, with any sort of Exactness. Justly therefore may one cry out, with a Judicious Writer:* Qui rixas & inanes Disputationes, de Decretis Divinis, rite considerat, ut & Rei altitudinem & humani Ingenii imbecillitatem; Mirabitur proculdubio hominum Pervicaciam & audacem Ignorantiam; Qui nec adhuc hanc litem & animorum acerbitatem deponere volunt! Quid tandem produxit inter Pontificiorum doctissimos protracta hæc contentio? Quid tandem profecerunt nostrorum de hisce dissidia? O! quando cognoscent Theologi quam minimum de inscrutabilibus Dei sese norint! Quid

Counsel with him from Eternity; let us for the future agree to mind *our Duty* only, and leave God to his *proper Work.*

But to return to what I proposed; I am now to shew how eminently *Christ* is typified as to his *Legislative Office*, by *Moses* the great *Legislator* of the *Jewish Nation*, and the *only Divine One*, that was raised up, (not being a *Patriarch*) to act as such. I shall therefore run a Comparison between *Moses* and *Jesus Christ*: Which take in the following Particulars: (1.) *Moses* was mark'd out, as the peculiar Care of Heaven, and as one design'd for eminent Service, when he was exposed to such eminent Danger in his Infancy; being cast upon the *River Nile* in an Ark or Cradle of *Bull-rushes*, and was saved in a wonderful manner, by *Pharaoh*'s *Daughter*; at a time when so many poor Infants were murdered by that bloody Tyrant *Pharoah.*——In like manner our Lord *Jesus* was eminently exposed to danger by *Herod*'s Design, and as eminently escap'd his Fury, by *Joseph*'s being divinely admonish'd to flee with him to *Egypt*; at a time when the young Children of *Bethlehem* were cruelly butcher'd. (2.) *Moses* was the most Learned Person, that we read of under the Old Testament-Dispensation, excepting *Solomon* only, who exceeded him in relation to Moral and Natural Knowledge, or as to Physicks and Ethicks. However *Moses* exceeded him as to the Knowledge of the Laws of God, and seems to have been acquainted with other Sciences above him. For he was educated in all the Egyptian Learning, as well

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Quid enim scire possibile est de actibus Dei Immanentibus, qui sunt ipsius essentia! *And indeed what the Ingenious and Learned Mr.* Le Clerc *says of the* Scholasticks *in general*, Art. Crit. Vol. 1. Part 2. Cap. 9. *may be justly applied to very many, of all Denominations, on this Head.* Si contingeret Polonum & Gallum, vernacularum tantum linguarum peritos, unâ colloqui, alterum Gallice, alterum Polonice; atq; finito sermone, utrumq; affirmare sibi eo Colloquio satisfactum; non posse effugere, quin uterq; insanus haberetur. At ausim dicere Philosophos & Theologos Scholasticos, summa cum laude, & eximiæ eruditionis fama, id facitasse non semel, nec iterum, sed μυριάκις.

as in Court-Breeding. And the Egyptians were then the moſt knowing People in the World.——And ſurely our Lord did exceed all the Sages, Philoſophers and Rabbi's that ever were in the World; inſomuch that he was able at twelve Years of Age to confound the Jewiſh Doctors; and afterwards to anſwer all their captious Queſtions. For he knew all things: and never therefore did any Man ſpeak like him. Only, in this, *Moſes* and he differ'd; that *Moſes* had his Human Learning from Education: Whereas our Bleſſed Lord was never taught by Man, but had all his Learning immediately from God. However, ſeeing all *Moſes* his Divine Knowledge was immediately from God, who ſpake with him upon Mount *Sinai*, I may juſtly make him a Type of *Chriſt*, in this; who ſaid and did all by ſpecial Commiſſion from his Father. (3.) *Moſes* was raiſed up in an extraordinary manner, and ſent forth by a peculiar Election, Call and Commiſſion, to be the Saviour and Deliverer of *Iſrael*, by bringing them out of *Egypt* and the Houſe of Bondage. For which end he was impowered to work Miracles, for the Confirmation of his Miſſion and Commiſſion, that he might encourage, ſecure and govern *Iſrael*, and confound their Enemies.——In like manner was our Lord *Jeſus* ſent forth and commiſſioned, to deliver and ſave his People from Spiritual Bondage and everlaſting Miſery. In order to which, he did confirm his Miſſion by many and great Miracles, above what were wrought by *Moſes* and all the Prophets put together. (4.) *Moſes*, when ſent forth to be the Saviour of *Iſrael*, had an extraordinary Name given him; *viz.* that of God by Delegation, as he was to act in God's ſtead: *Exod.* 4. 16. *Aaron ſhall be to thee inſtead of a Mouth, and thou ſhalt be to him inſtead of God.* And *Chap.* 7. 1. *And the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *ſee I have made thee a God to* Pharoah, *and* Aaron *thy Brother ſhall be thy Prophet.*——Now that this Name was given to *Moſes*, ſo as it was never to any mere Man, was in Relation to his Office; he being appointed thus to be a Divine Legiſlator. So

that

that in this respect he is the only Type of Christ, the Great Legislator, who is the *one Law-giver*, mentioned by *James*, *Chap.* 4. 12. *Who is able to save and to destroy.* For I understand Christ to be directly meant there, by comparing these Words with our Lord's, *John* 5. 22. And in like manner I understand the Prophet *Isaiah* to mean the *Messiah*, when he says, in *Chap.* 33. *ver.* 22. *The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us.* For he that considers the Context as far up as the 1*st* Verse of the 32*d* Chapter, and as far down as to the End of the 35*th* Chapter, will plainly perceive that the Prophet is all along speaking of the *Messiah* and his Kingdom. But to return, I say that *Moses* had this Name given him relatively to his *Legislatorial Office*, and the *Executive Power* that was lodged in him, as he was to be thus a peculiar Type of Christ, who was to be in a proper Sense, what he was only figuratively and improperly. (5.) *Moses* was faithful in God's House, as a Servant, in seeing that all things were done according to God's Will, *Heb.* 3. 2. and whatever God revealed he did take care should be done, both as to things Moral, Ceremonial and Political. —— And in like manner our Lord *Jesus* has faithfully given us an Account of his Father's Will, as to what is to be believed and practised by his People, under his new Oeconomy and Dispensation, *Heb.* 1. 1, 2. &c. *Chap.* 3. 2, 6, &c. (6). *Moses* laid the Foundation of the Jewish Polity, by instituting 12 Men, as *Princes* of the *Tribes*, by God's Command, *Numb.* 1. 4, *&c.* and 70 *Elders*, *Numb.* 11. 16, 24, 25. In these *two Colleges*, it is plain, that it was the Design of God and *Moses*, to lodge the *Legislative Power*, or, to speak more properly, *Juridical* or *Judicial Power*, as *Guardians* and *Expositors* of the Laws made, by which Controversies of that kind were to be decided, and all Questions this way resolved: the *Executive Power*, being left to *Joshua*, and such other *Rulers*, as God should from time to time raise up. —— So our Lord *Jesus* acted also, when he chose 12 *Apostles*,

in Alluſion to the φυλάρχαι, or *Heads* of the *Tribes*, as is plain from *Matth.* 19. 28. and *Luke* 22. 30. together with 70 *Diſciples* or *Elders*; that it might appear, that he was the true *Antitype* of *Moſes* the *Legiſlator* of the *Jews*. (7.) *Moſes* did not only inſtitute what related to the *Civil Polity* of *Iſrael*, as to the National Conſtitution in general; but he did alſo particularly appoint whatſoever did relate more immediately to the *Sovereign* of *Iſrael*, (who was no other than *God*, or, to ſpeak more properly, the *Logos*) as to his *Palace* (which was the *Temple*) and as to his *Revenue* and the *Maintenance* of his *Houſhold*, in adjuſting the Number and Method of the *Sacrifices* and *Oblations*, with all the Appurtinencies of his *Table* and *Houſe*, *viz. Bread*, *Incenſe*, *Light*, *&c.* together with the *Houſhold Officers*, which were the Prieſts; of which there were three Ranks, *viz.* the *High-Prieſt*, the *Inferiour Aronical Prieſts*, and the *Levites* their Servants.——In relation to which Conſtitution, our Bleſſed Lord devoted himſelf to act the part of Univerſal *High-Prieſt*, to ſuch Perfection, as to ſwallow up the whole *Prieſtly Order* for ever after, in himſelf. For which very Reaſon, he is ſaid to be *Prieſt according to the Order of Melchiſedeck*, and not of *Aaron*, as is plain from *Heb.* 5. 4, 5, 6, 10. However, the *Aaronical Prieſthood*, and *Levitical Service*, was an *Adumbration* of the *Prieſthood* and *Service* of *Chriſt*, as we ſee, *Heb. chap.* 8. *chap.* 9. *chap.* 10. Who, being to put an end to that imperfect and ſubſervient Conſtitution, was pleaſed to comprehend all in himſelf. For it is *derogatory* to the Perfection of Chriſt's *Prieſthood*, to ſuppoſe that there are any *Prieſts* after him, or any *Prieſthood*; as we ſee, in all the Reaſoning of the Apoſtle in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and particularly in *Ch.* 9. 8, 9, 11, 14, &c. *Ch.* 10. *v.* 1, 5, 10. And therefore tho it may be thought that there is ſome congruity between the *Prieſts* of *old*, and the *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel*; yet there is properly none. For all Prieſthood is run in to our Saviour, who has ſwallow'd it up intirely in himſelf, and is now the only Prieſt of his Church. So

that

that Gospel-Ministers do not in the least directly answer to the *Priests* and *Levites*, far less any of them, to the *High Priest*; but to the *ordinary Prophets*, under the old Testament; and their *Ministry* consequently not to that of the *Temple*, but that of the *Synagogue*; as their Education in *Colleges* answers to that of old in the *Schools* of the *Prophets*. But of this we shall perhaps have occasi- to say more afterwards. In the mean time we may boldly affirm, that the Scripture knows but of *two Orders* of *stated Gospel-Ministers*, viz. *Bishops* and *Deacons*, or *Pastors* and *Teachers*. For as (*c*) *Clemens Romanus* says excellently; *The Apostles being sent forth to preach the Gospel by Order from Christ, as he himself had been before by command from God; they went out, preaching the Kingdom of God, which was come down among Men——Therefore, as they journied up and down thro' Nations and Cities, preaching the Word; they constituted the First-Fruits of those they converted; and had, by the Spirit approved of, to be Bishops and Deacons of them that should afterwards believe.* And, a little after, (*d*) he has this memorable Passage to the same Purpose; *Our Apostles were informed by our Lord Jesus Christ, that Contention would arise concerning the Name of Episcopacy: For which Cause, being endued with a perfect Prescience, they did constitute those I have mentioned before, (i. e.* these two Orders or Sorts of Church-Officers;) *and then they gave forth this Ordinance, that when they came to die, other tryed Men should succeed and perform their Service.* So that there were no more ordinary Officers in the first Christian Church, appointed by Christ and his Apostles, than these two sorts. Of which the *Bishops* could not be *Prelates*, in the Modern Sense of those who pretend that these are the Apostles Successors: For it was impossible, that they could constitute their Successors to officiate, as such, in their own time, as their Successors,

(*c*) In Epist. 1. ad Corinth. Sect. 42. pag. 97. Edit. Colomesii, Lond. 1686. (*d*) Ibid. Sect. 44. Pag. 103.

while

while they continued to officiate themſelves. But what *Clemens* ſays is exactly conformable to the Veſtages of the ancient Conſtitution, which we have in the New Teſtament; as we ſee, *Phil.* 1. 1, 2. *Acts* 20. 17, 28. 1 *Tim.* 3. 1, &c. 8, &c. *Tit.* 1. 5, &c. And therefore theſe Officers may be called any thing, rather than *Prieſts*, ſeeing Chriſt has ſwallowed up the whole Prieſtly Office in himſelf, and left no Prieſts beſides in his Church. Which has made me frequently wonder, that any Proteſtants ſhould apply this word to Goſpel-Miniſters; who have renounced that ſtupid Notion of the Papiſts, that gave riſe to this Anti-Evangelical way of ſpeaking; *viz.* their Notion of Tranſubſtantiation, and conſequently Opinion, that he that officiates does offer up Chriſt as a real Sacrifice, *toties quoties*, as certainly as our Saviour did himſelf upon the Croſs. Now, tho perhaps there never was any Opinion ſo full of Abſurdities, as this; yet they ſpeak conſequentially, when they call their Miniſters, from hence, *Prieſts*. Whereas thoſe that have renounced this Error, and yet preſerve the Phraſeology, nay appear to be fond of it, ſeem to be as abſurd, in this reſpect, as they are in other reſpects. Nay to me the Papiſts ſeem to argue with more reaſon, in making their Prelacy the Anti-type of the Jewiſh Prieſthood, than thoſe Prelatiſts, who reaſon the ſame way, as to theirs; ſeeing the Papiſts have one Supream High Prieſt, to anſwer the High Prieſt of the Jews, which Proteſtants of that ſort have not now on Earth; unleſs they tacitely mean the ſame thing with them, as being for a Supream Prelate, as well as they, in order to have a *general and viſible Centre of Union*. And I confeſs I have ſuſpected that many of that Kidney were upon the Revival of the *old Caſſandrian Deſign*, ever ſince I read *the Caſe of the Regale and Pontificate*, of which I formerly took notice, in the 2*d* of my *Four Diſcourſes*, *p.* 106. (8.) *Moſes* did not only appoint *Officers* over *Iſrael*, but he gave them *Laws* likewiſe. —— And, in like manner, is *Jeſus Chriſt* our *Law-giver* now under the Goſpel-Diſpenſation. He has

has *abrogated* what was *typical* and *ritual* under the old Oeconomy. But what was *Binding* and *Moral*, he has given forth in a *new Edition*, with a *new Explication*, and by a *new Authority*. Therefore he sat him down upon a *Mountain*, in Allusion to the giving of the *Law* from one, and having pronounced the *Blessings* of the New Testament, in Allusion likewise to the Blessings pronounced from Mount *Gerizim*, without adding any thing by way of *Curse*, (which did not suit with the Gospel-Spirit and Design,) he gave forth the *Moral Law* after a new manner, thus; *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but fulfil*, &c. *Whereas therefore it hath been said of old, thou shalt not kill*, &c. *I say thus and thus unto you*, &c. For which let the *5th*, *6th* and *7th* Chapters of *Matthew* be seriously considered. For it is plain that our Lord doth act in all this as the *Antitype* of *Moses*. Which is the more conspicuous from the Circumstances attending this memorable *Publication* of the *New Law*. It was after our Lord's *Conquest* over *Satan*, and his *Temptations* in the *Wilderness*; which bears Allusion to *Israel*'s coming out of *Egypt*, and from the House of Bondage, and their *Conquest* over *Pharoah*. It was after he had called his *Disciples*: Which bears a reference to *Moses* his choosing Rulers under him to judge the People, in compliance with *Jethro*'s Advice, which was before the giving of the Law, as we see, *Exod.* 18. 19, *&c.* compared with *Chap.* 19. and *Chap.* 20. And this was likewise after Christ had begun to preach publickly, and to confirm his Mission by Miracles. For which things let us consult the *4th* Chapter of *Matthew*. Besides, it is to be observed, that *Moses* gave the Law from the Mount, *Aaron* and his *Sons*, and the *Elders* of *Israel* being next him, and all the People below, as we see, *Exod.* 24. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, *&c.* And thus our Lord was seated also on the Mountain, his *Disciples* being next him, and the *Multitude* below them, *Matth.* 5. 1, *&c.* Now these Congruities being observed, let us act to Christ our *Legislator*, as the Jews did to *Moses*, and

and say with them, *Exod.* 19. 8. & 24. 3. *All the Words which the Lord hath said, will we do.* And, as the *Jews* used to end all their Disputes with this Conclusion; *Come, let us turn into the Law and the Testimony; what saith* Moses *in this Case? Let his Authority decide the Matter:* So let us, Christians, say; *Come let us consult the sacred Oracles of Christ; What saith our Lord? Let us know his Mind, and we shall rest satisfied.* The moral Duties are indeed the same for Substance under both Dispensations: But it is new to us, because given out in a *New Edition*, as I said before, and with a *New Exposition*, in order to a *New Improvement*, and all this by a *New Sanction and Authority.* Therefore, when it is said by Christ, *John* 13. 34. *A new Commandment I give you, that you love one another*; we are told, 2 *John* 5. that *this is not a new Commandment, but an old one from the Beginning.* So that the *Law* is both *Old* and *New: Old*, as to the *Matter*; and *new*, as to the *Authority* and *Sanction.* We are not, therefore, now to obey any Precept, as given forth by *Moses*, but as promulgated by Christ, who is the only Legislator of Christians. (9.) *Moses* was *King* or *Supreme Magistrate* under God, and over *Israel* in his Time. For, tho he never assumed that Title, seeing God, in his Days, and afterwards, till *Saul*'s Time, did wholly, and in all Respects appropriate it to himself: Yet he had all that *Executive Power*, over and above the *Legislature*, that ever any Supreme Ruler of *Israel* afterwards could justly pretend to. —— In which Respect he was also a Type of him, who was born and sent into the World, that he might be a *King*, tho not in a political, but spiritual Sense: For *his Kingdom is not of this World*, as he himself says, in that good Confession which he witnessed before *Pontius Pilate.* (10.) *Moses* was a *Temporary Mediator*, who, as a middle Person, went between God and *Israel*, both at the Desire of the People, and with God's Allowance, and by his Commission, and therefore he is expressly called a Mediator, *Gal.* 3. 19. *Heb.* 8. 6. —— In which certainly our Lord is typified eminently by him; who is,

in

in a true and spiritual Sense, *The Mediator between God and Men.* For he is that *Prophet*, that God promised to raise up, as *another Moses*, to do that fully and for ever, which he did for a time imperfectly. Comp. *Deut.* 18. 15, 18. with *Acts* 3. 22. & 7. 37. (11.) *Moses* was the great Intercessor and Advocate for *Israel* in his time: Which appeared eminently in two Instances. The *first* was, when *Israel* had so provoked God, that he was seemingly resolved to destroy them wholly, and had actually threatned to do so, *Numb.* 14. 11, 12. *Moses* earnestly intercedes for them. *ver.* 13, *&c.* and prevails, as we see, *ver.* 20. The *other* Instance is that of his pleading for *Israel*, with his Hands lifted up, when they were fighting with *Amaleck.* —— Now, as in the general, *Moses* was a Type of Christ the Great Advocate; so particularly in these two eminent Instances of the Prevalency of his Intercession. For, as to the *first*, had not Christ stept in and interceded for lost Man, in the Covenant of Redemption, God in Justice had destroyed the whole Human Race. But the Promise of *the Seed of the Woman*, by Virtue of which Mankind was continued, being at length fulfilled, the Wrath of God came to be averted from, and his Favour procured for poor lapsed Creatures. And then, as to the *second* Instance; is it not by Virtue of Christ's Intercession to God, that his Saints here obtain the Victory over their Enemies; who, otherwise, would prove too hard for us. (12.) *Moses* led the People unto the Borders of *Canaan*, and gave them Possession of Part of it; and then left *Joshua* behind, as his Delegate, to bring them actually into the Possession of the whole Country. —— Even so our *blessed Lord* conducts his People to the Borders of the *Heavenly Canaan*, which he describes, and pointeth out to them, and gives them Possession of Part of it, as a Pledge and Earnest of the Whole, by procuring a rightful Title to it, and giving them the *Earnest* of his *Spirit*, in the Operations and Graces thereof. Which *Spirit* (he being now in Heaven) he sends down, to assist us in particular, to root out our *Canaanitish*

anitiſh Luſts, as well as the Church in general, to conquer all its Enemies, in order to our going into the good Land, to poſſeſs it fully and for ever.

Now, in all theſe Reſpects, it is plain that *Moſes*, the *Great Legiſlator* of the *Iſraelites*, was that eminent Type of *Chriſt* the *Greater Ligiſlator* of Chriſtians. So that hence we may underſtand the meaning of that remarkable Prediction, which I have already mentioned, but ſhall again take notice of, becauſe ſuch Account is made of it, by the Apoſtle *Peter*, Acts 3. 22. and the Proto-Martyr *Stephen*, Acts 7. 37. The Words of God, as ſet down by *Moſes*, Deut. 18. 15, 16, *&c.* are theſe: *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet from the midſt of thee, of thy Brethren, like unto me; unto him ye ſhall hearken. According to all that thou deſiredſt of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the Day of the Aſſembly, ſaying, let me not hear again the Voice of the Lord my God, neither let me ſee this great Fire that I die not. And the Lord ſaid unto me, They have well ſpoken what they have ſpoken. I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee, and I will put my Words in his Mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him, &c.* So that it is plain, that *Moſes* was only allowed of, according to the Circumſtances of that time, to go between God and the People, as a Temporal and Typical Mediator: Seeing God himſelf gives us *this*, as the Reaſon of his complying with the Peoples Deſire; not that *Moſes* was the Mediator or Prophet he had in his Eye ultimately; but that *ſuch a one* ſhould afterwards be raiſed up, as ſhould anſwer all the Demands of the Church of God, and conſequently ſhould ſettle things upon a better Bottom than ever they had been upon before. And thus *Peter* therefore interprets this Place, *Acts* 3. 23. (as *Stephen* does alſo, *Acts* 7. 37.) *Moſes ſaid truly, unto the Fathers, a Prophet ſhall the Lord God raiſe up unto you, of your Brethren, like unto me, him ſhall ye hear in all things whatſoever he ſhall ſay unto you.* The Words ὡς ἐμε, *like unto me*, I have explain'd in the preceding Compariſon. Only we muſt remember, that it is a Typical Like-

Likeneſs, that is here meant, *viz.* a Likeneſs of *Similitude*, but not of *Equality*: For the Type muſt ever fall ſhort of the Antitype, as the Shadow falls ſhort of the Subſtance.

But now that I have run the Parallel between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, I muſt add this *Caution*, that Chriſt is not only more eminently a *Mediator* and *Legiſlator*, in thoſe things wherein he was typified by *Moſes*; but ſuch a *Legiſlator* and *Mediator*, as to have glorious Qualifications, wherein *Moſes* was not ſo much as Typical of him.

This will be plain from the following Particulars; wherein Chriſt's Contra-Diſtinction to *Moſes* does, if not only, yet principally, ſtand. (1.) *Moſes*, tho the *Temporary Saviour* and *Legiſlator* of *Iſrael*, was not the *Parent* and *Father* of that People. He found them a People and Church, under Promiſes made to them, as the Poſterity of *Abraham* and the other Patriarchs: But he was not their Maker or Former, nor yet their Patriarch or Father. And therefore they were never called after his Name, tho they had various Deſignations from others. For ſometimes they are called *Hebrews* from old *Heber*; and ſometimes *the Children of* Abraham, *and* Iſaac, *and* Jacob, from their eminent Progenitors; and more commonly *Iſrael*, from the Name God gave unto *Jacob*, when he wreſtled as a Prince with the *Angel* of the Covenant, and prevail'd with him, as to the *Renovation* of the *ſpecial Bleſſing*, which, before this, was *precarious*, as being obtain'd ſurreptitiouſly, by Trick, from his Father. And ſometimes alſo they are called *Jeſurun*, as in *Deut.* 32. 15. & Chap. 33. 5, 26. & *Iſa.* 44. 2. a Word that ſignifies *Right* or *Upright*, i. e. a Righteous and Holy People. Unto which *Balaam* alludes, *Numb.* 23. 10. when he prays *to die the Death of Jeſurim, or the Righteous*; altering a little the Letters of *Jeſurun* into *Jeſurim*: The three firſt Letters of both which Words, being the ſame with thoſe in the word *Iſrael*; as may be ſeen in the manner of writing them, which is thus; ישראל or ישראלים, ישרון and ישרים. And whether

ther in these Names there be not somewhat prefigurative of the Church of Christ, under the New Testament, I leave the Reader to guess as he sees fit; for I shall not take upon me now to determine in the Affirmative. Only, I may venture, I hope, to say, that this is not improbable. For, why may we not suppose, that the great and far-seeing *Moses* doth, in this new Name he gives to *Israel*, allude unto that holy and peculiar People, and righteous Generation, whom Christ was to purchase, and save, and glorifie; as well as we see he did in the Name *Joshua*, *Jehoshua* or *Jesus*, which he gave to *Oshea* or *Hoshea* the Son of *Nun*. For that this was figurative, and bore a Relation to *Jesus*, the true Saviour, we shall see afterwards. In the mean time we may observe, that as *Moses* gave his Successor that Name in Faith, and by the Spirit of Prophesie: So the *first* and *last* time both, that *Moses* useth this Word, was, when he was under an extraordinary Influence of the Spirit of Prophesie; the *Shechinah* dictating to him thus, what he was to leave upon Record, when, as the bright Sun of that Ancient Dispensation, he was about to set, as illustriously, as he had shone before. The *first time* that he uses this Word, is when he is *singing* his own *Funeral Song*, Deut. 32. where he thus exprobates the Wickedness of *Israel*, ver. 15. *But Jesurun waxed fat, and kicked*, &c. *i. e.* But the Righteous, as they were by Profession, did not act righteously, but sadly contradicted their Name and Profession, by their Actions. And the *next time*, wherein he mentions that People, by this Title, is taken notice of in the *next Chapter*, which is his *Farewel* and *Funeral Sermon*, containing his *Prophetical Blessing* of the *Tribes*. And in this 33d Chapter, he twice useth this Word; first in *ver.* 5. and *he was King in Jesurun*. This is usually understood of *Moses*, who certainly was King, as he was the Supreme Magistrate under God, or the *Logos*, over the Nation of *Israel*. But seeing the *Logos* alone was known by that Title, which he never allowed to any Ruler or Delegate, until he granted it in Wrath to *Saul*, in the Days of

of *Samuel*; I reckon *Moſes* his Words do not relate to himſelf, immediately or properly, but to the God of *Iſrael*. And if we look back to *ver.* 2. we will find that the Words run moſt naturally in this Senſe. *And he* (*i. e.* Moſes) *ſaid, the Lord came from Mount* Sinai, *&c. And* (making *ver.* 3, & 4. to come within a Parentheſis) *he was King in* Jeſurun, *&c.* Which excellently agrees with *ver.* 26. where *Moſes* again uſes the Word; *There is none like unto the God of* Jeſurun, *&c.* And I am further confirmed, that *Moſes* is thus to be underſtood, to deſign this Word *Jeſurun*, prophetically and typically, when I conſider the words of *Iſa.* 44. 2, &c. *Fear not, O Jacob, my Servant; and thou Jeſurun whom I have choſen: For I will pour Water upon the Thirſty, and Floods upon the dry Ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Bleſſing upon thy Off-ſpring*, &c. *One ſhall ſay I am the Lord's, and another*, &c. The fulfilling of which Words, we ſee under the New Teſtament, *John* 7. 37, 38, 39. *In the laſt Day, that great Day of the Feaſt, Jeſus ſtood and cried; If any Man thirſt, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath ſaid; out of his Belly ſhall flow Rivers of living Water. But this he ſpake of the Spirit*, &c. We may ſee alſo, *Acts* 2. 18. But it is time now to end this Digreſſion.——What I would have principally obſerved, is, the Contradiſtinction between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, as to both Name and Office, as to the *Patriarchate*. For *Moſes* was not the Father of the People he govern'd, and therefore they were never called *Moſites*. Whereas our Lord *Jeſus* is the Father of his People, as well as their King and Lord. *All things were made by him*, John 1. 3. But *his own People he has* ſpecially *formed for himſelf*, as the Expreſſion is, *Iſa.* 43. 21. Therefore he is called *the everlaſting Father*, Iſa. 9. 6. And is brought in ſaying, *Behold, I and the Children which the Lord has given me*, &c. *Iſa.* 8. 18. *Heb.* 2. 13. Hence we are ſaid, to be *built up a ſpiritual Houſe, on Chriſt the true Foundation*, Eph. 2. 22. and to *belong to his Houſe and Family*, as it is under him, as the *Pater Familias* or *Maſter* of the Fa-

mily, as well as the *Builder*, *Heb.* 3. 6. For, says the Apostle, *Heb.* 3. 3, 4, &c. *Moses did not build the House, but Christ did.* And *Moses* was no more than a *Servant* in God's House: Whereas *Christ* is *Master* and *Proprietor* of it, as being *Lord over his own House*, as he is the Son of God and Ruler of his People. Upon all these Accounts therefore, good Reason that we should be called by the Name of Christ our Lord and Master. So that we see, how remarkably Christ and *Moses* are contradistinguished. But further, (2.) *Moses*, tho he instituted, or rather renewed, the Order of Sacrificing; yet he never became a *Sacrifice* for the People himself. Whereas *Christ* ratified and confirmed the Covenant by his own Death, offering up himself as a *Propitiatory Sacrifice* for our Sins. I have already hinted, that *Moses* did not so much, in any proper Sense, as institute Sacrifices and Oblations among the *Israelites*; tho he added a great many Rituals to the Custom of Sacrificing, and punctually described the Order and Way of their Oblations and Purifications, *&c.* For I think we have all Reason to suppose, that the *Institution* of *Sacrifices* was by God himself, or the *Logos* rather, immediately after the Fall, and the first Promise concerning the *Seed of the Woman*. For after he had made that great Promise, *Gen.* 3. 15. he is said to have *made Coats of Skins to* Adam *and his Wife*, wherewith he cloathed them, *ver.* 21. And what were these Skins? No doubt the Skins of Beasts offered up in Sacrifice, tho so much be not expressly told us. For what more proper time to institute this Typical Ordinance, of a vicarious or substituted and intervenient Sacrifice, than that wherein the *Messiah* was promised? And what more proper Emblem of the Necessity of *God's Righteousness, which is thro' Faith in Christ*, Phil. 3. 9. and of our *putting on the Lord Jesus*, Rom. 13. 14. than that of covering our first Parents, not with *Aprons of Fig-leaves* of their own making, which could neither cover their Nakedness, nor defend them from the Injuries of the Weather, but with *Garments* made of the *Skins of Sacrifices*, of God's own in-

inſtituting and providing? And that Sacrifices were then appointed, appears from the Offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, Gen. 4. 3, 4. For God would never have accepted *Abel*, if he had worſhipped God, in a way he had not himſelf appointed. And we are told, that *Cain* was not rejected, becauſe of what he offered up, but becauſe of the Defect of Faith, *Heb.* 11. 14. So that it is plain to me, that Sacrifices were appointed immediately upon the Back of the firſt Promiſe, as an Ordinance to confirm the Truth of Chriſt's Coming, and to keep this in Mens Mind and View. And this continued down to the Flood: As we ſee thro' the whole Hiſtory of *Geneſis*; more particularly in the Practiſe of *Noah*, the ſecond Father of the World, *Gen.* 8. 20, 21. *And* Noah *built an Altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean Beaſt*, &c. So that the *Inſtitution* of *Sacrifices* and of *Altars*, and the *Specification* of *what Creatures* were to be offered up, and what not (called therefore *clean* and *unclean*) were known from the Days of *Adam*. For *Noah* gets no new Commiſſion or Order this way, but is brought in, as proceeding in the way wherein he had been educated before the Flood. All therefore that *Moſes* did, was to renew this Rite of Sacrificing, to enjoyn it upon the *Iſraelites*, by a new Command of God, and to deſcribe to that People punctually and exactly, what Creatures were to be offered up, by what Perſons, at what times, for what ends, and how, or in what way.——But, as I have ſaid, *Moſes* was never ſacrificed for the Sins of the People, as Chriſt was; who was *offered up to bear the Sins of many*, Heb. 9. *ult.* Therefore we are thus taught to judge, that if *one Chriſt died for all, it was the ſame in effect, as if all had died*, 2 Cor. 5. 14, 15.——(3.) *Moſes* never became *Security* for the Peoples Performance and Perſeverance, as Chriſt has done. *Moſes* was indeed faithful as a Servant, and did what he could to keep the People right by Argument, Advice and Example. But he had no Power to convert or regenerate the Souls of his Followers, or to keep them in the right way.

Whereas our *Lord Jesus is able to save to the uttermost all them that come to God thro' him, seeing he ever liveth to make Intercession for them*, Heb. 7. 25. For he *hath Power to give everlasting Life to as many as God giveth him*, John 17. 2. And therefore, in his valedictory Discourse to his Apostles and Followers, he assures us, that *he will be with us even to the end of the World*, Matth. 28. *ult.* And this leads me to a fourth and the last Thing, wherein *Moses* and Christ are contra-distinguished. Therefore, (4.) *Moses* neither was, nor could be, *Mediator* or *Legislator* to the People, after his Death; as *Christ* is to his Church. Indeed the Writings of *Moses* did remain useful to the Church afterwards. But he himself could do no more for them. Whereas our Lord *Jesus* continues still the *Mediator*, *Legislator*, and *Head* of his People, and that more gloriously and effectually than in the State of his Humiliation, *Rom.* 8. 34. *It is Christ that died, yea* rather *that is risen again*, &c. Now our Lord Jesus acts as Mediator in Heaven, (1.) By sending down the *Holy Spirit*, both as to his extraordinary and ordinary Gifts and Operations, according to his Promise, *John* 16. 7, 8, *&c.* An Account of the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit we have, *Acts* 2. 2, 3, *&c.* And of the ordinary Gifts and Graces, *Rom.* 8. 13, &c. *Gal.* 5. 22. 2 *Pet.* 1. 5, 6, 7. (2.) By his Providence towards and over all Men, but especially over his Church and People. For the *Father hath committed all Judgment and Government to him*, John 5. 22. and *hath given him Power over all Flesh, that he may give eternal Life to as many as the Father gives unto him*, John 17. 2. (3.) By his *Intercession* for us in Heaven. For which see *Rom.* 8. 37. *Heb.* 7. 25. I proceed now to the Third Office of Christ, or the Third Consideration of his Office. Therefore,

III. Christ may be considered, as the *Grand Executor of his Father's Will*, or as his *Chief Minister of State*, and his *Office* therefore as *Executive* as well as *Legislative*.

In all Human Constitutions, that are not Tyrannical, care is taken not to lodge the *Legislative* and *Executive* *Power*

Power in the same Hands, but so to settle the Government, that the one may be a check upon the other, for fear of mischievous Consequences. But there is no need of any such Precaution here.

It pleased the Father therefore to constitute and appoint Christ not only *Legislator* to his Church, but to anoint him also to be *King upon his Holy Hill Sion, Psal.* 2. 6. to put his Laws in execution. He was given therefore to be *a Leader and Commander to the People, Isa.* 55. 4. in order to restore *Liberty to the Captives*, &c. *Isa.* 61. 1, *&c.* For *all Power is given unto him both in Heaven and Earth, Matth.* 28. 18. But I shall not need to insist upon this; seeing *Christ* himself *witnesseth this* before *Pontius Pilate:* Which made him, by an overruling Providence, put this Inscription over him, when upon the Cross, in all the three learned and famous Languages. And hence the constant Designation, which the *Gospel* gets in the Evangelical History, is that of the *Kingdom of God*, or *Kingdom of Heaven*; a Phrase that doth never denote the State or Place of Glory, so far as I can find; which is ever called simply *Heaven*, or the *Third Heavens*, or *Paradise, &c.*

I might here take occasion to insist on many things, of great Moment and Usefulness. But I must leave them, till I have more time to expatiate upon them. Only I shall hint these few things to the Reader, *viz.* that, under this Head, our Thoughts may profitably dwell upon Christ's Words, *John* 5. 43. *I am come in my Father's Name, &c.* which does suppose the Jewish Theocrity, as it plainly denotes Christ to be the King of Christians; especially if we consider, *ver.* 22, 23. and indeed the whole Context shews this. That Christ's riding into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, and allowing of the *Hosannah*'s of the People, refers to the same Head; as also his attributing the future Destruction of *Jerusalem* to himself, *Matth.* 24. for, as I observed in *(d)* another Work, this Judgment upon the Jews was from Christ, who punish-

(d) Discourse concerning God's Dwelling with Men, p. 43.

ed them, by the hands of *Titus* and the *Romans*, for Rebellion and High Treason. Besides, was it not under the Title of *King of the Jews* that Christ was revealed to the *wise Men*? And when *Herod* consulted the *Sanhedrim*, did they not determine that the *Messiah* was to be King? And were they not in the right as to this; tho they had the wrong Notion of his Monarchy, as if it was to be a temporal and not spiritual one. Which occasioned *Herod*'s Jealousy and Fear, and his barbarous Murder of the young Children on this score. And no wonder he should be afraid, considering how strongly and universally this Opinion was rooted into the Jews, and spread among all the neighbouring Countries, as is plain from the Hints given this way in the Writings of *Josephus*, and by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, as I have already observed.

But one thing I chuse to do here, that I may illustrate this Part of Christ's Office as I have done the other two; and that is, to run a *Parallel* between our *Saviour* and *Joshua*, as to the *Executive Power*, as I have done between *him* and *Shem* as to the *Patriarchate*, and between *him* and *Moses* as to *Legislation*. For, tho *Joshua* had not the *Title of King*, and, in this respect, may not seem to be so eminent a Type of Christ as *David* and *Solomon*: Yet, as he was materially the same to *Israel* in his days, that they were in theirs; and as they had that Title but by *Sufferance*, the *Logos* being properly King of *Israel*, and they but his Deputies and Vice-gerents; so, in all other respects, *Joshua* was the most eminent Type of Christ's Regal Power that we read of.

He was so most eminently in his Name. For we cannot but know, that our Saviour's most *proper Name* is that of *Jesus*, which signifies a Saviour; seeing for this end it was appropriated to him, by the express Command of God from Heaven, *Matth.* 1. 21. The Name of *Christ* being only *Appellative*, as being the Greek Word that answers to the Hebrew Word *Messiah*, which signifies *anointed*, *i. e.* one commissioned to a solemn

lemn Office, by being anointed for that purpose, as I have explain'd this Name above. Now we know that anointing of old was used, when a Person was set apart solemnly either to the Kingly, Priestly or Prophetical Office, under the Circumstances formerly mentioned: So that there were as many Types of this Name of Christ, as there were Persons thus set apart. But the Name *Jesus* signifies over and above his being commissioned, that he was now actually to enter upon that Office and Work to which he had been appointed. And this therefore is the only New Testament-Name, that Christ took upon him, additional to that he had formerly been known by, which he had in common, with many Persons besides, tho he only was denoted thus by way of Eminency. Now our Saviour seems plainly to be made the Antitype of the ancient *Jesus* or *Joshua*, the Great Captain-General of *Israel*, and Successor of *Moses*. Concerning whom let us take notice, that his first Name was *Oshea*, *Numb.* 13. 8, 16. Which *Moses* changed into *Jehoshua*, which by Abbreviation is *Joshua*, and in the Syriack Dialect is *Jesus*. *Oshea* signifies a Saviour; which the wise *Moses* considering, and foreseeing how eminent a Type he would be of the Great Saviour, and how providentially this Name therefore had been given him, resolves to make this more conspicuous by adding to his Name *Jod*, the first Letter of יהוה *Jehova*, and calls him *Joshua*, as if he should say, *one that shall eminently prefigure the Divine Saviour*. And, as *Oshea* signifies a *Saviour*, and *Jehoshua* signifies *he shall save*: So we have in these put together the whole almost of the Angel's Words, *Matth.* 1. 21. The time of *Moses* his giving him this new Name, or his Name with this Alteration, is remarkable, *viz.* when he was to go in with the other *Spies* to make a Discovery of the Land, which he was afterwards to conquer and subdue. But it seems also to look backwards, as well as forwards, *viz.* to the remarkable Victory he obtain'd over the *Amalekites*, *Exod.* 17. 9. where it would seem God had pitch'd upon him to compleat that Work,

ſeeing *Moſes* is commanded to repeat what he had written from the Mouth of God concerning *Amaleck, in the Ears of* Joſhua, *ver.* 16. Now, as all living Languages are ſubject to change; ſo we find this Name alter'd in ſpeaking from *Jehoſhua* to *Joſhua*, and afterwards from *Joſhua* to *Jeſhua*, as we ſee *Nehem.* 8. 17. and laſtly from *Jeſhua* to *Jeſus*, as we ſee, *Acts* 7. 45. and *Heb.* 4. 8. And here therefore, by the bye, ſeeing *Joſhua* is the ſame Name with *Jeſus* (even as *Jacob* and *James*, *Jonas* and *John*, *Rupert* and *Robert*, and innumerable more are,) and ſeeing *Jeſus*, is now appropriated to our Lord Redeemer; may it not be juſtly a Scruple, to ſay no more, whether we can lawfully call a Child by the Name of *Joſhua*, or whether thoſe that were ſo called from Inadvertency, ought to continue this as their proper Name? And, if the Proteſtant Churches have condemned the Name *Jeſuit*, becauſe the Name *Jeſus*, is now appropriated to Chriſt as *Emmanuel*, as we ſee, *Matth.* 1. 21, 22, 23. and therefore incommunicable; whereas that of Chriſtian is allowed of by them, both as being ſcriptural, and becauſe of the Reaſon of the thing, *Chriſt* or the *Anointed* being a relative Word, denoting him the Head of his People, by whom they are called and made Partakers of the Divine Anointing mediately through him: I ſay, ſeeing the Reformed Churches have diſowned the Name *Jeſuit*, not only out of hatred to that bloody Party, that love to be thus diſtinguiſh'd, but as judging the very Name unlawful to be aſſumed; may it not be ſuppoſed to be more preſumptuous and aſſuming to call a Child *Jeſus*, ſeeing it is higher to ſay, *I am Jeſus*, than *I am a Jeſuit*, *i. e.* one that profeſſes to be a Follower of Jeſus? And, if it would ſound odd and harſh to aſſume the Name *Jeſus*, I leave it to ſerious Thought, whether it be not the ſame to intelligent Perſons to be known by the Name of *Joſhua*, tho the Pronounciation by Cuſtom has become leſs ſtartling and offenſive? If in this I offend any Perſon, I ſhall only ſay, that I lye as open, I think, as any Man, to receive better Information.

formation. And, in the mean time, I hope I may be eaſily pardoned, ſeeing I quarrel not with any Perſon, but am only concerned for Truth and the Honour of *Jeſus* my Saviour. Whoſe Name, if I had been known by hitherto, as being given me when I was incapable to chuſe one for my ſelf, I ſhould certainly change now, leſt I ſhould ſeem to take that to my ſelf, which I reckon appropriated by God to his Son. But now that I talk of changing ſuch a Name, I foreſee ſome may be apt to ſay; what! Change our Chriſten'd Name! The Name that we got by Baptiſm! I ſhould not take notice of ſuch a trifling Scruple as this, had I not, to my aſtoniſhment, heard this inſiſted upon oftner than once in Converſation; as if to be *baptized* was *only to have a Name given to a Child by a Miniſter*; when yet every Body knows that the Miniſter does not give any ſuch Name to the Child, but asks what Name the Parents have reſolved upon to give their Child. Which when he has been told, he does not ſay, *I baptize thee John* or *Thomas*; but, *John* or *Thomas*, *i.e.* thou whom thy Friends call ſo or ſo, *I baptize thee into the Name of the Father*, &c. *i.e.* I initiate thee into the Chriſtian Church, to be a Chriſtian, as far as thy Infant-State allows thee to be. The Name therefore being given by Men, and the Miniſter being only the Parents Mouth to publiſh this, there is no juſt ground for the leaſt Scruple, whether we may be allowed to alter it, or not, when we are come to years, without any prejudice to the Deſign of Baptiſm. Did not the Apoſtles change the Name of *Joſes* into that of *Barnabas*? Acts 4. 36. And did not the Apoſtle of the Gentiles change his Jewiſh Name *Saul*, for the Gentile Name *Paul*? *Acts* 13. 9. tho he had been call'd to the Apoſtleſhip by God himſelf under the former Name, *ver.* 2. as well as call'd to Chriſtianity it ſelf under the ſame, *Chap.* 9. 4, *&c.* But whatever was the Reaſon of theſe Changes, I am apt to think, that we have a Precedent, as to Mens changing the Name *Jeſus* or *Joſhua* into ſome other. For *Paul* ſpeaking of his Fellow-Labourers, mentions

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one indeed by his Jewiſh Name *Jeſus*, but adds immediately, *who is called Juſtus*, Col. 4. 11. inſinuating, as I think, that neither the good Man himſelf, nor any other Chriſtian, was willing that the Name *Jeſus* ſhould be given to him, or any mere Man, for the future; for that he, that was formerly called *Jeſus*, had now changed his Name into that of *Juſtus*. And thus I have heard of one, who durſt never write himſelf *Emmanuel* but *Manuel*, as knowing to whom that Name was appropriated. And I leave Men to judge, by comparing the 21*ſt* Verſe of the 1*ſt* Chapter of *Matthew*, with the 22*d* and 23*d*, whether *Emmanuel* and *Jeſus* be not equivalent. And if ſo, then let it be conſidered, whether it be proper now, for a mere Man, to be known by that Name, that denotes him that bears it to be God as well as Man. But to return from this Digreſſion.

Let us conſider *Joſhua* as a Type of Chriſt, not only in his Name, but in his Office and Work, which that Name denotes. A Specimen of which take in the following Particulars. (1.) The *firſt Jeſus* or *Joſhua* was, by God's Appointment, ſet at the Head of the People *Iſrael*, when in a Wilderneſs State, in order to command their Armies, and to introduce them into the Land of *Canaan*.——The *Laſt* and *Great Jeſus* was ſet apart, and appointed to gather to himſelf the diſperſed true Iſraelites from among all Nations, in order to lead, command and ſave them, and bring them into the heavenly *Canaan*. *The Scepter was not to depart from* Judah *until this* Shiloh *ſhould come, to whom the gathering of the Nations was to be*, Gen. 49. 10. So we are told, *Acts* 15. 14, &c. *Simeon hath declared, how God at firſt did viſit the Gentiles, to take out of them a People for his Name: and to this agree the Words of the Prophets, as it is written, after this I will return and build up the Tabernacle of* David, *which is broken down*, &c. (2.) The *firſt Jeſus* ruled *Iſrael* by Officers of God's Inſtitution.——And ſo does *our Jeſus*, Iſa. 33. 22. *For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord*

Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Eph. 4. 11, 12. *and he gave some Apostles, some Prophets,* &c. Mat. 18. 17, 18. *And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church,* &c. (3.) The *first Jesus* was made use of to destroy the Canaanites and other Enemies of *Israel.*——— The *true Jesus* or *Saviour* is he that restrains, over-rules, and at last fully conquers and destroys all his and his Peoples Enemies, *Psal.* 2. 9. *He breaks them into pieces, as a Potsherd is broken by a Rod of Iron.* And at length, 2 *Thess.* 1. 8, 9. *He will be revealed from Heaven, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel*; i. e. *Heathens,* who own not God, according as Reason and Conscience, and the Works and Law of Nature dictate, they should; and *Professing Christians* and *others,* who are acquainted with the Gospel-Revelation, but live not according to it. (4.) The *first Jesus* did correct and punish such of the People, as transgressed God's Commands and Rules, as he did *Achan, Josh.* 7. 18, 19, *&c.*———So does our Blessed Jesus correct his People for their Sins: *Rev.* 3. 19. *As many as I love I rebuke and chasten: Be zealous therefore and repent.* (5.) *Joshua* of old was zealously concerned for God's Honour, and therefore gave the People the best advice he possibly could, as may be seen particularly in his last pathetical Advice and Exhortation, *Chap.* 24.———And what pains *our Jesus* has taken this way to have us perfectly acquainted with his Father's Will, may be seen in the History we have of his Life and Discourses, particularly his last Farewell-Sermon, which makes up the last part of the 13*th* Chapter of *John,* from *ver.* 31. and the whole of the 14, 15, and 16*th* Chapters, which he concludes with that admirable Prayer, *Chap.* 17. (6.) *Joshua* did not only *enter* the People into the Land of *Canaan,* but *settled* them there fully, and distributed the same to them by Lot, as God gave Direction———So our Blessed *Jesus,* did not only lay a *Foundation* for our being possess'd of Heaven, by his Death and Satisfaction; but is gone to Heaven, in order to *bring* us thither also, and

give

give us full Poſſeſſion of it. See *Heb.* 11. 6. and *Rev.* 22. 12.

But, as *Joſhua* was only Typical of *Chriſt* in theſe Things: So there are ſeveral things that relate to Chriſt's Regal and Executive Office, wherein neither he, nor any Man elſe, could ſo much as prefigure him. As, (1.) Our Lord doth effectually work upon the Souls of his own People, by beſtowing ſaving Grace upon them; in which Reſpect he is ſaid to be *a Prince exalted to give Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins*, Acts 5. 31. by which he *makes his People a willing People in the Day of his Power*, Pſal. 110. 3. And by him *we are juſtified from all things, from which we could not be juſtified by the Law of* Moſes, *Acts* 13. 39. (2.) Our Lord does not only give Grace, but preſerve it, maugre all Temptations, that it be not extinguiſhed: And thus *he keeps us by his mighty Power thro' Faith unto Salvation*, 1 Pet. 1. 5. For, as the Expreſſion is, *Iſa.* 63. 9. *In all their Affliction he is afflicted, and the Angel of his Preſence ſaveth them*, &c. (3.) Our *Jeſus* over-rules all things in the World, ſo as he makes them to work together for his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, as he pleaſeth, ſee *Rom.* 8. 28. & 14. 11. And, (4.) As a proof of all this, he did riſe again from the Dead, and continued to appear for forty Days afterwards to his Diſciples; and then aſcended viſibly to Heaven; from whence he has ſent down his Spirit, by which, and the Joynt-Operation of his Providence and the Miniſtry of his Angels, he does whatſoever he ſees good. ——— Now in all theſe things, it is plain, no mere Man could prefigure him; ſeeing theſe things are peculiar to him, who is the Logos.

But, beſides *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, there is another *Joſhua*, who is no leſs a Type of Chriſt than he, *viz.* *Joſhua* the Son of *Joſedeck*, who was High Prieſt, when the *Jews* returned from the Captivity, and the main Man, together with *Zerubbabel*, in promoting the rebuilding *Jeruſalem* and the *Temple*, as we ſee *Hag.* 1. 1, 12, 14, & 2. 2, 4. For this *Joſhua* or *Jeſus* is

is represented as an eminent Type of Christ, 1. In his *Zeal* to *rebuild* the *House of God*, and in his being commissioned so to do, *Hag.* 2. 2, 4. 2. In his being *opposed* by *Satan* in that Work, *Zech.* 3. 1, 2. 3. In his being cloathed with *filthy Garments*, and afterward (these being taken away) with *glorious Apparel*, and a *fine Mitre*; which has a manifest Respect to Christ's Humiliation, in his bearing our Sins, and his Exaltation afterwards, *Zech.* 3, 4. 4. In having a Promise, that he should rule God's House, if he did faithfully perform his Charge, *ver.* 7. 5. In having an express Promise of the Messiah made to him, under the Name of *God's Servant the Branch*; who is described under the Emblem of the *True Foundation, and the living and intelligent Stone, which should take away the Iniquity of the Land in one Day, and bring in Peace, Prosperity and Happiness*, ver. 8, 9, 10. 6. In having *Crowns*, both of *Silver* and *Gold* set upon his Head, that he might be typically both King and Priest, *Zech.* 6. 10, 11. with a new Promise, that *Christ*, who is called the *Branch*, should grow up in his Place and Stead, as the true and everlasting Priest and King of the Church, by whom God would build up, and rule, and save his Church and People, *ver.* 12, 13, 14, 15.

And now, that I have mentioned Christ's being Priest as well as King, I shall take Occasion to look back upon the *Patriarchate*, which I have fixed as the *Genus* of the Three usually assigned Parts of Christ's Office, *viz.* the *Priestly*, *Prophetical* and *Regal*: As for the *Regal*, tho it be included in it *de Jure*, yet it was proper to consider it distinctly, under the Notion of the executive Power: Because, as such, it bears a Reference, not only to the *Patriarchate* but *Legislation*. And tho *Legislation* it self may be supposed to coincide with Prophesie, in the Notion of its being the same with Teaching: Yet, seeing Teaching is too general to specifie Legislation, and seeing Prophesie, in the proper Sense of the Word, is not only too strict and limited to denote it, but altogether foreign from the Idea that Le-

Legiſlation doth afford us; I thought it neceſſary to conſider Legiſlation apart.

Now as to the *Three Parts* of the *Patriarchate*, viz. the *Kingly*, *Prieſtly* and *Prophetical Offices*, as they are uſually called, So much has been ſaid by Divines already, that I cannot be ſuppoſed to add any thing new, unleſs it be as to the manner of conſidering things. I ſhall chuſe therefore, to make this Obſervation only; that they anſwer to the *Threefold Bar*, which is interpoſed ſince the *Fall* between God and us, viz. *Ignorance*, *Guilt and Impotence*. For Chriſt's *Prophetical Office* is deſign'd to reſtore Knowledge to us: His *Prieſtly Office* to attone for us, in order to our being pardoned and accounted Righteous: And his *Kingly Office* to make us Holy, and keep us Obedient. In which Three ſtands the Image of God, when again formed or copied, and drawn over again upon the Soul, ſee *Col.* 3. 10. & *Eph.* 4. 24.

I have already ſpoken to the *Regal* or *Executive Office* of *Chriſt*. As for the *Prophetical*, it ſtands in revealing God's Will to Men. For as we are naturally Ignorant and Blind, this way, ſince the Fall, 1 *Cor.* 2. 14. So *Chriſt is come a Light into the World, to inlighten us*, John 1. 8, 9. Now this *Revelation* is, 1. *External* in the Scriptures. For the ſame Character may be materially given to all the Sacred Books, which is given of the laſt, *Rev.* 1. 1. For which, ſee *Heb.* 1. 1, 2. *John* 1. 18. 1 *Pet.* 1. 10, 11. *John* 15. 15. *Eph.* 4. 10, 11, 12, *&c.* 2. *Internal Revelation* is neceſſary to make the External effectual to Salvation. For this, ſee *Eph.* 5. 2. 1 *Cor.* 2. 14, 15. *Matth.* 28. *ult.* 'Tis true, the Work of ſpiritual Illumination is attributed to the *Spirit*, as his immediate Work, *John* 16. 13. But it is as true, that the *Holy Spirit* doth, in this, act by Delegation from *Chriſt*, as the great Prophet of his Church, as we ſee in the Sequel of that ſame Text, *ver.* 14. See alſo *Eph.* 1. 17. & *Rev.* 19. 10.

And as for the *Prieſtly Office*, we know that the *Prieſts* of old did ſatisfie for the Peoples Sins, in a Typical

pical Senſe, by offering up of *Sacrifices*; and then back'd their Oblations, by offering of *Incenſe*, and by *Interceding* for the People, when they did ſo. So that our Lord, as *High Prieſt* of his Church, does two things alſo. 1. He *ſatisfies* for them. Which he did once for all, by offering up himſelf as a *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, paying thus the Price of his precious Blood for us. See *Dan.* 9. 27. 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *Comp.* with *Matth.* 20. 28. eſpecially as to the Emphaſis of the *Greek* Word ἀντίλυτρον, in the one Place, and the Phraſe λύτρον ἀντι πολλῶν in the other. And let the Force of ἀναφέρειν, in 1 *Pet.* 2. 24. be duly conſidered, as it anſwers not to the *Hebrew* Word העלה which ſignifies *to make to aſcend*, as *Crellius*, without any apparent Reaſon, pretends it doth; but to the Word סבל which ſignifies *to bear a Burden*: Seeing, it is plain, the Apoſtle *Peter* has a Reference to *Iſa.* 53. 11. and no leſs plain, that this is the Senſe of the Word, in *Lam.* 5. 7. where all agree, that it is made uſe of to denote *the bearing of a Burden, and that with Reſpect to the Puniſhment of Sin.* But of this before. 2. Our Lord, as *Prieſt*, does not only ſatisfie for us, but diſcharges the other Part of this Office alſo, by *interceding* for his People: Which is ſo uncontroverted, that I need not inſiſt upon it, tho I had not treated of it at all, as I have done already. I need therefore only hint this now; that he intercedes and pleads with the *Party offending*, to comply with God's Offers, as we ſee, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. *Col.* 1. 20, 21. And he intercedes and pleads with God, the *offended Party*, for Tranſgreſſors, as we ſee, *Iſa.* 53. 12. *Heb.* 7. 25.

Now, as the *Patriarchate* is the *Genus* under which theſe *Three Offices* are to be conſidered: So if we want a *Genus* for the Patriarchate, the *Legiſlative* and *Executive Power*; that of *Apoſtle*, *Saviour* or *Mediator*, will comprehend all. For all theſe three denote the ſame Office, tho from different Views of it. For, if we conſider him with reſpect to his *Miſſion* and *Commiſſion* from God, he is the *Shilo*, the *Sent*, or the *Apoſtle* of God

God to us, as not only *Clemens Romanus* calls him, but the Apoſtle alſo, *Heb.* 3. 1. For Chriſt is his *Father's Apoſtle* or *Meſſenger*, even as thoſe are ſaid to be *Chriſt's Apoſtles* or *Meſſengers*, to whom that Name is uſually appropriated. If again we conſider Chriſt, with Reſpect to the *end* of his *Apoſtleſhip* or *Miſſion*, which was to ſave Sinners; he comes thus juſtly under the Name and Notion of a *Saviour*: To which that of *Redeemer* is equivalent; excepting that it does denote alſo the Method wherein he ſaves us. And, if again we conſider Chriſt's Office and Undertaking, with Reſpect to the actual Execution thereof; as he acted by Commiſſion from God, for the great End of our Salvation, in concert with the promoting of God's Honour: We are thus directed to conſider him as acting an *intervenient* or *middle Part* between God and Man. By which, it will be apparent to a cloſe Thinker, that *Mediation*, or the *Mediatorial Office*, is the proper Notion that, as a comprehenſive General, takes in all we have ſaid as to Chriſt's Offices, or the Conſiderations of his Office. For in order to be *Mediator*, in a proper and compleat Senſe, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have *Right* to repreſent us, as our *Great Patriarch*, and conſequently to act for us, as *Prophet*, *Prieſt* and *King*. And ſeeing he was to *rule* us, in order to *ſave* us: Therefore he was oblig'd, not only to *reveal* God's Mind to us as *Prophet*, to *attone* for us as *Prieſt*, and to *conquer* our Enemies as *King*; but alſo to give us Laws, as our *Legiſlator*; and then to ſee his Laws, when given, put into *Execution*, according to the *Sanction* annexed, which ſtands in *Promiſes* and *Threatnings*.

From theſe Hints, it will be very eaſie, to ſtate the Notion of a *Mediator*. For a *Mediator*, in the general Notion of the Word, is one, whoſe Office, Work and Buſineſs, is to reconcile two or more Perſons at Variance one with another. So that the Work of Chriſt, as Mediator, is to reconcile God and Man. For Man having broken the Covenant, or Law of Friendſhip, which God made with him at firſt; thence followed, neceſ-

neceſſarily, a Separation and Oppoſition. So that the Work of Mediator, in the Scripture-Senſe, is that of one, who reconciles God and Man, by taking away the Grounds of Difference, and making up the Breach between them. And the Goſpel, or New Teſtament, is that Scheme of Agreement, which Chriſt, as *Mediator*, has inſtituted; and with which the Father is fully ſatisfied; as are all Men that conſider this, and mind their Duty and Intereſt. Now, as Chriſt is He that drew up, and appointed the Goſpel-Scheme: So he is the Guardian and Security thereof; whence he is called, *The Surety of the better Teſtament or Covenant*, Heb. 7. 22. But, in order to underſtand the Scriptural Notion of a Mediator, more clearly and fully, it will be of great Uſe to give the Reaſons, why we hear nothing in Scripture of God's being ſaid to be reconciled to us, but only of our being reconciled to him. Now I aſſign theſe two Reaſons, why the Holy Scripture ſpeaks after this manner. 1. I ſuppoſe it ſpeaks ſo, upon this Account; becauſe we are the offending Party: And it is certainly conſonant to Reaſon and Juſtice, that the offending Party ſhould ſeek to be reconcil'd to the Party offended. And, tho the Party offended, out of a Height of Generoſity, ſhould ſue out for Reconciliation with the Party that gave the Offence; yet the Nature of the Thing it ſelf, *viz. Reconciliation in this Caſe*, is ſuch, that ſtill it is proper to ſpeak in this Dialect. Seeing for one to ſeek to be reconciled with another, doth properly denote, that the Breach and Fault is upon his Part, who is ſaid to ſue out for Reconciliation, or who is ſaid to obtain it. Whereas to ſeek that another may be reconciled to us, denotes no ſuch thing properly; but only Goodneſs, Love and Generoſity in one; who, tho juſtly offended, is yet deſirous, that the Perſon offending may be wrought upon ſo, as to be reconciled again. And therefore the Scripture runs conſtantly in this Dialect, by obſerving a juſt Decorum this way (tho I think this has never been obſerved by our Divines) with Relation to the Party offended and of-

fending; as may be seen in *Matth.* 5. 23, 24. 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. and in other Places. Whereas therefore it was not God that brake Covenant with us, but Man that treacherously revolted from God, and justly offended him; it is very reasonable that the Scripture should speak in this Dialect. But, 2. There is this further Reason to be assigned for this, *viz.* that God doth always hold forth himself as gracious and merciful, and desirous that we should be reconciled to him. And therefore Christ's Work was not to reconcile God to us, in any Propriety of Speech, but to reconcile us to God. For God's sending of Christ doth shew, that he was suing out for Reconciliation with us. Nay, Reconciliation is attributed principally to *God the Father, who by Christ reconciles Men to himself,* Col. 1. 19, 20. *For it pleased the Father, that in Christ all Fulness should dwell, and* ——— *by him to reconcile all things to himself,* &c. And therefore we are told, 2 *Cor.* 5. 19. *That God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself,* &c. And it is added, *ver.* 20. *Now then we are Ambassadours for Christ, as tho God did beseech you, by us: we pray you, in Christ's Stead, to be reconciled to God.* Where we may observe and wonder, how free and ready, and how earnestly desirous and concerned God is, to have us reconciled to himself; and yet how refractory and backward Men are to be at Peace with him, and what Work and Pains it is to work us up to this.

But here some may ask, with the *Socinians,* If God be so desirous to have us reconciled to him, what need then of a Mediator? I answer, There is great need of a Mediator, to accomplish this Design. God is willing, 'tis true, to have us reconciled to himself, but in such a way as is consistent with his Justice, Holiness and Veracity. That therefore God might accomplish his Desire and Design of reconciling his People to himself, proper Measures must be adjusted and laid down; which one, every way qualified for the Work, must be intrusted with, and keep to. And accordingly Christ is sent, to become Man, to fulfil the Law, to endure

endure the Punishment, and to raise himself from Death; that thus *He might make Peace, thro' the Blood of his Cross, and that*, this being done, *God might reconcile all things to himself*, Col. 1. 19, 20. For these two things are quite different, to be desirous of Reconciliation, and actually to attain this End. Thus we find *David* earnestly desirous to see his Son *Absalom*, and to have him reconciled to him: Tho this End was not reach'd, until *Joab* found out a way of Mediating between them; as we see, 2 *Sam.* 13. *ult.* Comp. with *Chap.* 14. 21, & ver. *ult.* Nay, we see this in an Instance, wherein God himself is concerned, *Job* 42. 7. *My Wrath is kindled* (says God to *Eliphaz*) *against thee and thy two Friends, &c.* and yet, notwithstanding this, he professeth himself willing to have them reconciled to him, and puts them upon the proper Means to attain this End. From whence, we may observe what may illustrate Christ's Office, and Work, as Mediator. But I suppose all sober Men do agree in this, that Christ's Work, as Mediator, was to lay a Foundation for our being actually reconciled to God, which he did by the Merit of his perfect Obedience and Sufferings; pursuant to which it is his Work still, to carry on the Work of Reconciliation by his Word, Grace and Spirit.

I might indeed add many more Hints, upon so large a Subject, as this is, concerning Christ as *Mediator*: But I have already said much more than I did at first design, or is well consistent with my intended Brevity, upon the Heads I proposed to treat of; but that I could not avoid to be distinct here, and consequently something large too, after I had been so bold, as to charge the commonly received Account of Christ's Offices, as what was not only *unaccurate*, but *defective* also. For had I not made good this Charge, I was aware, how much I should excite the Hue and Cry against me, as an *Innovator*, *Novaturient*, *&c.* from the *Herd* of those, who are against Mens seeing with their own Eyes. Nay, for any thing I know, I might have

incurr'd, not only the Charge of *Schiſm*, but even that of *Hereſy* too, from thoſe, who have no other Argument to uſe againſt ſuch as differ from them, tho in more minute things, but the loud and frequent Repetition of thoſe frightful Words, tho, perhaps, they themſelves underſtand them not.

And now, I think, there is nothing material wanting, in order to our forming to our ſelves Genuin Notions of the Office of the Meſſiah, and the proper Parts or Conſiderations and Views thereof.

I confeſs, it might have been perhaps expected, by ſome, that I ſhould have added ſomething of a practical Improvement of this new and ſcriptural Scheme. But, beſides the Study of Brevity; and that the next Chapter, materially conſidered, will be but a further Illuſtration of what I have ſaid here; and that I deſign alſo to add a ſpecial Application of the whole of this Diſcourſe, in the *laſt* Chapter; I deſire the Reader may conſider, that the ſame Application that has been formerly given of the Offices of Chriſt, in many Scores, or Hundreds of Treatiſes, by practical Divines, will anſwer my Scheme, as well as theirs, with very little Variation. For our different Methods alter not the Nature of any one Truth.

However, ſeeing the Three proper Parts of Chriſt's Mediatorial Office, have never been formally treated of before, in that manner, that I have done here; I ſhall ſo far gratifie others, as juſt to hint at the Improvableneſs of theſe, both by Miniſters, in their Sermons to their Hearers; and by Chriſtians, in their ſecret Retirements, when they meditate upon them.

And (1.) When we conſider Chriſt, as the *Second Adam*, and the only *Fœderal Head* of Men, conſtituted to be our Grand *Patriarch*, *Father* and *Patron*; in coming under whoſe Wings and Protectorſhip, or Guardianſhip, we can only be ſafe and ſecure, and thro' whom only we can come to God, and attain to eternal Glory: I ſay, when we conſider this, we ſee the very turning

turning Point of Salvation, and that wherein both our Duty and Intereſt ſtands.

Here a ſerious Thinker muſt needs reaſon thus. I am naturally deſcended from the corrupted Stock of the *Firſt Adam*; who betray'd his Truſt, and ruin'd the Eſtate and Intereſt of me, and all his Poſterity. What have I received from him, but Miſery, and the Proſpect of more? Shall I continue in that State, which he has brought me into; when I may attain to Eaſe, Peace, Plenty and Glory, another way? Shall I ſin after his Example? Shall I take Part with him in his Crimes againſt God and my ſelf? Am I ſo much oblig'd to him, as to adhere to his Follies; when I have Reaſon to believe, he repented of them himſelf? Where is he now, that I ſhould truſt in him? Could he ſave me, by Merit and Power, were he alive, who could not ſtand his own Ground, under the greateſt Advantages and Incouragements? Had I been his immediate Child or Grand-Child, would he not have deſired me to plead with God, for Mercy's ſake, and to look forward, by Faith, to the *Second Adam* and *Patriarch* of Men? Is it not then high time to liſt my ſelf, under *Chriſt*, that is now become ſuch?

O! The Goodneſs of God! O! The Condeſcendence of Chriſt! Art thou, O Lord, become the Patron and Patriarch of Mankind? O! And wilt thou receive me into thy Family! Doſt thou ſeek to gather me and others, as a Brooding Hen, her Chickens under her Wings? And can I be ſo mad as to continue longer thy Enemy and my own? Alaſs? That I have been ſo long thus mad already. O! And wilt thou accept of me ſtill? My Lord and my God, I proſtrate my ſelf before thee. Receive thy poor Prodigal. Let me have a Share in thy Mercy. Do with me as thou pleaſeſt: Only let me be one of thy own Family, whatever Service thou put me to. But, O! Thy Service is my Glory and Reward. What ſo honourable, ſo noble, ſo pleaſant, ſo beneficial, as to ſerve my God and Saviour, *&c*?

(2.) When we consider Christ, as the only *Legislator*; How improvable is the Thought?

I am, will a serious Person say, an *Outlaw* by Nature. *Adam* fatally turn'd Rebel against God; and all his Children are the Offspring of Rebels, and naturally as treacherous and wicked, as were our first Parents. But is it possible to live lawless, and be either easy or happy? Have I not Reason and a Conscience, that tell me I must be under Law to God? And does not my Bible tell me, that Christ is constituted the only Law-giver and Judge of Men?

O! Glorious and sweet Legislator! How precious is thy Law to me! It was so of old to the Royal Psalmist, in its rougher and more unpolish'd Dress; when the burthensome and tedious Mosaical Rites, accommodated to the Disposition and Circumstances of a morose and obstinate Nation, render'd it a Servitude rather than Obedience, as being liker a Discipline for Slaves than Free Men. But now that thou hast freed the World and Church from all severe Injunctions and Childish Rudiments, and hast adapted thy New Law to the Interest, Peace, Pleasure, Honour and Advancement of Human Nature; O! how sweet are thy Precepts to my Soul! When all I am injoyn'd is only to believe thy Veracity, to meditate upon thy Truths, to love thee and thy Ways, to serve, honour, and adore thee; and to be just, merciful, charitable and faithful to all I am concern'd for and with, as my Relations, Obligations, Trusts and Circumstances require. Shall I ever so much as hesitate, whether or not I ought to take this easy and sweet Yoke upon me? Hadst thou required the severest things, it had been my Duty and Interest to obey. But now, that thou hast injoyned nothing, but what is wholly calculated for my Comfort and Happiness; what a Monster must I look upon my self to be, should I be refractory or backward in yielding Obedience to such a Law, and such a Law-giver? *&c.*

(3.) When

(3.) When we consider Christ, as invested with the *Executive Power* of those Laws he has himself given forth; We cannot but see how improvable likewise this is.

For, if *all Power in Heaven and in Earth be given to Christ*, and if it be in his hand *to kill or make alive*; then it is certainly the Interest of Men to yield themselves to him, as *a willing People*, at his call, *in this Gospel-Day of his Power*.

O! my King and Lord, thine I am, by innumerable Ties; thine I am by Self-Dedication; and thine I am resolv'd to be for ever. Let others chuse whom they please; as for me, I and my House are thine, and resolve to be for no other. Speak Lord, for thy Servants Eyes are upon thee, and his Ears are open to thy Calls. It is my Soul's Desire, thou knowest, to love thee more, and to serve thee better. I have no other end, in all my Studies, Labours and Watchings, but thy own Service. May I attain to be so happy, as to draw over more of my Fellow-Creatures to thee, in order to become likewise my Fellow-Servants. O! that all Men might see, what I see in thee. O! that they might enjoy thy Presence, as I have done, and do, even at this present time. O! incomparably lovely, glorious, gracious and condescending Lord: Thou art all Brightness, Mildness, Sweetness and Goodness. I adore, I admire, I love, I enjoy. (*e*) But O! my

(*e*) *What I have written here, was under a peculiar Impression of which I am to give no Account, and perhaps cannot any more than the Apostle* Paul *could, of what he saw and heard,* 2 Cor. 12. 2, 3, &c. *the I pretend not to any* such *Discoveries as he had. Let me therefore be call'd Enthusiast, or what Men please, I shall not be concern'd. For I consider that not only* Paul *was characterized worse than all this amounts to,* Acts 24. 5, 6. *and* Chap. 26. 25. *but even Christ himself,* Mat. 11. 19. Chap. 12. 24. *and* Chap. 10. 25. Chap. 9. 3. John 10. 33. Matth. 27. 63. *Whatever Notion therefore Men may entertain of me, as to this* Spiritual Flight *of Thoughts, which dictated to me the Words referr'd to here: I do at least hope that the rest of the Book will demonstrate it self to be the Result of sober and solid Thought and Reasoning, as well as of hard Study.*

And,

Thoughts are ſwallowed up! My Words leave me! Rapturous Pleaſure! Peace that paſſeth natural Underſtanding; Joy inconceivable! Celeſtial Viſion! Am I in the Body, or out of it?——Be it as it will, I am ſtill with thee! And O! how happy is it to find my ſelf thus, with thee and in thee! Here is the Center! Here is the Eſſence! Here is the Fullneſs of true Happineſs! of ſolid Satisfaction! of Heavenly Joy!

I thank thee, O my Dear God and Benefactor, for thy ſelf: I thank thee for thy innumerable and gratuitous Benefits: I thank thee for my Bible, and particularly for the New Teſtament: I thank thee, for that meaſure of the Knowledge thereof, which thou haſt

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'*And, in caſe the* Enthuſiaſm *of ſome of late tend occaſionally to the increaſe of* Infidelity, *as to* Revealed Religion, *as I am afraid it may be improved that way by many; I am hopeful, that this Treatiſe may come forth ſeaſonably upon this very account. For I am bold to ſay, that no Man can peruſe this Book, with* ſerious and cloſe Thoughts, *and remain an Infidel, as to the Verity of* Chriſtianity; *nay, that a Sceptick this way, ſhall no ſooner have* thus *perus'd the* firſt Chapter, *than he ſhall be oblig'd to yield his Aſſent to the Truth of this, in the General. Let not therefore minute things ſtumble any, tho they may look a little odd at firſt. For if the main Scope of the Book be anſwered, ſo as that the Reader may receive true Advantage, the Author has reach'd his End: Who is ſo far a* Chriſtian Stoick, *as not to be much concern'd what ſome Men may either think or ſay of him, as to what he has written, either here or elſewhere. However, one thing I may venture to ſay of my ſelf, That whether this Book and my other Writings evidence me to be, in any ſmall meaſure like* Paul *or not; as to ſome Knowledge and Diſcovery of Divine Truth, further than was before: Yet I have been like him, in being dealt with as he was, in one reſpect;* viz. *That I have* had a ſevere Thorn in the Fleſh (*as he had,* 2 Cor. 5. 7, 8, &c.) i. e. *ſevere, violent, and long continued Sickneſs, ſent to* keep me humble. But his Grace is ſufficient for me, and his Strength has been experienc'd by me under my Weakneſs; (*during which many of theſe Thoughts were ſuggeſted and improved.*) *And therefore* I do *with that Apoſtle,* glory even in my Infirmities, that the Power of Chriſt may (*appear the more conſpicuouſly to*) reſt upon me; *as being ſet forth to the more advantage, that ſo mean, worthleſs, and deſpicable an Inſtrument has been made uſe of to diſcover ſo many conſiderable things; ſo as to ſet them in a truer and fuller Light, than they have ever been in before; excepting only the hitherto* Miſunderſtood Bible; *I ſay miſunderſtood hitherto in ſeveral Reſpects, taken notice of in this Work of* Chriſtology.

mercifully

mercifully blest me with: I thank thee for thy answering my Prayers, and assisting my Endeavours, by carrying me on so far, in this Great Work of *Christology*, which thou thy self did at first so remarkably incite and incourage me to undertake: I thank thee for this eminent Manifestation of thy Presence and Love, by which thou hast so given me a renewed and eminent Evidence and Proof of thy Approbation of these my Labours, this *nineteenth Day of May*, 1707: And I thank thee likewise for that fair and sure Prospect, (which I have had, in some measure, from my Youth up to this Day, and have now again confirmed in so wonderful a manner) that I shall enjoy thee uninterruptedly hereafter; in that happy State, where I shall be capable to know thee better, to love thee more perfectly, to enjoy thee more closely, to praise thee more purely, and to serve thee more unweariedly; and that for ever, ever, ever. *Amen.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Relation *which Christ is represented to stand in to us, in the New Testament. Which is considered as* Threefold, viz. *That of his being constituted and appointed the Great* Repository *of all Good for us; the Great* Medium, *in and thro' whom God and Men can only meet, in order to Intercourse and Communion; and the Great* Organ *or* Minister of State, *by whom God carries on all his Grand Purposes.*

HAving now, not only considered the *Divine Wisdom*, conspicuous in Christ, in the *four first Chapters*, but taken a View of what was most material to be considered in reference both to his *Person and Office*, in the

the *two immediately preceeding ones*: I come here to discourse of *the Principal Relations* he stands in to us, according as the New Testament represents this Matter.

I say, *the Principal Relations*: For I pretend not to enumerate all those Relative Characters, which are given to him, either in reference to Men in general, or good Men in particular; such as his being our Representative, Head, Sponsor, Advocate, *&c.* Far less do I pretend, to run out upon the Figurative Designations given him, which are, in some sort, endless; as when he is called the Rock, the Door, the true Vine, the Manna or Bread from Heaven, our Husband, our Propitiation, *&c.*

And yet, if I mistake not, what I have said, and what I am about to say further, will materially comprehend all these; or, at least, lay a sufficient Foundation for our Understanding them. I proceed therefore.

There are *three Grand Relations*, wherein Christ is considered with respect to us: which, tho I may have referr'd to, and given some transient Hints of before; yet I never formally treated of: And therefore I shall do this now. The *1st* is, That of his being the *Great Treasury* or *Repository of all Good*, out of which the Wants of Men are to be supplied. The *2d* is, That of the *Great Medium*, in and thro' whom *God and Men* can only *meet*, in order to have Intercourse and Communion. And the *3d* is, That of the *Great Organ* or *Instrument*, in and by whom, *God carries on all his Great Purposes*, with respect to our Salvation and Happiness.

I confess that these Considerations, *materially* considered, are the same with what I spoke of under the Name of Christ's *Offices*, as he is the *Divine Patriarch, Legislator and Executor of God's Will*. However I thought proper to consider them *formally* also: And so I have represented these things distinctly here, according to the View which the Scripture gives us of this wonderful Subject: For it was not for me to vary from it.

And

And I am sure, there is here Matter enough for a Folio Volume, should I run out upon these Heads, as their Dignity, Comprehensiveness and Usefulness might call for. But I must content my self, with giving a very short and succinct View of them.

And yet, I *am* perswaded, that even that short Account, I shall give of them, will lay a Foundation of our Wonder; That none of these should ever have been so much as formally thought of, by any of our Systematical Divines; as indeed they seem not to have been treated of by any Christian Writer whatsoever, so far as I can pretend to know Books; I mean, not as either a distinct Head of the Christian Religion, or as related to the Office of the *Messiah*. And our wonder this way, will increase, when we shall see, not only that each of these is spoken of in Scripture; but so spoken of and insisted upon, as to make a very considerable Part of the Doctrine of the Gospel, as it relates directly to Christ, as he is *Loganthropos*, and bears a reference to us, as such. But, not to spend time beforehand; I shall now consider each of these distinctly, tho with all possible Brevity.

And, I. Let us consider *Christ*, as he is represented to us under the Notion of the *Great Treasury* or *Repository* of *all Good*, out of which all the Wants of Men are to be supplied.

And here, I find I have two things to do; *1st.* To shew, that Christ is constituted and appointed such; and then, *2dly.* To shew, that he bears a Relation, this way, to us, and that it is out of him only, as such, that we can have our Wants and Needs supplied.

1st. I shall shew, That *Christ* is *Constituted* and *Appointed* to be, as it were the Great and Common *Treasury*, *Store-house* or *Repository* of all Good.

The whole Current of the New Testament represents Christ under this Notion. And many Passages to this Purpose might be insisted upon, such as *John* 1.9,14: 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *Col.* 2. 3. Compare also, *Isa.* 63.9. with *Mal.* 3. 1.

But

But I shall, for brevity sake, confine my self to one only, at present; It is that, *Col.* 1. 19. *For it pleased the Father, that in Him should all Fullness dwell.*

The Apostle, in that Chapter, presents us with a twofold Account of Christ. 1. As the *Logos* or Son of God, *ver.* 15, *&c.* Of which I discoursed (*f*) elsewhere; and therefore shall say no more to it here. 2. As *Loganthropos*, *ver.* 18. *&c.* representing him, as such, under the Notion of *the Head of the Body, the Church, &c.* Of which likewise I shall say nothing now, in general, seeing I have (*g*) likewise discoursed of this. Only it may not be unprofitable, for the close Reader, to look back upon what I have said upon this Text and Context, in the Place referr'd to, in order to understand the Connexion of the Apostle's Reasoning. All that I shall observe here, with respect to this, is the Connexion of our Text, with the Verse preceding and the Verse following: Which is this; The Apostle having laid down this general Position, in the beginning of *ver.* 18. That Christ, as *Loganthropos*, was constituted and appointed to be *the Head of the Body, the Church*; adds immediately this other Position, That he was also, *the Beginning, the First-born from the Dead*; or, as I both render'd and understood the Words, in the place referr'd to, *the Efficient*, even *the First Producer from the Dead, viz.* of those that otherwise must never have risen. Now the Apostle having thus laid down these Positions, gives us this, as the Reason of Christ's being constituted such to us; *viz. That in all things he might have the Pre-eminence, i. e.* above all others. And this Reason is inforc'd and inlarg'd upon in our Text, *For it pleased the Father, that in him all Fulness should dwell, i.e.* That in him, as a common Repository or Store-house, and in his hands as an universal Guarantee or Guardian, should be deposited and concredited whatsoever was or could be needful or necessary for the present and future

(*f*) Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 6. p. 211, &c. (*g*) Ibid. p. 214, &c.

Good

Good of Men; a Foundation being laid for this, by reason of our Saviour's *having made Peace thro' the Blood of his Cross*, as the Words are, *ver.* 20. But the Apostle proceeds to tell us something further than all this, *viz.* that Christ is such a Repository of Good, as that he is not confin'd to Men, but made a Treasury also, this way, for Angels; and therefore he adds, in the same 20th *Verse*, That the Father's laying up all Fulness in him, was for this end; *That he might, by him, reconcile all things to himself*, by him, (says he) *whether they be things on Earth or things in Heaven.* And then, making special Application of this general Truth, to those he wrote to, he says, *ver.* 21, 22, &c. *And you that were sometimes alienated, and Enemies in your Mind, by wicked Works, yet now hath he reconciled, in the Body of his Flesh, thro' Death, to present you holy and unblamable, and unreprovable in his Sight; if ye continue in the Faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the Hope of the Gospel*, &c.

But here, by the way, let us remember, that the Word Father is not in our Text. And therefore, tho it may be well enough understood, yet it might as well have been rendred indefinitively thus. *For it was agreed, that in him all Fulness should dwell.* Which I think hits the meaning of the *Greek* more exactly. For, when it is said, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε, &c. or, as the *Alexandrian* Manuscript has it, ηὐδόκησεν; it seems to lead us to consider Christ's being constituted to be the *Repository* and *Guardian* of *all Fulness*, or *all Good*, not only according to the Agreement of the Supreme Reason, who is God; but with the concurring Suffrage of all created Reason too, whether Angelical or Human; which must immediately acquiesce in this admirable Contrivance and Constitution, as soon as it is understood.

The Sin and Misery of Man had made a sad Eclipse upon the Glory of this lower Creation; and had not only made a Breach between God and Man, but between Men and Angels too.

In

In order therefore to adjuſt all theſe Parties and Intereſts, a proper *Center* of *Union* muſt be found out. And he that was to adjuſt all theſe, muſt be ſuch a wonderful Compoſition, (if I may be allowed to uſe ſuch a Word, for want of a better,) as to have an Intereſt in, and Relation to them all.

As therefore this Glorious Perſon muſt have the Fulneſs of the Deity in him, ſo likewiſe the Fulneſs of both the angelical and human Nature. For he muſt be *ſeated* at the *Head* of all the *Rational and intellectual Creation*, as well as at the Head of the *natural World*, in order to carry on the Divine Purpoſes to Perfection.

And this we may reaſonably conclude, as conſonant to the Divine Scheme of things, if we do but only take a View of this lower Creation, with which we are beſt acquainted. For we find, as we aſcend the Stair of Nature, that ſtill the ſuperior Beings are poſſeſs'd of the Perfections of all inferior Beings, with the Super-addition of ſome other Perfection, which they want. Thus ſome have *Vegetation* ſuperadded to *Being*; ſome *Senſation* added to *Vegetation*, and ſome *Reaſon* to both. And, beſides that, the Degrees of all theſe are innumerable; there is a ſort of *Nexus* obſervable, by which ſome of theſe run up, in ſome Senſe, to the higher Degree. For, as ſome *Vegetables* ſeem to be impowered with an inferior ſort of Senſe, and ſome *Senſitive Creatures* ſo ſunk in mere Vegetation, (as if it were to meet the other Claſs half way,) that it is hard to judge to which Claſs they belong: So ſome *Senſitive Creatures* ſeem to be impowered with a ſecondary ſort of Reaſon, as, upon the other Hand, ſome *Men* appear to be ſo ſunk, in Senſe, as hardly to exceed ſome Beaſts, ſuch as *Dogs*, *Foxes*, *&c.* Now, if we may judge of the ſuperior Orders of Beings, by theſe; and their Gradations above, by theſe Gradations here below; we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that thoſe *Celeſtial Beings* may be vaſtly different, even in Point of *Species*, as we are ſure they are, as to *Order*; the Higher ſtill poſ-

ſeſſing,

ſeſſing, with Advantage, the Powers of the inferior ones. However, it is more than probable, that between the *infinite Being*, and the *higheſt finit Ones*, there muſt be a *Nexus*, or *One*, that, in ſome ſort, partakes of both Natures, to make up the Diſtance between them.

And ſure I am, the Scripture repreſents Chriſt, as ſuch a One. For we have a juſt Foundation of conſidering him, as ſuch a wonderful Repoſitory, as this comes to; *the All-Fulneſs of God* being in him, together with *the Fulneſs of Angels* and *the Fulneſs of Men.*

(1.) The *All-Fulneſs* of *God* is laid up, as it were, in him.

This is plainly and emphatically aſſerted, *Col.* 2. 9. *For in him dwelleth all the Fulneſs of the Godhead bodily.*

Every Word here carries along with it a peculiar Force. For it is not ſaid, that the Fulneſs of the *Divinity* lodgeth in him, but of the *Deity*, or Godhead, the Word not being θειότητος, but θεότητος. Nor is it ſimply ſaid θεότητος, but τῆς θεότητος, to aſſure us, that we are to underſtand the Deity here in the higheſt Senſe. Nor yet is it barely ſaid, that he has πλήρωμα, *a Fulneſs* of the Deity, but τὸ πλήρωμα, *the Fulneſs* thereof. But, as if it were not enough to ſay *the Fulneſs*, by way of Eminence, it is called πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα, *all the Fulneſs*. Beſides, it is not ſaid, that this All-Fulneſs of the Deity *lodgeth* in Chriſt, but the very contrary; that, κατοικεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ, *it dwelleth in him*, as in its proper Houſe, Seat, or Repoſitory. And all this is ſtill more conſiderable, becauſe it is added, that the All-Fulneſs of the Deity or Godhead dwells in Chriſt σωματικῶς, *bodily*, or as ſome render it, ſubſtantially or really. However the meaning is, that this All-Fulneſs of the Deity dwells in the Man Jeſus Chriſt, after a quite other manner, than that wherein he was ſaid to dwell in the Tabernacle and Temple of old, which was *Emblematically* and *Efficiently* only. Beſides, that we

we are given thus to understand, that this All-Fulness is not to be considered, under the Notion of *a general and universal Presence* or *Providence* only; for so it is every where: Nor under the Idea of a *special Efficiency of the Spirit*; for so God dwelleth in his Saints. But we are to understand it of a real and proper Inhabitation, and such as denotes a true personal Union, in the Sense I formerly gave of this, *viz.* such a one as is peculiar and appropriate to the *Logos*, in Conjunction with the Man Jesus, with whom he has united himself. However, upon the whole, we see what *Pleonasms* the Apostle makes use of, as if he could never lay force and weight enough upon the Words he uses, as expressive of this great Truth.

And indeed, as this is a most glorious Truth, so also a most useful and practical One. But I must put a Restraint upon my Pen here, and leave the practical Prosecution and Improvement of this Subject, both in this and the following Respects, to Mens own Thoughts.

(2.) The *Fulness* of *Angels* is laid up in Christ likewise.

This is equally asserted, in the very next Verse to the former, *viz.* *Col.* 2. 10. where Christ is said to be *the Head of all Principality and Power.* For that the Apostle means the Angels here, is plain from the Scope of the Context, and particularly from *ver.* 18. where he prohibits Men from worshipping them. Which can never be meant of Evil Angels; seeing no Seducer could be so ridiculous, as to press Men to worship them; and it is plain, that the Apostle speaks of those prophetically, who, out of a pretended Humility, would have us not to come to God immediately, but thro' the Intervention of Angels and other holy Spirits, as the Papists do at this Day.

Now it is not Christ, as *God*, that is said to be the *Head* of *Angels*, but Christ as *Loganthropos*; seeing the Connexion shews us this. And indeed it had been no matter of great Observation or Remark, to have told us,

us, that Christ, as God, was Head of Angels. But to tell us that *He*, who is known now by the Name of Jesus Christ, *in whom* the All-Fulness of the Deity dwells *bodily*, and *in whom* we are said to be *Compleat*: To tell us, I say, that this Person is the Head of Angels, is indeed wonderful.

But yet it is no more wonderful than true. For we are told, 1. That *Christ has obtained a more excellent Name than the Angels*, Heb. 1. 4, 5. for none of them was ever personally united to the *Logos*, as the Man Christ is. 2. That he has obtain'd a more *excellent Ministry* and *Office* than they, as being the superior Ruler over them and all things. See *Heb.* 1. 7, 8. 3. That he is exalted now in Heaven far above them, they being oblig'd to own, serve, and worship him; see *Heb.* 1. 14. *Phil.* 2. 9, 10. 1 *Pet.* 3. 22.

And, seeing this is the Case of Angels, in Relation to Christ, as their Head, as well as ours; we come immediately to be apprized of the Reason of every thing, that is spoken of them in the New Testament. As, for Example, we understand, 1. Whence it is, that the World of Angels, and holy Spirits above, are represented to us, as making up one Family, together with the Saints on Earth, under the Headship of Christ, as the general and common *Pater Familias*, or Master of the same Family, which is partly glorified and triumphant above, as it is, in Part also, exercised and militant on Earth, see *Eph.* 3. 15. 2. We see, also, how it comes to pass, that we that are yet Militant on Earth, are said to *be come unto*, or advanc'd so, as to belong unto *the innumerable Company of Angels*, and *to the Spirits of just Men made perfect*, Heb. 12. 22, 23. 3. We see also, why our Lord teaches us to argue and pray, with a Relation to them of the Paradisical Society; and that therefore we are taught thus to plead, That *God's Will may be so done on Earth, as it is done in Heaven*, Matth. 6. 10. 4. We see likewise, how justly the Angels are characterized, as being *all* of them *ministring Spirits, sent out for them who*

ſhall be Heirs of Salvation, Heb. 1. 14. for they are all under the Command of the *Great Angel of the Covenant*, and are canton'd out, as he pleaſeth, as it were, in ſo many *Camps, about them that fear God, to deliver them.* No wonder then, if they own themſelves to be *the Fellow-Servants of the Saints on Earth*, Rev. 19, 20. & *Chap.* 22. 9. 5. Nay, we need not wonder to find the *Angels* repreſented, as ſo very *deſirous to look into*, and be acquainted with the Affairs that relate to the *Goſpel* and *Goſpel-Church*; as we find they are ſaid to be, 1 *Pet.* 1. 12. Nor, 6. Need we wonder, that they learn ſome new Leſſons daily, from Chriſt's Conduct, in Relation to his People on Earth, with Reſpect to whom they themſelves are ſo variouſly imploy'd; and that, upon this Account, we ſhould be told, that *the manifold Wiſdow of God is made known to the Principalities and Powers, in heavenly Places, by the Church*, Eph. 3. 10. And, 7. It needs yet be leſs wondred at, that the Meſſengers of Chriſt here on Earth, who are ſent to Men with his Meſſage, and upon his Errands, ſhould ſometimes be honour'd with the Name of Angels, ſeeing that Word denotes no more than the Word Meſſengers does, tho moſt commonly appropriated to the heavenly Spirits, ſee *Rev.* 1. 20. 8. Nor needs it ſound hard or oddly to us, that the Angels are repreſented, not only to be ignorant of ſome things, as we ſee, *Matt.* 24. 36. *Mark* 13. 32. but to be, in ſome Senſe, in a State of Trial, as well as we, ſeeing they are ſaid ſometimes *to be charged*, by their great Maſter, *with Folly*, Job 4. 18. 9. Nor is there Reaſon to wonder, why the Angels are ſpoken of as careful Inſpectors of what relates to Chriſtians, ever ſince the Incarnation of Chriſt; and that ſometimes Arguments are drawn from thence, to ingage us to a ſincere, modeſt, and circumſpect Behaviour. See 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *Chap.* 5. 21. 1 *Cor.* 4. 9. *Chap.* 11. 10. 10. Nor yet need we wonder, if good Men, at the Reſurrection, ſhall become equal to the Angels, or the Angels Equals, *Luke* 20. 36. Nay, in a Word, there is nothing ſaid of the Angels, or in Re-

Reference to them, in all the Bible, but becomes intelligible and eaſie to be underſtood, by what we have ſaid, or rather hinted, concerning Chriſt's Relation to them, and his Headſhip, as *Loganthropos* and Redeemer, over them; eſpecially if the Reader call to mind, what I ſaid concerning the Soul of the Meſſiah, when I treated of Chriſt's Incarnation, in the 5*th* Chapter; which I was not willing to come over again in this. However, from thence we ſee the Foundation of my aſſerting, agreeably with the Strain of the Scripture, that the *Fulneſs of Angels dwells in Chriſt*. And, if this be ſo, we may much more eaſily apprehend the next Head.

(3.) The *Fulneſs* of *Men* is alſo laid up in Chriſt.

I have, in ſome ſort, prevented my ſelf, as to this Head, by what I have ſo frequently touch'd upon, in ſeveral Parts of this Book. Upon which Account, and that this is ſo obvious, in it ſelf, I need ſay little unto it here.

Nor need I go further, than the ſame Text I have been upon, with Reſpect to the former Heads. For, as the Apoſtle aſſerts, *Col.* 2. 9. That *the All-fulneſs of the Godhead dwells in Chriſt bodily*, or in him, as he is now become Man; and *ver.* 10. that he is the Head of Principality and Power: So he does, in the ſame 10th *Verſe*, aſſert, that *we* Men *are compleat in him*, who is our Head alſo; a Phraſe of equivalent Force, with the former Aſſertions, tho the Objects of this Reference are different from the others.

But, as I ſaid, I have ſo far prevented my ſelf, upon this Head, that I have hardly left any thing to be ſaid here. For I have demonſtrated, 1. That Chriſt was as real a Man, as any ever was; 2. That he had Human Nature to the ſame Perfection, that *Adam* had, in his State of Innocence; 3. That he exerted Human Reaſon, and Human Nature, to the utmoſt Perfection, in all his Management and Conduct; 4. That he was the Patron and ſecond Federal Head of Men; 5. That he had the Fulneſs of Men in him, as he was intruſted

with the whole Concerns of Men, both for Time and Eternity; 6. Nay that, in this Case, he acted as much, as the only Man, as if there had been no other, in the World, but himself, pursuing the Common Good of Men, when all others either opposed it, or had deserted it; 7. That he did not only act thus, but with such Success, as to promote the general Good, by laying a new Plan for the same, by what he both did and suffer'd; 8. That he had the Fulness of Men in him, even with Respect to their several Stations and outward Circumstances in the World, and that in so strange a manner, that even the opposite States did equally meet and center with him. For, as he was the rightfulest and the truest Prince and Sovereign, that ever was in the World: So he was likewise the most perfect Subject and Servant; demonstrating himself the most dutiful Child to his Parents, *Luke* 2. 51. the most obedient Subject to the Rulers that then were; not only to the Pharisees and other *Jewish* Doctors, in as far as they sat in *Moses* his Seat, *Luke* 23. 2. and consequently to the Priests and other *Jewish* Rulers; but even to *Herod* and *Pilate*, tho Usurpers, and to the *Roman* Laws, Customs and Authority, in civil Things, which he evidenc'd in paying the Tribute Money demanded then; as well as to the Mosaical Laws, in a constant Attendance, at their Festivals. Nay, he paid that Respect to his Forerunner, *John Baptist*, and the Authority by which he acted, that he would be baptized by him; giving this elevated, comprehensive, and memorable Reason, that *thus it became them* two (and therefore certainly all others) *to fulfil all Righteousness*. And how true a Master, Teacher, Countryman and Friend he was, and how careful of his Mother, when he himself was upon the Cross, I think needs not be insisted upon here. He was a Free-Man, if ever there was any, and yet he acted from such a generous and comprehensive Humility, as to become the Servant of all. He was rich, and yet, in another Sense, one of the poorest Men that ever was; living by the voluntary Contribution

and

and Charity of those, who appear not to have been rich themselves, *Luke* 8. 3. And, 9. I have said enough to shew, that the Fulness of Men was lodg'd in Him, in Point of Office, as well as in Relation to various Circumstances. For I have demonstrated him to have been Patriarch, King, Prophet, Priest, Legislator, Redeemer, Mediator, Surety, Judge, Physician, Apostle, Angel or Messenger, Shepherd, Bishop or Pastor, Teacher, Minister or Servant, *&c.* 10. And as Christ died, as one for all Men, 2 *Cor.* 5. 14. So we have shew'd, that he went to Heaven, in our Stead, and for our Sake, as our Fore-runner, Provider, Intercessor, Guardian, *&c.* In all which Respects, the Fulness of the Human Nature, or the Fulness of Men, is seen to dwell in Jesus Christ, as the common Repository. And now having spoken to this Third Fulness, that is laid up in Christ, as well as to the former; I find my self led forward to consider and shew,

2*dly.* How Christ bears *a Relation to us*, as he is the *Common Repository*, wherein all these *Three Sorts* of *Fulness* do meet, as in a *Common Center*, and are laid up as in a *Common Treasury*?

Now, tho the general Assertion, *Col.* 1. 19. and the Three particular ones, *Col.* 2. 9, 10. and what I have said upon them, and from them, may be justly suppos'd to lay a full and strong Foundation, as to this Second Inquiry; which does indeed naturally, and, as it were, necessarily depend upon, and follow from the former: Yet I shall not grudge to lay a more immediate Foundation, as to this second Point, if it were only, because, this way I shall lead the Minds of my Readers, into a further View of scriptural Divinity, with respect to one of the most weighty and useful Points thereof. But, to avoid Prolixity, I shall only mention two Passages of Scripture, as Fundamental of what I have to say upon this Head.

The (1.) Passage is, that memorable Saying of the Baptist, *John* 1. 16. *And of his Fulness have all we received, and Grace for Grace.*

In order to understand this the better, let us take a short View of the Context. In *ver.* 1, and 2. the Eternity and Divinity of Christ, as the *Logos*, is asserted. In *ver.* 3. he is represented as the immediate Creator of all things. In *ver.* 4, and 5. He is represented, as the Supreme and Universal Good of Men; from whom they have derived all their Life and all their Light. In *ver.* 6——9. his being the true Messiah is asserted, and that the Baptist was no more than his Deputy-Usher; and particularly, that he came into the World, not as *Moses*, to enlighten a particular Nation, but to enlighten all Men of all Nations. In *ver.* 10. it is asserted, that he had ruled the whole World of Men, before his Coming, tho they knew it not. In *ver.* 11. That he evidenc'd a particular regard to the Jews above all other Nations; and that he was very ill rewarded by them for his doing so. In *ver.* 12. it is asserted, that notwithstanding the ill Treatment he received from Men, yet that he kindly received all those that believed in him, entitling them to the Name and Privileges of the Sons of God; and of them a Description is given, *ver.* 13. In *ver.* 14. no less than four Great Things are summ'd up in a few Words; *viz.* That he was incarnate; That he dwelt among Men as an Inhabitant of this lower World; That he was visibly transfigured into the likeness of the *Shechinah*, of which *John* was an Eye-witness; and that he comprehended in him All-Fulness, or an All-Sufficiency, both of Grace and Truth. In *ver.* 15. his Preference before the Baptist, with the Reason thereof, taken from his Pre-existence from Eternity, are mention'd.——Then follows the Words of our Text. ——An Illustration of the meaning of which is added in the Sequel of this account of Christ. Where, in *ver.* 17. he is preferr'd before *Moses* the Law-giver, as being the Giver and Bestower both of Grace and Truth. And then in *ver.* 18. he is represented to be the only Son of God, in a Sense appropriable to no Creature besides; as also that he was the only Person, that

that had ſeen God himſelf; and that was even then, as *Logos*, in *the Boſom of the Father*, a Title peculiar to the Meſſiah; and likewiſe that he was the only Diſcoverer of him to Men.

Now, theſe things being briefly hinted, in relation to Chriſt's Fulneſs, in reference to Men; let us conſider, that our Text in *ver.* 16. contains ſuch a General Aſſertion as takes in all that had been ſaid before concerning Chriſt, as well as what is added in *ver.* 17, and 18. For whatever be the meaning of the 2*d* Part of *John*'s Words, *ver.* 16. when he ſays, that we have received ἡ χάριν ἀντι χάριτος, even *Grace for Grace*, or, and *Grace for Grace*; yet ſtill the firſt General Aſſertion can admit of no Limitation, eſpecially if we conſider the things inſtanc'd in, in the other Verſes. So that both *John* the Baptiſt, and *John* the Evangeliſt, do by a Divine Afflatus, ſum up all in this General, when they ſay, *And of his Fulneſs have we all received*, or rather, according to the Greek, *and out of his Fulneſs have we all received*, *i. e.* both we and all Men; that is, all they that either were or are, and *all* that they either did or do partake of, have proceeded *out of the Fulneſs that is in Chriſt*. And then, it is added, *and Grace for Grace*; which I think may be well underſtood, by way of Expoſition of the former General, rather than of Limitation of it. For I think the meaning is this; even Grace in ſuch a manner, as to anſwer unto that Grace that is treaſur'd up in Chriſt for us. So that, as Chriſt had the Spirit without Meaſure, and Grace without Limitation; he has demonſtrated himſelf, this way, not only to have been the true Meſſiah, by his diſpenſing of this Grace to Men, but has done ſo, in ſuch a copious Manner, as to ſhew that whatever Men have received, they have had immediately from himſelf. For I take not Grace here, in a narrow and limitted Senſe, ſo as only to denote this or the other thing, that may come under this Name, but univerſally for whatever is gratuitouſly beſtowed upon Men; as indeed all things are, tho not with the ſame Peculiarity. But, as I ſaid, let the mean-

ing of this latter Part be what it will: ſtill it is certain, that the firſt Part of the Text is unlimited; which is that only, which I am to conſider here directly.

And therefore let us branch this out into Particulars, and we ſhall find,

1. That it is out of the Fulneſs of Chriſt, that Men, and indeed all things, have received Being. This is certain, becauſe he was the Creator of all things, and ſpecially of Men, *John.* 1. 3, 10.

2. That it was out of Chriſt's Fulneſs, that Life was beſtowed on ſome Beings, particulary upon Men, *ver.* 4.

3. That it was out of the ſame Fulneſs, that Men were endow'd with the Light of Reaſon, and that they had ſo many Notices of the Divine Mind, under their various Diſpenſations, in order to increaſe and brighten the ſame, *ver.* 5, 9.——So that this and the former Particulars ſhew, that Chriſt is the Supreme Good of Men.——And therefore it is ſhewed, that he was not the Light of one Nation only, as *Moſes* was, but of all Men, (tho he made the firſt Offers to the Jews, *ver.* 11.) and that the Baptiſt was no more than his Uſher this way.

4. That it is out of Chriſt's Fulneſs that Men attain to know the *Truth* clearly and fully, ſeeing he is full of *Truth* as well as Grace, *ver.* 14. and ſeeing Truth as well as Grace is ſaid to be given or diſpenſed by him, *ver.* 17. in Contradiſtinction to *Moſes*, who was only the Giver-forth of the ſubſervient *Law* of the Jews, as is ſaid, *Ibid*——And, as an Evidence of Chriſt's being the ſole Diſpenſer of all Truth, it is added, in particular, that it is he only that is the Diſcoverer of the God of Truth; the Being and Perfections of whom is the Sum, as well as Foundation of all Truth, *ver.* 18. And in all theſe reſpects Chriſt is often called the Truth emphatically.

5. That it is out of his Fulneſs, that *Grace*, which is the inſeparable Companion of the Truth ſpoken of, is likewiſe diſpenſed. See *ver.* 14, 16, 17.

6. That

6. That it is out of Christ's Fulness, that Men come to be capable of injoying God, and that, for this end they are converted and born again, after the Will of God, and intitl'd to the Character and Benefits of the adopted Sons of God, *ver.* 12, 13.

So that there is nothing, that any Man ever had, has, or can have, by way of Mercy, Qualification, or Privilege; but what is dispensed out of the Fulness that is in Christ, and that is laid up there for us: Let us therefore consider Man which way we will, we shall still find, that he is this way only to be supplied.

For, 1. If we consider him, as a Reasonable Creature; his Happiness, as such, stands in knowing the Truth: And Christ is the Sum of this, and the only Dispenser thereof to us.

2. If we consider Man as a guilty Creature; our Saviour is his only Fulness, in point of Merit, *Who was delivered for our Offences, and rose again for our Justification*, Rom. 4. 25.

3. If we consider Man, as sinfully impure, who can bring a clean thing out of such an unclean one, but God; And sure no other Method did God ever take to do this, than in and thro' Christ.

4. If we consider Man, as an impotent Creature; is it not in and thro' Christ, that we are *strengthned with all Might*, to do God's Will? *Col.* 1. 10, 11.

5. If we consider Man, as a needy Creature; Is it not *thro' Jesus Christ only that God supplies his Wants*, Phil 4. 19.

6. If we consider Man, as a Rebel and an Apostate Creature; Is it not thro' Christ only, that *Men are turned from Darkness unto Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God?* Acts 26. 18. And, for this end, is not Christ represented, as the *only Way to God, as well as the Truth and the Life?* John 14. 6. And is it not he, that restores us again to the Image of God, which we lost by the Fall, effecting this Change by his Word and Spirit?

Spirit? *Rom.* 8. 29. 1 *Cor.* 15. 49. and *Col.* 3. 10. compared with 2 *Cor.* 4. 4. *Col.* 1. 15. and *Heb.* 1. 3.

7. If we consider Man, as made for and capable of Happiness and Glory, and consider him therefore in relation to his last End, and highest Perfection; Who can raise him to these, from his present degenerate and miserable State? None surely but Christ. And here, let it be remembred, that as Christ's Death, Resurrection and Ascention, lay the Foundation of this; so it is pleasant to think, 1. That the Glory of the Souls of Men; (in case they be faithful to Christ as the Glorified Head of Men, and consequently to themselves) is inseparably connected with the Glory of Christ's Soul in Heaven; 2. That the Glory of his Body is the Foundation of the future Glory of our Bodies; and, 3. That the Glory of Men, after the Resurrection, which is now virtually founded on the Exaltation of the Man Jesus, will be actually accomplish'd and finish'd by Virtue of the Man Christ's being then compleatly rewarded and declared to have fully finish'd all that God gave him in Trust, with respect to Men. And, upon the same account, and thro' the Intervention of this same Glorified Head of Human Nature, shall Good Men, thro' Eternity, be admitted to see and enjoy God.

Now, it is easy to see, how full and comprehensive these Hints are; and how fully they answer the 2*d* Inquiry. But seeing I proposed to propose one Passage of Scripture more, as Fundamental likewise of what I had to say on this Head, I cannot forbear to mention it here also.

The (2.) Passage is that in 1 *Cor.* 1. 30. *Where Christ is said to be made of God to us, Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption.*

These four Privileges, if taken in their full Signification, include or suppose all I mention'd before. For what can that Man want, who is, in all respects, Wise, Righteous, Holy and Happy.

Now,

Now, as all Good Men are intitl'd to these, in the highest and utmost respects, that their Natures can allow of; and as they do, even in this Life, partake of them, in higher or lower degrees: So it is plainly asserted, that all these are made over to us, in and thro' Christ.

They, (as Dr. *Whitby* says here) that explain the whole force of the Word *made* here, by that of *Imputation*, and say that Christ was made our Righteousness by his Righteousness imputed to us, have the same Reason to say also, that he is made our Wisdom by his Wisdom, our Sanctification by his Holiness, and our Redemption and Happiness, by his Redemption and Happiness imputed to us.

For my own part, it is plain to me, that by Christ's being *made these to us*, is meant his being constituted the *Author* and *Dispenser* of them. And in this Sense, 1. Out of his Fulness, we come to partake of the Revelation of the Gospel, and that not only in Theory, but according to inward Experience and spiritual Sensation. 2. And thus also we come to be *justified, from all things, from which Men could not be justified by the Law of* Moses, *Acts* 13. 39. For in and thro' Christ only we attain to the Pardon of our Sins, and to be accepted as Righteous in God's Sight, through Faith; the Law being incapable to afford us these Privileges, *Gal.* 2. 21. and 3. 21. And, 3. In this Sense, we come to be sanctified; Christ having not only procured this for us, but also working it in us, by his Spirit. So that we come, this way, not only to partake of an external and relative Holiness, but of a true, spiritual and internal one, *Eph.* 4. 24. And, in like manner, 4. Christ is the Author of Redemption to us, even Eternal Redemption, from the servitude of Sin and Satan, and at length from Death, and all the Consequents of Sinning, vindicating *us into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*, Rom. 8. 21, 23. And seeing this ends in Consummate Happiness, I thought fit to join Redemption and Happiness together, that the one might explain the other.

And

And thus we see, how *all the Promises of God are* Yea *and* Amen *in Christ*, 2 Cor. 1. 20. (an Assertion that might be improv'd the same way as the two former, had I not said enough already to clear this Point;) And that all the Blessings that ever Men did partake of, or can partake of, are dispensed to us by God so, that we receive them out of Christ's Fulness. I proceed therefore to the next Grand Relation that Christ bears to us.

II. Our Blessed Saviour is likewise represented to us in Scripture, under the Notion of the *Grand Medium*, in and thro' whom only God and Men do, or can meet, in order to have Intercourse and Communion.

And here, in order to confine and tye my self up to Brevity, I shall only consider one Passage of Scripture, that lays a Foundation of this. It is that, 1 *Cor.* 3. 21, 22, 23. *Let no Man glory in Men: For all things are yours. Whether* Paul, *or* Apollos, *or* Cephas; *or the World, or Life, or Death; or things present, or things to come. All are yours. And ye are Christ's: And Christ is God's.*

These Words consist, 1. Of a Dehortation; *Let no Man glory in Men*; *i. e.* so as to idolize them, or trust in them, or in any thing Human. And this Dehortation, or Thing dehorted from, is so much the more to be regarded; because, tho it be sinful to do so; nay tho there be a Curse pronounced on all them that do so, *Jer.* 17. 5. Yet it is so natural, that almost all Men run more or less into this Evil; some trusting in Men for a Maintenance, so as wholly to forget God; some in Great Men, for Places, Honours, Riches, *&c.* some in themselves, their own Parts, their Grandeur, Riches, Strength, *&c.* nay some pinning their very Faith and Religion, on this or the other Learned Man, or his Books, or upon the Creeds, Confessions or Professions of their several Parties. 2. Of a Reason assigned for this Dehortation, which takes up the rest of the Text, and of which I am only to treat here.

Now

Now this Reason consists of two Parts, *viz.* 1. An Assertion; *All things are yours*, &c. 2. The Foundation or Ground of this Assertion, or the Truth asserted; *and ye are Christ's*, &c. Of both which I shall discourse something: tho the latter of these is what only concerns my present Design, directly and immediately. However the first is likewise a Truth of great Usefulness: And therefore seeing I find them so closely connected here, I shall not separate or divide them.

1*st*. Therefore, We have a Great Truth asserted, to be duly considered. In speaking to which, I shall keep close to the Apostle's Method, which is very nice and exact. For, 1. He gives us this Truth in general: and then, 2. He does, as it were, parcel it out, by a sort of Retail, into Particulars.

(1.) I say, he gives us this Truth, in general, as it were by the Lump, or by Wholesale. Which is so much the more observable, because he asserts it *twice*, as if he would have us to believe it the more certainly, because it is doubled, according as *Joseph*'s Words were of old to *Pharaoh*, *Gen.*41.32. for we have these words, [*All things are yours*] both before and after the Particulars following.

We are not certainly to understand this Assertion, in the Sense of the old Sect of *Levellers*, as if all temporal Things belong'd to the Saints, in point of Civil Property. And therefore we can much less fall in with the Papists, a worse and more dangerous Tribe of Levellers; who pretend from hence, not only that private Men, but even Princes and Nations, if they be what they call Heretical, have no Right to their Estates and Properties, but that all is the Church's Patrimony, to be seized on, forsooth, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, and they excommunicated and deprived of them, *ob majus bonum Ecclesiæ*.

But the meaning is certainly to be understood in a spiritual Sense; *viz.* as they are Means and Helps, in the hands of Divine Providence, to promote our Holiness and Usefulness; whether they be Ministers, Ordinances, or Providential Dispensations; as is plain from

from the Particulars inſtanc'd in, as we ſhall quickly ſee. Therefore,

(2.) Let us conſider how this General is branched forth, as they are ſumm'd up in this Goſpel-Charter; and we ſhall find, that they are brought under a Threefold Claſs or Head, and each of them ſtamp'd and mark'd out, with a Note of Univerſality: After this Manner;

1. All Perſons
2. All Things
3. All Diſpenſations and Events

} Are Yours.

(1.) *All Perſons are Yours.* And here, ſeeing it had been endleſs to have run out into a long Catalogue of Names; Three are only mention'd, inſtead of all others. And indeed, as three is a Number of Perfection, never could there have been a wiſer Choice made; whether we conſider their Characters as to their Offices, their peculiar Relations, as to the Exerciſe of their Offices, as to the Honours conferr'd upon them, or as to their Perſonal Qualifications.

For, 1. If they be conſidered, in Relation to their Offices; two of them were Apoſtles, and the other an Evangeliſt. And as to the two Apoſtles, there was this Difference, that *Peter* was called early to that Office, at the beginning of Chriſt's publick appearing among Men: Whereas *Paul* was called to that Office laſt of all, and after Chriſt was aſcended to Heaven.——So that this denotes, that whatever Differences there may be as to the ſeveral Offices, to which Men are called; and whatever Differences there may be, as to their being call'd ſooner or later to theſe, or under theſe or other different Circumſtances: Still the main Deſign of all theſe Perſons, is the edifying the Body of Chriſt, *&c.* as the Apoſtle ſhews at large, and very emphatically, *Eph.* 4. 11, 12, 13, *&c.*

2. If we conſider them, in Relation to the peculiar Appropriation of their Office, as to the Exerciſe thereof; then

then we find, that *Peter* was the Apoſtle of the *Jews*, together with the reſt of the Twelve; *Paul* the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, together with *Barnabas*; and *Apollos*, an Aſſiſtant to them all, tho moſt immediately to the Latter.——Which ſhews, that the culling Men out, to particular Services, and with Reſpect to different Places and Perſons, is likewiſe calculated for the general Good of the Church.

3. The peculiar Marks of Honour that God put on theſe Men, were likewiſe very different. *Peter* is always mark'd the Firſt in all the Catalogues of the Apoſtles; had the Honour, at firſt, to confound the *Jewiſh* Council, together with *John*; and, with him, to ſuffer Shame for the Name of Chriſt; was the firſt that preach'd to the *Gentiles*, &c. *Paul* was honour'd to labour more abundantly than all the Apoſtles, to convert moſt Souls, to have the largeſt Province of Action, to found moſt Churches, to ſuffer moſt, and to have the moſt eminent Hand in the Canon of the New Teſtament, ſuperior to all the Apoſtles, excepting *John*, with whom, in this Point, he hangs ſo in *Equilibrio*, that I ſhall not venture to give the Preference to either of them, tho I incline rather to give it to *John* than to him. *Apollos* was inferior to both, but eminent in Humility, a rare thing in a popular Preacher, to be willing to be inſtructed by two private Chriſtians, *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, and one of them a Woman; and eminently honour'd alſo, by his being ſo eminent and ready in the Scriptures, as to confound the *Jews* this way.

4. And, as for the ſeveral Qualifications of theſe Men; *Paul*'s Excellency ſtood, in a ſolid Judgment, and deep and profound Learning; *Apollos*'s, in being a Man of a ready Wit and Memory, which made him both a good Textualiſt and Eloquent Preacher; and *Peter*'s, in his being a plain, blunt, zealous and active Man.——So that, in theſe Men, we ſee, as in a Glaſs, what are the principal Qualifications of a Miniſter, as ſuch, eſpecially if theſe Three meet, in any one

one Man, in any eminent Degree; which, I confeſs, is rare. It might juſtly be ſaid of this Ternary, what was given, by way of Character of *Calvin*, *Viret* and *Farell*, Three eminent Miniſters of *Geneva*, that *nemo docuit Doctius*, none taught more learnedly than *Calvin*; and that *nemo peroravit ſuavius*, none preach'd more ſweetly than the Second; and that *nemo tonuit fortius*, none thunder'd more forcibly than the other.——And this may be one Reaſon, why *Paul* ranks himſelf firſt here, and *Peter* laſt, *viz.* becauſe this is the natural Order, wherein theſe Qualifications run; for Learning and Judgment ought to go firſt, Eloquence follow, and Fervor accompany both. And therefore, juſtly does (*b*) *Auſtin* teach, that a Preacher has Three things to mind, viz. *Docere*, *Suadere & Perſuadere*, to Teach, to Attract, and to Perſwade. Learning is neceſſary to the Firſt, Eloquence to the Second, and Fervor to the Third.——But there might be a higher Reaſon than this, *viz.* to let us know, that *Peter* was not ſo high in *Paul*'s Eſteem, or thoſe of that Age, as the Papiſts pretend now he was. But to go on,

(2.) *All things are Yours.* Now theſe are enumerated thus; 1. *The World*, 2. *Life*, 3. *Death.*

1. *The World is all Yours*, *i. e.* as I principally underſtand it, the *Natural World.* For this was made at firſt for Man's Uſe. But, ſince the Fall, the Saints are the only Perſons that make a right Uſe thereof; and conſequently, as they only have a true ſpiritual Title thereunto; ſo it is for their Sakes, that the World is continued; which will then come to its final Period, when God's Work about them is perfected.

And hence it is, that all things in the World are directed or over-rul'd ſo, as to ſerve their Intereſts. For, 1. The Political World is for them; and Order and Government, in its native Deſign, is for them. 2. Much more the Eccleſiaſtical World, (if I may call it ſo,)

(*b*) De Doctr. Chriſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 17, 18, &c.

for

for this is the very Design of all the Christian Institution and Ministry, and the Government and Discipline of the Church, as we are expressly told, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1 ——— 5. but more clearly and fully, *Eph.* 4. 7, 8 ——— 11, *&c.* 3. The Angelical World is intirely on the Churches Side. 4. And, tho the Diabolical World be directly against us, in Design, yet even the Infernal Angels are over-rul'd so, as that their Designs are made to serve God's Ends more than their own. 5. And so are wicked Men, in this present World; insomuch, that their very Plots and Contrivances against us, nay their very Rage and Persecution, are made use of to their own Confusion, and the Good of the Saints. This may be seen in the Persecution of the *Egyptians* against the *Israelites*, and indeed in all others since. Never certainly was any thing more wicked and barbarous, than the *Jews* Treatment of Christ: And yet even this was over-rul'd so, as to be productive of the greatest and best Good and Advantage, that ever the Saints were made Partakers of. But I must not expatiate.

2. *Life is Yours.* For had it not been for Christ's Undertaking, and that he has a peculiar People in the World, the old Threatning had taken Place, and Mankind had been long before now extirpated.

Life is a valuable thing, 1. As it is a Market-Time for receiving Good, and a Season of sowing to the Spirit, in a Reference to, and Prospect of the State of Rewards: 2. As it is a Season of doing Good, in those Respects, that even the State of Happiness is not; such as that of supplying the Wants of the Afflicted and Miserable, and of being beneficial to the Souls of those that stand in Need of Advice and Incouragement.

And, in both these Respects, the Life of a good Man is his own, by a Specialty, so as the Lives of wicked Men are not. For then only can we reckon our Lives our own, when we live as Men, according to Reason, and as Christians, according to Revelation.

Whereas Wicked Men, who are hurried on by Satan, Temptation and Luſt, can never be ſaid to have their Life their own; no more than a Gally-Slave can be ſaid to be at Liberty, or to have his Life at his own Diſpoſal.

Now, as good Mens Life is their own, ſo the Life of others is directed or over-ruled for their Good, eſpecially the more eminent Inſtruments that God makes uſe of, in the World, for a publick Advantage. *Paul*'s Deſire was to die, but for the Churches ſake he was oblig'd to check his noble Ambition, *Phil.* 1. 23, 24.

But ſpiritual Life here, is the immediate End of the temporal Life of good Men, with a Reference to eternal Life, as the chief end thereof.

O, let us value theſe in this Conjunction and Connexion; and therefore let temporal Life be improved for ſuch ends, that both that and ſpiritual Life may grow up towards Life eternal.

3. *Death is Yours.* The Connexion of this with the former is remarkable. For, if Life be not ours, neither can Death be ours. But, where to live is Chriſt, Death will be Gain.

Strange! That Death, the grand Enemy of Nature, and the Effect of the Curſe, ſhould be ours! But Death, to the Saints, is another thing now, than once it was. Of old ἐβασίλευσε, *He play'd the King*, Rom. 5. 17. which was ever ſince the Fall. But *the Sting of Death being Sin*, 1 Cor. 15. 56. where that is pardon'd, Death is ſtingleſs, ſee *Rom.* 5. 12. So that Death now is Chriſt's Meſſenger, and conſequently the Servant of the Saints. And as therefore we can now ſay, thro' Faith, O Death, where is thy Sting or thy Scepter, *&c.* ſo we await the Time, when a final End will be put to this laſt Enemy, 1 *Cor.* 15. 24, *&c.*

In the mean time, we have theſe great Advantages by Death, as it is Chriſt's Servant, and under his Command and Conduct, *viz.* that it uncloaths us of our Raggs; puts an end to Sin and Sorrow; ſets us clear out

out of Satan's Reach; brings us Christ's Pass for Heaven; and ushers in eternal Life, as being the Eve of our Birth-day into Glory; which, tho it be accompanied, frequently, with severe Pangs and Throws, yet these are soon forgotten, when once we come to be born into the better World. So that Death is the Saint's great Friend, tho disguis'd like an Enemy, and is a Messenger of great Comfort, tho apparrel'd in Mourning. And thus, better is the Day of a good Man's Death, than the Day of his Birth, *Eccl.* 7. 1.

Let us not therefore sorrow immoderately for them that die in the Lord, nor fear Death our selves, in a servile manner.

But let us prepare for Death, and arm our selves against the Fear thereof. And, in order to this, let us labour to grow in Holiness and Diligence, and be ever upon our Watch, whilst we are surrounded with so many Temptations and Trials.

(3.) *All Dispensations and Events are Yours.* These are reduc'd to two Sorts, viz. *Things present,* and *Things to come.*

1. *Things Present,* or present Dispensations and Events; whether publick or private. 1. *Publick*; whether Peace or War; Plots and Designs of Enemies; Folly or Weakness of Friends; Alterations in Church or State; Successes, or Disappointment of Enterprizes. Or, 2. *Private*; whether Health or Sickness; good or ill Report; Prosperity or Adversity; Presence or Absence of Friends; their Life or Death; Storms or Calms, *&c.*

2. *Things to Come*; whether future Changes, in our own or others State, whether in publick or private Affairs; future Time, and the Remainder of our own Life, which is then ours, when we improve it aright; Death and the State that follows it; for if Death part two old Friends for a Time, the Soul and Body, it joyns better Friends together, Christ and the Soul; the future Judgment, even as to others, (the Wicked I

mean) as well as themselves, by reason of the unriddling of Providence this way; and the eternal and compleat Happiness, at the Resurrection, and for ever after, in the whole Man, Soul and Body being united.

So that a good Man is as sure, in the Main, of the Time to come, as the Time present. For as Christ, his Head, is all things to him now; so he is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the same to Day, Yesterday, and for ever. But now I proceed to the Second and Principal Head; which is in the latter Part of our Text.

2*dly*. The *Foundation* and *Ground* of the Truth asserted, is next to be considered, as it is included in these few, but comprehensive Words; *And ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's*. The Connexion of which Words, with the former, is this. All things are Christ's, because He is God's. We are Christ's, by a Specialty, *viz*. by a close and spiritual Marriage, Union and Relation. And therefore all things are ours.

But, to present the Reader with a further View of this divine and wonderful Chain of Things; let him observe the Connexion of these Four Things, *viz*.

1. The Universe, or All Things.
2. The Saints, or the Church.
3. Christ, as *Loganthropos*.
4. God as the Supream of All.

And then let him consider the Three Links, by which these Four are connected.

1. The Universe is represented, as the Possession or Property of the Saints.
2. The Saints, as Christ's Property and Possession.
3. Christ, as God's Property and Portion, in an immediate Sense.

But then, upon a closer View, he will find, that these Three Links terminate in, and are reducible to two; and that by the Intervention of the two middle Things, the two Extreams are only cemented. Thus God and the Universe come to be related, by the Intervention

tervention of Christ and the Saints. For because of Christ's Relation to his Church, as well as unto his Father, and by reason of the Saints Relation, both to Christ and the World; God and the Universe come also to be connected.

And yet, when we have thought once more, we find that the Stress of all this Relation, and Connexion, leans but upon one Link, and that is Christ, as he is related to all the other Three; to God, as He is the *Logos*; to the Universe, as its Framer and Ruler; and to the Saints, as the special Head and Saviour.

So that if we descend by the same Steps, by which we ascended, we find our Minds directed thus to run on.

1. God is the Head of Christ, as Mediator.
2. Christ is the Head of all Men, in a general Sense; but more specially of the Saints.
3. And Men therefore, but in a more spiritual Sense the Saints, come, this way, to be Lords of the Universe.

All this is sufficiently asserted, 1 *Cor.* 11. 3. & *Eph.* 5. 23. *The Head of every Man is Christ,*——*He is the Head of the Church,*——*The Head of Christ is God.*

Now, in order to point at (for I pretend to do no more) the many and wonderful Things, that are wrap'd up, in this short and concise, but comprehensive Expression, I propose to do two Things; 1. To consider the Reference, that the Four Things, connected here, bear one to another: And then, 2. To consider, what the main Thing that is pointed at, as the Great Link, and Medium, between God and us.

(1.) I shall take notice of the Reference of each of these, with all the other Three.

And, 1*st*. To begin with the Top of all; let us consider God, not in himself or abstractly, but relatively, in a Threefold Reference.

1. To Christ, not considered, as the *Logos*, but as *Loganthropos*: In designing him for this Office and

Work; in entring into Contract with him, for this end; in his previous Declarations concerning him; in his sending him actually into the World, in the Fulness of Time; in all his Carriage towards him, during his Humiliation; in his owning and rewarding him afterwards; and in his confirming him Head over the whole World, and specially over the Church, in order to the further carrying on of the Divine Purposes.

2. To the Saints: In approving those that come in to Christ; in his concurring with him to have Men come in; and in Rewarding those that do come in.

3. To the Universe: In putting it into the Hands of Christ, for the Good of the Saints; and in concurring with his and their Endeavours, to make all things work together for their Good.

2*dly*. Let us consider Christ, in a Reference.

1. To God: As He is sealed (*John* 6. 27.) and commissioned to act as the Patron of Men, in order to save Sinners; as he has the Reigns of Government, this way, put in his Hands, to manage us and all things; and as He acts, in all he does, for God's Honour, the general Benefit of all Creatures, especially such as are capable of Moral Government, and for the eternal Advantage of Men.

2. To the Saints: As he is their Saviour, their Sovereign, their Benefactor, their Patriarch, their Legislator, their Physician, their Intercessor, *&c.*

Having procured these Privileges by what he did and suffer'd; given them a Claim and Title this way, by his Word and Grace; confirm'd them by the Seal of his Spirit; and carried the same on by his Providence.

3. To the Universe: As He is seated at the Head thereof; actually governs all; and is to put an end to all at length, as to its present Form and Order.

3*dly*. Let us consider the Saints, in Relation,

1. To God: As He is their First Original; their Supreme Lord; and ultimate Scope and End.

2. To

2. To Christ: As he has ingag'd them to himself by innumerable Favours; particularly by his drawing them in to himself, by his Word and Spirit; as well as by their own Choice of him; and by his Restipulation to them again upon their doing so. So that they are his specially, not only as virtually, but actually redeemed; and by a solemn Marriage or Covenant-Union. By which they come under abundance of Relations and Obligations to him: As they are his Servants; his Subjects; his Children; his redeemed Ones; his Friends, *&c.* All which the Scripture frequently speaks of, and illustrates by many Similitudes.

So that, upon all accounts, we are oblig'd to study Christ more; to be in him, and trust unto him, by giving up our selves intirely to his Conduct; to love him more and more; to be thankful to him, for all he has done; to obey him in all things; and to celebrate his Praise, and promote his Honour.

3. To the Universe: As they are obliged to use all things aright; to do all the good they can, whilst they are in the World, and to those especially that they are called to do good unto, upon the account of Relation or Obligation, in as far as such are capable to receive it from them; and to tune and model the Praises of others, to God and Christ; that either cannot do it themselves as is the case of inferiour Creatures; or that will not do it, as is the case of all wicked Men.

4*thly*. Let us consider the Universe of Things, in relation,

1. To God: As it did originally proceed from him; as it was design'd ultimately to serve him; and as it does, even now, to all thinking Creatures, shew forth his Praises.

2. To Christ: As he is the immediate Head and Ruler of the World; and as he is appointed to bring Order, at length, out of all the Confusions, that Satan and Sin have brought into the World.

3. To the Saints: As all things are design'd and appointed to serve them, or over-rul'd for their Good; and as

they are to be used by them, according to their several Natures, and joint References to God, Christ and our selves. In order to which, we are to consider them; either, as they are more or less *Representative* of our mediate and immediate Creator and Ruler; or, as they are more or less, *Pledges* of the Father and Son's Love; or, as they are, more or less, *Means* to lead us to the Injoyment of God and Christ. And I suppose these are all the Respects that Creatures have to God, with relation to us, so as to lay a Foundation, this way, of our esteeming and valuing them, in a way of Subordination to the Lord of all, and in a reference thus unto him.

Lo! here are the *Fontes Meditationum*, the Springs of Thought, in order to lead in our Minds both to Divine Contemplation, and Practice. And I leave them, as such, to be consider'd and inlarg'd upon, by the Reader's own Pains; For I must not now inlarge.

(2.) I proceed therefore, to consider the main and principal Thing, that is pointed at here, *viz.* the Great Link or Medium, that is here spoken of, as that by which God is united, in a general Sense, to the World; and, in a more special respect, to the Saints.

But, tho this be the main thing, I shall satisfy my self to have mention'd it, as plain in it self; without allowing my self to expatiate, as the Matter otherwise requires.

Only let me suggest these few things.

1. That Christ is the *Medium*, by which the Infinite Being and Finite Creatures only can be united: For it is simply impossible, that Infinity and Limitedness (not to mention Moral Incapacity, this way, in both Extremes) could ever unite; if the Medium, that unites them, were not one with both, *i. e.* both Infinite and Limited, tho in different respects.

2. That Christ is *so* the *Medium* between God and Creatures, as the different Natures of Creatures allow. Whereas therefore there is a vast difference between intelligent Creatures, and those that are altogether void

of

of Reason, or so abridg'd this way, that it is hard to determine whether they have any Reason or not: We must necessarily suppose, that Christ is accordingly a Medium between God and them, in a more immediate or mediate, a more direct or oblique Respect.

3. That Christ is the Grand Medium between God and Angels. Which will appear plain to any, that has allow'd himself to consider what I have already said concerning them, especially when I discoursed concerning the Soul of the Messiah, and the Improvement we ought to make thereof. See *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22.

4. That he is the Great and only Medium between God and Men, consider'd in general. It was, by Virtue of his Undertaking, that human Race was continued after the Fall. And it is thro' his Intervention, that Men are now salvable: As it was ever thro' him only, that there was any Intercourse kept up between Heaven and Earth, or between God and Men.

5. And it is in and thro' Christ only, that God and good Men come to be united. For God descends to them only thro' Christ. And we can only ascend to him, thro' the same living way.

Having thus suggested these Heads of Contemplation, upon this Great Subject; I shall content my self with the Addition of a few Practical Hints that naturally result hence, and which, I think, are too weighty and useful, to be wholly omitted.

1. Hence we may see the admirable Contrivance of the Gospel; in regard of the Spring and Original thereof, God; in regard of the Great Medium of carrying it on, Christ; in regard of the End, which is God's Honour, in Conjunction with our Good; in regard of Comprehensiveness, as taking in all things; in regard of Security against Want, and all manner of Evil: the first Link here being fasten'd to God Himself, and in Him; and consequently, in regard of Perpetuity or Eternity.

2. Hence we see the Wonderfulness of that peculiar Providence that is over the Church, *viz.* That our Life should

ſhould be the Reſult of Chriſt's Death; that his greateſt Conqueſts ſhould reſult from the loweſt Acts of his Humiliation; and that the Saints Victories and Rewards ſhould flow from both theſe, and from their own Trials and Sufferings, as relative to them, ſo as to be thus made Conquerors, and more than Conquerors this way.

3. Hence we ſee the Harmony of Knowledge, Faith, Love and Obedience. What we know, we believe; what we know and believe (as excellent) we love; and Love is the Principle and Sum of Obedience, ſeeing it is the fulfilling of the Law. And, *vice verſa*, upon the other hand, Obedience produces experimental Knowledge, *John* 7. 17. So that this bleſſed Circle coils round within it ſelf, as the Year does.

4. Hence we ſee the Strength of the Apoſtle's Reaſoning, *Rom.* 8. 32, *&c. He that ſpared not his own Son*, &c.

5. Hence we ſee the End of the Miniſtry, and indeed of all Chriſt's Ordinances, *viz.* that the Deſign of all, is to bring Men in to Chriſt, and to perſwade and ingage them to live accordingly.

6. Hence we ſee, that a good Man is ever a great Man, in a ſpiritual and divine Senſe. Grace enobles the righteous Man, and renders him more excellent than his Neighbour: even then, when he has neither Money nor Credit, he is rich in heavenly Bills and Evidences, and the Approbation of his God; as was *Lazarus*, in ſpite of all the Contempt put upon him by the *Rich Miſer*. A Chriſtian is both Maſter of what he has, by a right uſe thereof, and of what he has not, by living above ſolicitous Deſires thereof. What he has, he has with a Divine Bleſſing, and by a Covenant-Right and Conveyance. Whereas wicked Men have all their Injoyments attended with a Curſe; and while they ſeem to poſſeſs the World, they are really its Slaves, and not Maſters. The Jews, of old, ſeem to have had this Notion, That the whole World, and all things therein, were made for their ſakes only. And

we

we have a plain Veſtage of this, in the 2*d* Book of the Apochryphal *Eſdras*, Chap. 6. ver. 55, 56. *All this have I ſpoken before thee, O Lord, becauſe thou madeſt the World for our ſakes. As for the other Nations, who are alſo deſcended from* Adam, *thou haſt ſaid that they are nothing, but like Spittle, and may be likened, all the Multitude of them, unto the Drops that fall from a Veſſel.* And indeed in how deplorable a Condition were we Gentiles, when we were Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, Strangers unto the Covenant of Promiſe, and without God and Chriſt, and conſequently Hope (upon a proper and certain Foundation) in the World. But now Chriſtians may, upon much ſurer Grounds conclude, (than thoſe the Jews went upon of old) that *all things are theirs*, whereas before we had a Right to nothing.

7. Hence we ſee, that good Men are free Men, and have noble Freeholds; and therefore two things may be neceſſarily inferr'd hence. 1. That Arbitrary Government and Slavery are altogether inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian and Goſpel-Charter. And ſurely, if Bondage, as to Civil Concerns, be inconſiſtent with that Liberty, with which Chriſt has made us free: Much more ſo, is Bondage, in Religious Concerns; of which the Apoſtle warns us to take care, when he tells thoſe to whom he writes, of *ſome that came to ſpy out the Liberty of Chriſtians, in order to bring them under Bondage*, *Gal.* 2. 4. theſe Spies being themſelves only *under the Elements or Rudiments of Religion*, *Gal.* 4. 3. And then, 2. We are directed hence to conclude, That Faithfulneſs to our Maſter muſt bear a Proportion to ſo great an Inheritance and Poſſeſſion, ſeeing much will be required of them, to whom much is given. And, in a ſpecial manner, Liberality becomes us, in a proportion to what part of our great Eſtate, in Reverſion, God allows us to have in hand: Of which every Man muſt be a Judge for himſelf. If therefore we have it not in hand, we can only pray, that our gracious God, who keeps the Purſe for us, would be ſo, and ſo liberal to them,

them, for whose Straits we are concern'd. And in this Case, as in others of the same kind, God will accept a *ready Mind*, for the Deed, *not according to what it has not, but what it has.*

8. Hence let us be directed to live more for Christ; by studying his Excellencies further, who is the chief of ten thousands, and, in Comparison of the Knowledge of whom, all things are but Loss and Dung: By praising the eternal Father of Christ, *Eph.* 1. 3. for the invaluable Gift of his Son, in and thro' whom we enjoy all things: By resolving to forsake all things, rather than hazard the loss of Christ by forsaking his Interests; and by being ambitious to do all we can, for the Honour and Interests of our dear Master.

9. And hence likewise we are directed to go to God, in the same way only, by which he comes down to us. He comes down to us thro' Christ, in all his Mercies and Conveyances of Light, Assistance and Comfort. And therefore let us go upwards to him, in and thro' Christ also, which is the only way which he has appointed. Let us therefore go this way to God; in all our Self-dedications; in all our Prayers and Addresses, *John* 14. 13, 14. And, in a word, in all our Duties, both religious and common; for we are commanded, *Col.* 3. 17. to *do all in the Name of Christ*, &c.

III. Our Lord and Master comes also under the Consideration of the Great *Organ*, or *Instrument*, or rather *Minister of State*, by whom God carries on all his great Purposes.

But, tho this be in it self, the Principal Relation that Christ bears to us; (which, as it does, in a general Sense, include both the former, so, in a comparative one, is the main and chief of all the three, proposed to be considered;) yet it will need the least Illustration of any of them; And that, because I have so far prevented my self this way already. For it was my Principal Design in the *Second Book* of this Work of *Christology*, (as it was also, in some measure in the *First Book*) to prove,

That

That Christ, as the *Logos*, was the great immediate Ruler, both of the World and Church, from the Creation to the end of the Old Testament. And, it has been equally my Design, in the preceeding Chapters of this Book, to prove, that Christ is now, ever since his coming into the World, the great and immediate Ruler, as well as Saviour of Men, especially good Men, as he is the *Loganthropos*. And if it please God that I live to publish the *Fifth Book*, this will yet more fully and plainly appear.

I shall not therefore spend time, in heaping up Scripture-Passages, to prove this here. For, not to mention many to this purpose, I shall only say; That he that will consider, with due attention, these few following Places, will think that no more are needful. These are, *Psal.* 2. 6, 7, &c. *Isa.* 9. 6, 7. *Col.* 1. 18, 19, &c. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, &c. *Heb.* 1. 2, 3, &c. *Rev.* 1. 5, 6, &c.

However I cannot so hastily pass over this Subject, now that I have so formally and explicitly mention'd it; without considering one Expression of Scripture this way, which will equally lead us in to the Theory thereof, and a Practice suitable unto the same.

It is that in *Heb.* 12. 2. where Christ is called *the Author and Finisher of the Faith*; or, as our Version has it, *of our Faith.*

But in order to see the Connexion of the Apostle, and to understand the full Character of our Saviour, as given in these words, I must desire the Reader to cast his Eyes upon the whole of the Apostle's Reasoning, in the beginning of this Chapter, at least in the 1*st* and 2*d* Verses.

The initial Word, *Wherefore*, shews us, that this part of the Apostle's Discourse bears a Reference to, and looks back upon the Catalogue of the eminent Saints and Martyrs, which he had discours'd of in the 11*th* Chapter.

What follows, in the 1*st* Verse, contains two things; *viz.*

(1.) A Supposition, which is, That *we are compassed about with a great Cloud of Witnesses.* These

These Old Testament-Saints are describ'd here, [1.] As *Witnesses*. If it be ask'd to what; I answer, That the preceeding eleventh Chapter must be a Comment this way. I shall not now run thro' the whole Chapter for this end. But thus far I shall say, (1.) That all of them are represented, in the General, to be Witnesses for the necessity of Faith, *Chap.* 11. *v.* 1. (2.) To God's being the Creator of the World, *ver.* 3. (3.) To the worshipping God purely, *ver.* 4. as *Abel* did, *ver.* 4. (4.) To the Excellency of living in Communion with God, as *Enoch* did, *ver.* 5. (5.) To the Importance and Necessity of acting in Matters religious, from the fundamental Principles of Religion, *v.* 6. For here are recorded, in the Example of *Enoch*, these three Things; 1. The *Principles of all Religion*; which are these *five*, *viz.* (1.) *That God is.* (2.) That he is the Ruler of Men, as being the *Rewarder of them that diligently seek him*; And consequently, (3.) That Man is a dependent and accountable Creature, who is oblig'd to *come to God*, to *seek him diligently*, and to study to *please him*, as he is the Rewarder of them that do so; (4.) That Mens Souls are immortal, seeing otherwise God cannot be said to *reward Men fully*; and (5.) That therefore there is, and must be, a future State of Rewards and Punishments. 2. The *Duties of Religion*, which are these two, *viz.* (1.) To *Believe these*; and then, (2.) To *obey* and *worship God* accordingly. Both which are expressed in these words, *viz.* our *coming to God*, and our *seeking him*. And to which is added, The right manner of doing both, as it is express'd in what is added, when we are commanded or advised to do so *diligently*. 3. The *End and Design* of both the Principles and Duties of Religion, *viz.* A Concern to *please God*, and to be rewarded by him.——Other Lessons are taught us, in the other Examples, *viz.* of *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Sarah*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, &c. But I must forbear to insist upon them at present. [2.] They are describ'd, as *a Cloud* of Witnesses, *i. e.* a Multitude. So νέφος is often spoken of in Greek Authors; as in *Homer*, to denote an

an Army or Multitude of Men; who often appear as a sort of Cloud at a Distance, especially when their March occasions a sort of Cloud of Dust. Their Darts and Arrows of old, were represented as a kind of Cloud: And sure the Smoak of our Guns and Cannon carries on the Resemblance much more plainly. (*i*) *Virgil* says, *insequitur Nimbus Peditum*; a Cloud of Foot-Soldiers follow'd. But *Paul* seems here to allude to *Isa.* 60. 8. *Who are these that fly, as a Cloud, and as the Doves to their Windows.* [3.] They are describ'd, as a *great* Cloud, *i. e.* as very many. Upon which Expression we need no other Comment, than what we have in *ver.* 32. *And what shall I say more, for the Time would fail me to speak of* Gideon *and* Barak, *&c.* [4.] They are describ'd as a great Cloud of Witnesses, which is *cast about us*; the meaning of which is plainly this, *viz.* that they are so many and so remarkable, both as to Virtues and Conflicts, that we can look no way, or be our selves in no State or Condition, but that we have Examples, both as to what we are to do, and avoid, and as to what we are to expect.

(2.) An Exhortation, or Advice, drawn by way of Argument, or Inference, from the Supposition mention'd, viz. *That we lay aside every Weight*, &c. where two things come to be consider'd.

1*st.* The things which we are more *immediately* exhorted to mind. Which are these *Four:* (1.) To *lay aside every Weight*, that may hinder us in our Raceing for the heavenly Prize. Where observe, 1. That our Christian Course, is justly compar'd to an ἀγῶνα, a Race, or Struggle for Victory: 2. That he that would be prosperous, in this Course, must dis-intangle himself from every thing, that may hinder or retard him therein: 3. That, in order to our receiving this Advice the better, the Apostle includes himself in the Advice,

(*i*) Æn. Lib. 7. ver. 795.

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saying, *Let us, &c.* (2.) To lay aside, particularly τὴν εὐπερίσατον ἁμαρτίαν, that special Sin, which is most apt to be prevalent, by reason either of Complection, Custom, Example, Business or Temptation. (3.) To consider, that this Race is not a matter of Choice, but Necessity, as being absolutely necessary, by the Order and Appointment of God. And therefore it is said to be *The Race*, and the Race *that is set before us.* (4.) To resolve upon Patience, in our setting about this; whence we are exhorted to *run it with Patience.*

Hence we see, 1. That the Prize is attainable; 2. But the way to reach it difficult; 3. However that it is an honourable Course; 4. And no solitary Way.

And that therefore, we ought to set about this, as our *hoc age*, our main Business, with all Integrity, Resolution, Watchfulness and Diligence; acting as under God's Eye, with Relation to the supreme Judge and better World, and as under Law to Christ; and remembring, that the Cloud of Witnesses is more than doubly large and remarkable to us, than it was in *Paul*'s Days, seeing we have all the Martyrs and Saints of the New Testament, since Christ's Days, additional to those that liv'd in the more ancient Ages. And that consequently more is expected of us now, than of those of old. But we have one Example to look to, that is greater than all the rest put together. And this leads me to the next Head, which the Apostle handles, in *ver.* 2. Therefore,

2*dly*. We are call'd to consider, (that tho this be more remotely expressed here, yet) that the *principal* Thing, is, What the great Example of Christ is. Which the Apostle expresses thus: *Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of the Faith* (or, as our Version renders it, *of our Faith*) *who, for the Joy set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.* Which Advice is further insisted upon, in *ver.* 3, &c. *For consider him that endured such*

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Contradiction of Sinners againſt himſelf, leſt ye be weary and faint in your Minds, &c. But I ſhall confine my ſelf here, to the Words which we have in the 2*d* Verſe.

We had, in *ver.* 1. an Account of the Worthies of the Old Teſtament, as a mighty Cloud, to be conſidered. But here, in *ver.* 2. the Son of Righteouſneſs, himſelf, is repreſented to us, as ſhining thro' this Cloud. And it is obſervable, That *Paul* ſays not, *Look to* Abel, or *look to* Enoch, *&c.* but *look to Jeſus*; he and no other being our perfect and full Pattern, as well as Saviour.

So that here are two things to be conſidered, *viz.* The Object, *Jeſus*, and the Act required, in relation to him, *looking*. And according to the ſtrict Rule of Logical Method, I ought to conſider the Object firſt, and the Act afterwards: And were I *only* to mind Practiſe, I might not unſuitably proceed this way. But, ſeeing the *Act* muſt be regulated by the *Object*, I ſhall need to ſay nothing at all directly to it now; ſeeing, if we attain to ſee how Chriſt is here propoſed to our Thoughts, we ſhall immediately underſtand, how, and in what way we are to look unto him. And, in doing this, it will be enough, at preſent, to preſent the Reader with the Method, wherein the Apoſtle repreſents Chriſt to our Meditations: Which is in this Order, under the *Four* following Heads.

(1.) We are called to conſider Chriſt, in his Name *Jeſus*, which is interpreted *Matth.* 1. 1, 21. and of which I have already diſcours'd diſtinctly. So that it were ſuperfluous to ſpeak of this again there. Let us only remember, that as there is but *one God*, ſo there is but *one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*, 1 Cor. 8. 4.

(2.) We are called to conſider him, in his Office. And ſeeing I have alſo largely treated of this, I ſhall only confine my ſelf to the Apoſtle's Words here; as they ſhew forth his Relation to us, as he is the *Grand Inſtrument* of the Divine Operations for the Churches

Good. Now here we have *Three* Things to be inquired into.

1. What *The Faith* is, of which Christ is said to be the Author and Finisher? I answer, that tho our Version renders it, *our Faith*, as if they meant this of Faith as a Grace or Virtue; and tho I grant that this, in a proper Sense, is a real Truth: Yet I say, that this is not the Sense of the Text. That *Faith* is sometimes used as a Name to denote the Christian Religion it self, (and more frequently than many are apt to think) I could easily make plain, if need were. But it will be sufficient, at present, to mention one only; which cannot possibly be understood otherwise. It is, *Gal.* 1. 23. where *Paul* says, That *he preached the Faith, which once he destroyed.* And I am sure, that the Original *Greek* has it *the Faith*, and not *our Faith.*

Now the Christian Religion is called *the Faith*; 1. Because it is founded upon Matters of Fact, which are conveyed to us, by the Testimony and Credibility of Relators; and therefore cannot be look'd upon, as a bare Speculation or Science. 2. Because of the peculiar Certainty, which we have of this Matter, above other things, that we believe upon Report; as carrying along with them Divine Evidences of their Verity. 3. Because of the omnimodous Excellency of the Things themselves, that are thus related to us, and known and received by us by Faith; both as the most elevated in their Nature, the most admirable in their Connexion, the most necessary to be considered, and the most useful to us, as to their Scope and End.

2. How Christ is Ἀρχηγὸς, *the Author* of this Faith or Religion? *Answ.* 1. As he was the Occasion or Author of this Design, as he was the *Logos*, in concert with the Father. 2. The Dispenser or Giver-forth of the First Promise, after the Lapse. 3. The Manager of all things, that were preparatory to the actual Giving forth of Christianity. 4. The Sum, and Substance, and Scope of all the Types and Shadows of the old Law.

Law. 5. The actual Inſtituter and Founder of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation and Religion, as we ſee, *John* 1. 17, 18. *Heb.* 1. 2. & *Chap.* 2, 3. not to mention more Paſſages to the ſame purpoſe. 6. As he is the *Yea, and the Amen*, the Sum and Subſtance of our Religion, wherein, as in the common Center, all the Lines thereof do meet. 7. As he has ſeal'd and ratify'd it with his Blood. 8. And perfected the ſame, by going to Heaven, ſending the *Paraclete* from thence, inſpiring eminent Men to finiſh the Canon of the Bible, and carrying on the Ends of its being written, by Miracles, and other ſupernatural or peculiar Divine Evidences, confirmatory of the New Teſtament Doctrine.

3. In what Senſe is Chriſt τελειωτὴς, *the Finiſher* of this Faith? *Anſw.* So we do, indeed, render the Word, in our Verſion; and ſo we may juſtly do, if the Senſe be duly ſtated. But ſeeing we muſt underſtand *Author*, in the full Senſe I have given of it; the Senſe of *Finiſher* muſt be ſuch, as to denote the Continuer and Carrier-on of the ſame Faith or Religion, after it came once to be fully erected; or as conſidered under this Suppoſition. So that it denotes, 1. And moſt directly, all that Chriſt has done, and will further do, for his Church and Religion, from the time of its being fully erected and finiſh'd, as to its proper Conſtitution, in the Apoſtolical Age. And ſo this commences with the laſt Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and will go on until the final Conſummation of all things, and until he ſhall have delivered up the Mediatorial Kingdom to the Father. 2. It denotes, in a ſecondary Reſpect, (as this is included ſome way in the former) all that Chriſt does for particular Chriſtians in all Ages. In which Senſe it takes in all the applicatory Work of Grace, in Relation to the Saints, as carried on by the Spirit, *viz.* in convincing and converting Men; in ſecuring them under Temptation; in carrying them thro' Difficulties; in promoting the Work of Sanctification, in their Hearts and Lives; in rendring them more and more uſeful in the World; in aſſiſting them, under Trials

and Sorrows, and in the Discharge of their Work and Duty, at all times, and particularly in Worship; in admitting them to Fellowship and Communion with himself; and in carrying them, at last, thro' Death into Glory.

These are a few, and, I confess, very short, Hints of a very great Subject. But I am mistaken, if they be not comprehensive ones, especially to those that have allowed themselves seriously to consider, what I have already said concerning Christ, in the preceding Chapters. And I am sure such Persons will need no more, to let in their Minds to a considerable View of Christ's standing, in Relation to us, as God's great Organ, Instrument or Minister of State, by whom he has formerly acted, does now act, and will further act, in all the Concerns of Religion, and whatever relates to the Good of the Souls of Men, with Respect both to Time and Eternity. I shall not therefore say any more. Only I shall take notice of the remaining Heads, which the Apostle mentions in this second Verse.

(3.) We are called to consider Christ, in his *Management* of himself, in this his Office. Where there are two things observable. (1.) The *End* he had set before him, which is called, *The Joy which was set before him.* This, 1. Is called *the Joy*, i. e. the Happiness he had in View, as he was Mediator and Head of his People; which was matter of Joy to him, or the most joyful Thing, in this Respect, upon the following Accounts, *viz.* As that which brings Glory to God, Honour to himself, Joy to Angels, and Salvation to Men. 2. This Joy is said to be *set before him*, *viz.* upon the Account of his Father's Appointment, and his own Choice. (2.) The *Way* that he took to reach this End; as it is express'd in these Words; *He endured the Cross, despising the Shame.* In which Words are two Things to be considered: 1. His Sufferings, which are summarily and emphatically express'd in these Words, the *Cross* and the *Shame.* 2. His Virtues, as apparent in his Conduct

duct of himſelf, under both theſe ſorts of Suffering, or in Relation to them. For, with reſpect to the *Firſt*, his *Patience* is taken notice of in his *Enduring* the Croſs. And with reſpect to the *Second*, his *Magnanimity* is conſpicuous, in his *deſpiſing* the Shame. Which is ſo much the more remarkable; that, whereas it is uſually thought and ſaid, that the nobleſt Spirits are the moſt tender this way, and the apteſt to be impreſs'd and touch'd with the Senſe of Reproach: This Example teaches us, that this is no more than a vulgar Errour; and that the truly noble Spirits are quite ſwallow'd up the contrary way, ſo as to undervalue all the little Calumnies of Enemies, even to that Degree, as to be no otherwiſe affected towards them, than with Pity and Compaſſion, upon the Account of their Ignorance and Weakneſs. For thus it is plain, our Saviour was affected, who had human Nature in Perfection. And this is further inſiſted upon in the next Verſe, (not to mention more) when we are exhorted to *conſider him, that endured ſuch Contradiction of Sinners againſt himſelf*, &c.

(4.) We are called to conſider, the *Succeſs* that Chriſt had, in taking this Courſe: Which is expreſs'd in what is added, *viz.* That *he is ſet down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.* In which words there are theſe two Things obſervable: 1. That, by *the Throne of God*, is meant, that peculiar Glory that belongs to the Deity, which God will not give to another: 2. That, to be ſet at *the right Hand* of the Throne of God, is denoted, that peculiar Honour, which is appropriated to the *Loganthropos.* The *Firſt* of theſe is plain to any that is acquainted with the ſcriptural Phraſeology and Divinity. And the *Second* is no leſs plain from what I have ſaid already, in this Book. However, I ſhall, as to this, direct your Thoughts, to conſider a few Expreſſions of Scripture, which I ſhall barely cite ſo as to direct the Reader to conſider them, at his own Leiſure, viz. *Eph.* 1. 18——23. *Phil.* 2. 11, &c. *Heb.* 2. 9, 10, &c.

And now, Fellow-Creatures, and Fellow-Christians, Let me beg you, for Christ's sake, and your own, to consider your Duty and Interest, in Relation to what I have said, in this Book, and in this Chapter. I have not Room or Time to inlarge. Only allow me, to put up these few following Queries, to your Reasons and Consciences; which I desire you to consider, how ye can answer them best to your selves, in order to be the better prepar'd to answer for your selves to Christ, at the great Day. I ask therefore, whether the Gospel be not a Matter of the highest Importance in it self, and of the vastest Concern to you? Whether ye can be saved in any other way? Whether it can therefore tend either to our Reproach or Detriment to become Christians in earnest? Whether we can depose our Affairs in safer Hands, than Christ's? Whether we may not rest satisfied, and be firmly assured, that all that Christ stands Security for, will be performed and made good at last? And whether Christ be not too near and dear to God, to be denied in any thing, that he supplicates the Father for, upon the Account of his Friends on Earth? Whether then, it be not a Matter of the greatest Moment to be the Friends of Christ, and to stand right in his Esteem as such? Whether therefore we can, in Reason or Gratitude, or consistent with Honour, Ingenuity and Safety, refuse Christ in any thing he desires of us; especially seeing he desires nothing, but what is intirely calculated for our own Good? And lastly, Whether we be not under the greatest and most endearing Obligations to love, honour and serve him? But now, that I have mention'd this, I find my self directed to consider this Head more particularly, according to what I propos'd before.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Obligation *which Christ has brought us under, to honour and serve him (upon the Account of what he has done and suffered for us) considered and improved.*

THO I design a Practical Improvement of the whole of *Christology*, in a Book by it self, if it shall please God to continue Life and Strength this way; and tho our Obligation to serve Christ be easily deducible from all I have already said in this Book: Yet I could not think of concluding so eminent a Part of this great and vast Subject, without adding something directly, upon this Head, as a conclusive Application of what I have been treating of; in hope, that, as I have endeavour'd, upon the more speculative Heads, to convince Mens Reasons, I may attain also, in the more practical Part, to work upon the Consciences of my Readers.

And here, that I may not expatiate and run out too far, I shall confine my self to the Consideration and Improvement of one Expression of Scripture only, *viz.* the Apostle's Words, 1 *Cor.* 6. 19, 20——*And ye are not your own; for ye are bought with a Price: Therefore glorify God in your Body and Spirit, which are God's.*

The Apostle having in the preceding Verses, spoken against Fornication, as inconsistent with Christianity, insists upon the Enormity and Turpitude of this Sin the longer and more earnestly, as knowing that the Gentiles did defend this, as if it had been no Sin at all, and that no People were more guilty this way than the *Corinthians*. Therefore, after other Arguments made use of, down from *ver.* 13. he produces two very strong ones in the 19*th* and 20*th* Verses. The 1*st* is drawn from the Consideration, of *our Bodies being the Temples of the Holy Spirit*. Now the No-

tion of a Temple, both among Jews and Pagans, was that of a Holy Place or Building, appropriated so to the Inhabitation, Adoration and Service of a Deity, by Consecration and Possession, as that it was the grossest Sin, to defile or alienate it from its proper use. Such, says *Paul*, are the Bodies of Christians, as being baptized and set apart, for the Inhabitation of the Holy Spirit, and so to be imployed in holy Actions and Services, required by and pleasing unto the same Holy Spirit. And therefore he concludes, that it must be altogether unworthy of, and inconsistent with Christianity, for us to turn the Temples of our Bodies, into Stews for Fornication and Lust. The 2*d* Argument is drawn from Christ's Right to us, and Propriety in us; which is plainly laid down in the Words we have quoted. But I am not to insist upon the Apostle's Accommodation of this Argument, in order to shew the evil of this particular Sin; which, how strong it is, every one must own at first View. For it is the whole complex View of these memorable Words, considered in themselves, that I am to present the Reader with, at this time.

There are three Things then, which lie before me, to be gradually and distinctly considered.

I. The Apostle's *Assertion* of a Positive and Great Gospel-Truth, *viz. That we are not our own, but the Lord's.*

II. The *Reason* which he gives for this, *viz. because we are bought*, by the Lord, *with a Price.*

III. The *Conclusion* or Consectary, which he draws from both these; *viz. That therefore we ought to glorify God, both in our Body and Spirit.*

I. A great Truth *asserted, viz.* That *we are not our own, but the Lord's.*

Here therefore we have the Apostle asserting this Truth both ways, *viz.* negatively, *ye are not your own*; and positively, *for ye are bought with a Price.* And we shall trace his Sense in both. (1.) Ne-

(1.) Negatively. *We are said not to be our own.* An Expression that looks like an express Contradiction; and therefore requires to be duly consider'd. In order to this, we are previously to inquire; in what respect a thing may be said to be ours? In answer to which, I say, that a thing may be said to be ours, upon one of two respects; *viz.* either, 1. Because we have a Propriety in it, and Right to it; or, Because we have the actual Possession thereof.

Now both these are again to be considered under a twofold Respect, *viz.* either as original or derivative. Original *Propriety* is that of a Supreme Master or Lord, to whom a thing belongs properly and in the first place, so as Land, Tenement, or any sort of Estate does. *Derivative Propriety* is that of one, who holds Land, Tenement, or any sort of Estate of and from another; such as that sort of *Copy-holder*, who by Lease or otherwise is no more than an *Usufructuary*, who hath a Right to use and improve the Land or Estate, but not to abuse it, as being limited, so or so, according to the Articles of Agreement which are between him and his Landlord.

Again, *Original Possession* is that whereby a Man possesses and enjoys that which is truly and originally his own, so as no other Person can have any fair Plea or Claim against him. But *Derivative Possession* is no more than a Custody or Trust of this or the other thing, wherewith a Man is vested for a time from the Proprietor, and that under certain Restrictions and Limitations, according to the Agreement between them: and such is that of a Tutor or Guardian, with respect to Persons, and that of a Steward, Trustee, Tenant, or Farmer, with respect to Things.

Now these things being premised, it will not be hard to understand how we are not our own. For hence it will appear, that we are not our own, neither as to original Propriety nor Possession. 1. We are not our own, as to *Original Propriety*. For God hath made us, and not we our selves. It is to him we owe our Being and its con-

continuance. Who beſides God can, in this Senſe, ſay, *I am*, as God does by peculiar Appropriation? *Exod.* 3. 14. It is he only who is of himſelf, who is the firſt, the neceſſary and only independent Being. Whereas all other things are by Derivation from him; for of him, and to him, and thro' him are all things. For he hath made all things for himſelf: For of his good Pleaſure they are and were created. 2. Neither are we our own as to *Original Poſſeſſion*. We cannot ſay we are our own, in this Senſe, and who is Lord over us. For we are but Tenants and Stewards of our own Goods, yea and of our ſelves, of our Faculties and Talents. Therefore we cannot diſpoſe of our ſelves as we pleaſe, but only as God pleaſeth; of whoſe Poſſeſſion and Inheritance we are a Part. For as it is ſaid, *Pſal.* 4. 3. the Lord hath ſet a-part the godly Man for himſelf.

In theſe reſpects only are we to underſtand the Aſſertion here. For that we are ſome way our own, is not to be denied, nor can be in reaſon. For even here in the Text, this is imported; when it is ſaid, *your Body* and *your Spirit*. But if the Queſtion be, in what reſpects we are our own? The Anſwer is eaſy, from what is ſaid, that we are our own *Derivatively* only, both as to *Propriety* and *Poſſeſſion*. 1. Then, we are our own by a *Derivative Propriety* in our ſelves. Whatever great Men have, even as to themſelves, is by a Derivative Right, *i.e.* by a *Grant* or *Conveyance* this way. And this Grant is twofold; (1.) *Common* to Mankind, as to common and general Mercies. Thus God is ſaid to have given the *Earth to the Children of Men*, *Pſal.* 115. 16. The Lord allows even wicked Men ſuch a Right as this to themſelves, and to their Goods and Poſſeſſions: In which reſpect he makes *his Rain to deſcend on the Unjuſt as well as the Juſt, and makes his Sun to ſhine on both*, Matth. 5. 45. (2.) Special and peculiar to the Saints. And indeed this is a Divine and glorious Bequeathment; as including the Grant and Gift of God himſelf, of Chriſt, of the Holy Spirit, of the Word, and, in ſum, of all things appertaining to Life and Godlineſs.

lineſs. So that the Apoſtle tells us, that *all things are ours*, 1 *Cor.* 3. 22, 23.——But now we are to remember, That as both theſe *Grants* are *Derivative*; ſo they are given with *Limitations*. For as to the firſt; Men muſt remember that they are not allowed to lay out thoſe common Mercies they have, on their Luſts. However, ſince they have ſuch a Propriety as this; it is an impious and weak Notion, (as I obſerved formerly) to ſay, that *Dominum temporale fundatur in gratia*. And as to the more ſpecial Grant of God to his own; how dreadful a thing muſt it be, to make a carnal Uſe of ſuch divine and ſpiritual Things. But, 2. Men have not only a *derivative Propriety* in themſelves, but a *derivative Poſſeſſion* alſo of themſelves. We have a Tenure and Poſſeſſion of our Life, of our Body and Soul, of the Faculties and Parts of them, of our Gifts and Endowments, of our Time and Talents of all ſorts. But this is not a *dominium plenum*, but only a *Truſt* put into our hands, a *depoſitum* which we are to keep and uſe, and which we are Truſtees for, and muſt render an Account of.——Therefore we muſt not lay out our Wit and Learning, our time and Strength in the Service of Satan, of the World, or our Luſts; but in order to glorify and ſerve God. Therefore to ſpend our Days in Rioting and Luxury, in Laſciviouſneſs and Wantonneſs, or to expoſe our Lives raſhly, by Quarrels and Duels, is an unwarrantable uſe of our derivative Poſſeſſion of our ſelves. This is as if a Man that has but a Leaſe of an Eſtate for a few Years, ſhould diſpoſe of all as if it were his own; ſhould pull down the Houſe, and cut down all the Wood about it, and damnify the Land at Pleaſure, *&c.* Dreadful therefore is like to be the account of thoſe who uſe the Gifts of God againſt the Giver of them, and to his Diſhonour and Diſſervice.

And ſince it appears evidently, that we are our own in a derivative Senſe, as has been explained; therefore it is plain that this does not fall under the Negation here; which includes this only, that we are not our own originally, and *cum dominio pleno*. And this will

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let in our Minds into the Knowledge of the positive part of the Assertion, which is added to the other by way of Illustration.

(2.) We are said also Positively, *to be God's*, and that both as to Soul and Body.

Now we are God's two ways (as follows necessarily from what was said) *viz.* as he hath a rightful *Title* to and *Propriety* in us, and as he hath *Possession* of us. 1. *We are the Lord's*, upon the account of the *Propriety* which he hath in us; we are his originally and not our own. Now all Men are thus the Lord's, originally, as having received all things from him. 2. All Men are the Lord's also, as being part of his Possession. *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof.* He is the Proprietor thereof: And whatever Right Men have to Kingdoms, Estates and Possessions therein, it is certain they hold all of God; and tho Men cannot rightfully dispossess any Man of his Inheritance, without Reason given why; yet God may rightfully dispose of all things, and give the Kingdoms of the World to whomsoever it doth please him.

Now there is a threefold Foundation, whereon our Right unto and Possession of a thing is founded; *viz.* its being conveyed to us by *Succession*, or our having *bought* it, or got it by a *voluntary* and *free Gift*. As to the 1*st* of these, it is certain it is not applicable to God. For we are *originally* the Lord's, and not by *Succession*. Therefore we are the Lord's thus, upon these accounts. (1.) Because he hath *created* us and formed us; and so we belong to him, as the Work belongs to the Workman. We are the effect of his Omnipotent Production, and therefore are originally his. (2.) Because of his *Preservation* or *Conservation* of us. Thus, as we received our Life and Being from him at first, so we owe the Continuance of them to him still. We are his both in *esse* and *operari*, and depend intirely and every way upon him. (3.) Because of his *governing* us, and over-ruling us and all things that concern us. Thus we have both our Life and Comforts from him. ——— Yet tho God's

God's Propriety in us, and Poſſeſſion of us, is original, and not founded on Succeſſion, or Conveyance: Yet this may be well enough applied to Chriſt's Prerogative over us, as he is Mediator. For it is by God's *Grant* to Chriſt, on Condition of his Obedience, that we become the peculiar Inheritance of Chriſt. Therefore as God hath given him the *Heathen* or *Gentiles for his Inritance*, &c. *Pſal.* 2. 8. So Chriſt, over and over, calls his own, in *John* 17. *The People whom God hath given him.* 2. We become God's by *Emption*, by his having bought us. For it is thus alſo that God's People come to be his. But this will more properly be conſidered under the ſecond Branch of the Text. 3. We come to be the Lord's alſo, by *free Gift*, *i. e.* by a free and voluntary Surrender of our ſelves to be the Lords, and accepting him for our Lord and Maſter. But this alſo I refer to the third Head, where it will be conſidered more fitly.

In the mean time, let us all ſettle this Truth in our Minds and Judgments, that we are not our own, but that we are the Lord's; that we are his by Creation, by Conſervation, by Providence, by Government, and by Emption; and I would hope, by Self-dedication alſo.

But if we are not the Lord's, in the laſt reſpect, as well as in the firſt; how far wanting have we been to our ſelves. What! have we liv'd as Strangers to Chriſt and the Goſpel? If ſo, our firſt Privilege that we pretend to, of being God's by Creation, will ſtand us in no ſtead. For as the Lord threatens the Jews of old, by the Prophet *Iſaiah*; if we be a People of no Knowledge, he that made us will not have Mercy on us, *&c. Chap.* 27. 11.

If then the Caſe be ſo; O my Friends betake your ſelves to God, and make him your Friend, before it be too late.

For if you be the Lord's, not only upon the account of Creation, but of an Intereſt in Chriſt's Blood, and a voluntary Surrender of your ſelves to him; then, then approach God with Confidence; for all things

things are yours. You have given your ſelves to God, and he, in Exchange, has given himſelf to you, and all things with himſelf. You are your Beloved's, and he is yours.

And if this be your State; then, my Friends, when, at any time you come to the Lord's Table, you may contemplate the Greatneſs of Chriſt's Love, who gave himſelf for you, that he might buy and purchaſe you in Exchange to be his. Here you may view the Greatneſs of the Price pay'd; and have an Occaſion to teſtifie, that you do ſincerely render your ſelves to the Lord to be his, and not your own any more.

But remember withal, that the Ingagements which ye are then to take upon you this way, muſt be ſincerely performed. You muſt not only profeſs your ſelves to be the Lord's, but you muſt live as ſuch. Therefore remember to improve Time and Talents in God's Service. When you are under any Temptation to Sin; ſay, *I am not my own.* Wherefore let your whole Life, be one continued Evidence and Teſtimony of this; that *you are not your own, but the Lord's.* For as the Apoſtle ſays, *Rom.* 14. 7, 8, 9. *For none of us liveth to himſelf, and no Man dieth to himſelf. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord: and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Chriſt both died and roſe, that he might be Lord both of the Dead and Living.*

II. The *Reaſon* of the preceeding Aſſertion, viz. *becauſe we are bought with a Price.*

We before ſhewed, that we are the Lord's *originally.* We come now to conſider a ſecond Foundation, whereon God's Propriety in us, and Poſſeſſion of us, is founded, *viz.* his having *bought us by a Price* pay'd.

But before we proceed, it will be needful, to ſatisfie a Doubt that is like to riſe in our Mind, upon the hearing of this, *viz.* How it is poſſible that theſe things ſhould be conſiſtent. For if we be *primarily* and

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originally the Lord's, there seems no Room left for a *new Title* to us, by *Emption*. Or if we become God's, by *Emption*, there seems this to be intimated to us, That *we were not God's originally*.

To reconcile this, we are to remember, That both these will appear to be consistent, if we consider, that tho we were the Lord's originally; yet we had rebelled against him, by having sold our selves to his Enemies to be theirs. And tho God's Title to us did continue notwithstanding; yet, since we are hereby laid obnoxius to Punishment, for disposing of our selves, which we had no Right to do, God was pleased in Mercy to purchase us again; and to hold us upon the Claim, not only of an original Right, but of an acquired one also, in redeeming us, and buying us to himself for ever. And indeed, the Relation being mutual, it follows, that when we become Enemies to God, he becomes our Enemy also. For if the *Tenant* ruin his *Master*'s Land and Houses, the *Master*'s Contract is broken with the *Tenant*, as to *Friendship*, and gives Place to *Justice*, &c.

So that God's Right and Title to us, by *Emption*, does not justle with his Right to us *ab origine*, but only supposeth an *Alienation*, by Man's having withdrawn himself from God, and sold himself to Satan and Sin. For it is plain, that *Adam* sold himself and his Posterity to Ruin, *Rom.* 7. 14. which Sinners have since justified and stood to, in their opposing themselves to God and his Mercy. So that wicked Men are under an *implicite Compact* with the Devil, in their continuing to sin against God. And surely there was never such a foolish Bargain, as this of Man, to sell himself to Ruin and Misery, out of a meer wilful Humour and Obstinacy.

But I proceed to the Consideration of the Thing it self more immediately. Now, as in all Emptions, so in this, we must inquire into these three Things, which must necessarily be supposed to concur, viz.

Res,

(*k*) *Res, Precium & Conſenſus, i. e.* the Thing bought, the Price pay'd, and the Conſent of Parties.

1*ſt.* The *Thing bought* is to be conſider'd; and that is ſinful Man, who had thrown himſelf away from God. I ſhall avoid the Controverſy here; whether Mankind in general, or a Select Party of them only, in particular, be the Objects of Chriſt's Death. For I have formerly ſtated this Point. However, certainly it is ſafe to keep to the Strain of ſcriptural Expreſſions, rather than to Gloſſes upon them. And therefore, I ſay, in a general way of ſpeaking: That Chriſt came to purchaſe, for poor Sinners, a Right to Life; and not only ſo, but the actual Poſſeſſion of it, upon Condition of Faith. Thus Chriſt came *to give his Life a Ranſom for many*, Mark 10. 45. and *to give his Fleſh for the Life of the World*, John 6. 51. and ſo *to give himſelf a Ranſom for all*, 1 Tim. 2. 5, 6. 1 John 2. 6.

Now we are bought univerſally, both as to Soul and Body. Therefore, both are ſaid here to be God's. And hence we ought to ſtir up our ſelves, to ſpend our ſelves wholly in the Service of our Lord.

2*dly.* The *Price paid*, is the Obedience and Sufferings of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. The Veracity and Faithfulneſs of God, could admit of nothing leſs than this. For the Threatning of old was, that if Man ſinned he muſt die. Now Chriſt coming in our Stead, he muſt therefore die for us to ſave us from Death. Therefore it is, that he gave *his Life a Ranſom for many*, Mark 10. 45. Indeed, as to us, the Delivery is gratuitous and free: For we paid nothing for it. And as to Satan and Sin, it is a glorious Reſcue from them, and Victory over them. But as to God, who was the Party offended, this is brought about by a Price paid for it.

Now as there were two things that were required of us, in order to regain God's Favour, viz. *Satisfaction*

(*k*) Juſt. L. 3. T. 24.

for

for our *former Sin*, and *perfect Obedience* to the Law, for the *Future*: So our Lord Jesus undertook to pay both these Parts of the Price; the first by his Sufferings, and the other by his obeying the Law perfectly. By these, I say, he pay'd the Price; and thus *by the Blood of the Covenant* (whereby it was sealed and ratified) *he sent forth us Prisoners out of the Pit, wherein was no Water*, (no Relief or Refreshment for our Souls) as we have it, *Zech.* 9. 11.

And now, is there a Price, and such a Price as this pay'd for us; then surely we have all Reason to acquiesce in it, and to be thankful for it to our Lord Jesus Christ, all our Days.

3*dly*. Unto this *Emption*, since it is to be considered as a *Compact*, there is required the *Consent of Parties*. Now the Parties are two, *viz.* the *Seller* and the *Buyer*.

1. The *Seller* comes to be considered here in the first Place. And this is none other, but God himself, considered as provoked and offended with Men, for Sin. For Man, by selling himself to Sin, did indeed sell himself thereby into the Hands of Justice, in order to be punished. For it was impossible for him to exempt himself from the Reach of the Power of the Almighty, tho he did withdraw from his obeying his most righteous Commandments. For the Lord is, and must still continue the Supreme Judge and Soveraign of the World; under whom, Satan, Sin, Death and Trouble, are but as Serjeants and Officers, who are at his Command in every thing.

Now, since we had so hainously provok'd God, there was a Necessity to make Reparation to God, for the Breach of his Law: For without this, God in Justice could not let the Sinner go free. But upon Satisfaction given, God was willing to pass from Justice to Mercy.

2. The *Buyer* then comes now to be considered; who indeed is God himself, considered under another σχέσις and Relation, as a gracious and merciful Creator and

Father, who was loath that his poor Creatures ſhould be loſt; and therefore was willing, that Chriſt ſhould go into the World, and pay the Price, which was too high for us to give, that ſo he might redeem us to himſelf thro' his Son.

So that it was Chriſt, who *immediately* comes under the Conſideration of the *Buyer* here. For it was he that actually pay'd the Price for us, according as he had before undertaken to the Father. And who was fitter than he to do this, whoſe we were, by original Propriety and Poſſeſſion, ſince he was one God with the Father? For he had created us; all things being made by him, and nothing made without him, *Col.* 1. 16. *John* 1. 3.

But ſince it was not ſo much as God, but as Mediator, that Chriſt redeemed us; therefore we are to conſider, how he bought us, or pay'd the Price for us, in this Senſe. And as to this, we are to conſider how fit and apt Chriſt was for this great Performance. Which will appear in theſe two things, *viz.* that he had a *Right* to redeem us, and *Power* ſo to do.

And, (1.) Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as *Mediator*, was the fitteſt Perſon that could be to redeem us; becauſe, by his very Undertaking to redeem and ſave us, he had a *Right* conveyed to him ſo to do. For hereby he came to have a *double Right* ſo to do. For, 1. He had a Right of *Conſent*; the Father conſenting to give us to him, upon his undertaking to fulfil the Condition. God hath deſigned and appointed him to this Work, and therefore he hath certainly a Right to it. Now that he is appointed by God to this Work, is plain in Scripture. *For he took not this Honour to himſelf, but was called to it*, Heb. 5. 4, 5. And as thus he was appointed and ſet apart to this Work; ſo he is ſaid to be *faithful to him that appointed him*, Heb. 3. 2. He had his Commiſſion from God to do this; and is therefore ſaid to be *ſealed by God for that end*, John 6. 27. By all which it may eaſily appear, what Right he had this way. 2. He has alſo a near and immediate Right to ſave us,

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by his taking on him our Nature, and thus becoming Man. Whence it is, that he has Right to redeem us, not only *jure mandati*, and *conſenſus divini*, but alſo *jure propinquitatis*, as being our Kinſman (in Alluſion unto the old Law, *Lev.* 25. 25.) for as the Apoſtle ſays, *Heb.* 2. 11. *He that ſanctifieth, and they that are ſanctified, are all of one; whence he is not aſhamed to call them Brethren.* For *it behoved him to be like his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and gracious high Prieſt*, &c.

But, (2.) Chriſt had not only *Right* to redeem us, but *Power* and *Ability* alſo to effectuate what was requiſite, in the actuating of that Right. For *he was declared to be the Son of God with Power*, and was endowed with all thoſe Prerogatives and Qualifications, that might make him ſucceſsfully carry on his Work. For as he was *the only begotten Son of God*, John 1. 14. So *the Fulneſs of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily*, as he was Mediator, *John* 1. 16.

And now hath Chriſt performed this for us; then let us raiſe up our Hearts with Admiration and Exaltation at the Thought of theſe three things, *viz.* 1. The Cauſe, which can be nothing elſe, but God's great Love to us. O! What a wonderful Demonſtration is here, both of the Love of the Father, and of the Son! May we not ſit down and wonder, when we conſider that God ſhould thus think on us, in our low Eſtate; and that Chriſt ſhould condeſcend to come down ſo low, for our ſakes, who were Rebels againſt God. What! Such Wretches as we, who had ſold our ſelves to do Iniquity; to be bought, and that with ſuch a Price, by ſo glorious a Redeemer! 2. Let us conſider alſo the *Effect* that follows upon the Payment of the Price; which is this, that Juſtice is ſatisfied, and has no more to demand. The Effect of it is Glory in the higheſt, Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards Men. 3. Let us conſider alſo the *Worth* of the Thing payed as the Price, in order to procure our Happineſs. For we are not redeemed by corruptible Things, ſuch as Silver or Gold, but by the precious Blood of the Son of God.

And thus we have seen the *second* and *peculiar Gospel-Foundation* of God's Right to us, and Possession of us, *viz.* that of *Emption*, or *Buying*. And therein we have considered the three things that concur to make up this Contract, *viz.* the Thing bought, the Price whereby it is bought, and the Consent of the Parties in the Bargain, *viz.* both the Seller and the Buyer. We might add also, that which we proposed before, as the third and last Foundation of our becoming the Lord's, *viz.* our free and voluntary Surrender of our selves so to be: For God saves none without their own Consent, for he deals with us as rational Creatures; therefore one says well, *Deus qui creavit te sine te, non tamen servabit te sine te.* But this falling in with the third and last Head, I come therefore thus to consider it.

III. The *Consectary* or *Inference*, *viz.* that we ought therefore *to glorifie God in our Body and Spirit, as being the Lord's.*

This is a very reasonable Inference, from what was said. For if we be not our own, but bought with a Price, and so are become even on this Account the Lord's: Surely we ought to glorifie him, *&c.*

And indeed we may easily apprehend, how reasonable this is, when we consider, that it is the great and chief end of Man. For he made Man at first for this end; and redeemed him by Christ's Blood also on this Account, as we see in the Text. So that the Connexion of this Inference with what preceeds, does not only hold forth our Duty, but God's End and Design also; that we might both be stirred up in Gratitude to glorifie him, and be inabled by his Grace so to do; by the giving us his Word and Spirit for that end, *Psal.* 147. 19, 20. *Rom.* 8. 26.

But however, we shall not insist on this, as it is expressive of God's *Design* that we should glorifie him; but insist only on the *Obligation* there appears to be on us, this way, to glorifie and serve God: This being not

not only the principal Scope of the Apoſtle, who puts up this here, by way of Exhortation; but that which even the former Conſideration ultimately drives at.

And here I ſuppoſe it needleſs to conſider, what it is to glorifie God. For ſurely none can be ſo wild, as to underſtand hereby, the adding any thing to God's Glory; ſince he is wholly perfect, and needs not the Performances or Services of his depending Creatures this way; *Job* 35. 7. *Pſal.* 16. 2. Therefore by glorifying God, we can underſtand nothing, but our manifeſting and ſhewing forth God's Glory, either by actual Praiſes or Holy Actions. And this ought to be univerſally attended to, in all things; ſo as *whether we eat or drink, or what ever we do, we may do it to God's Glory,* 1 Cor. 10. 31.

The thing therefore, that ſeems principally to require our Conſideration here, is, How we ought to glorifie God? Or, How we may attain to do ſo? To which I anſwer; that, if we would glorifie God, in our Body and Spirit, as being his, and not our own, we are to mind the doing of theſe three things ſeriouſly; which mutually infer one another, and depend on one another. And, 1. We are to *dedicate* our ſelves wholly to be the Lord's: 2. We are to *obey and ſerve* him as ſuch, upon our doing ſo: And, 3. We are to *depend* upon him for Ability to ſerve him.

1ſt. We muſt dedicate and conſecrate our ſelves wholly to be God's.

This is the third and laſt Gound and Foundation of our being the Lord's, which I mentioned before. We were God's originally, and we are God's by Emption alſo; but he requires of us, that we give up our ſelves to the Lord freely; that we may be his by voluntary Surrender alſo.

Let us therefore labour to gain our own Conſents in this Matter, and pray that we may be made a willing People by God's Aſſiſtance. For how can we venter to ſerve God, if we be not God's thus really? Hence

the Connexion of 2 *Chron.* 29. 31. is worthy to be considered; *Now ye have consecrated your selves unto the Lord, come near and bring Sacrifices.* For if federal Consecration and Ceremonial was necessary to a right Performance of Divine Service, how much more must a spiritual Consecration be necessary. Let us therefore imitate Holy *David* in this, who *devoted himself wholly to the Lord*; as we find, *Psal.* 119. 38. *Stablish thy Word unto thy Servant, who is devoted to thy Fear.* And hence we hear him so often owning himself to be the Lord's, thus; as *Psal.* 119. 94. *I am thine, save me*; and *ver.* 25. *I am thy Servant, give me Understanding, that I may know thy Testimonies.* Hence it is, that the Apostle does so earnestly exhort us to this Duty, *Rom.* 12. 1. *I beseech you Brethren, by the Mercies of God, that you present your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable Service.* Where by Bodies (by an usual Synecdoche) he understands Persons; as he does by Soul also, *Chap.* 13. 1. And this appears the more, because of the word Living; living Sacrifices. It is an Expression, that has Allusion to the legal Sacrifices of old: For as under the Law, the Bodies of slain Beast were offered up; so now the Lord requires us to offer up our own Bodies alive, *i. e.* our selves, as living Sacrifices.

But now to bring this more home to our selves, we shall consider wherein this Self-Dedication stands. To which I answer, that taking it, in its furthest Extent, all things essential to it, may be reduced to these three Heads. 1. *Self-Surrender*, or *Self-Resignation* to God as our Soveraign; and this is inclusive of *Self-Donation*, or giving our selves to God, in Christ, as being truly his Purchase. 2. *Renounciation* of, and *Separation* from, all things contrary to God, and which claim an Interest in us. And, 3. *Formal Stipulation* and *Covenanting* with God, for Ratification of all this. The *First* takes in the Essentials of Self-Dedication; the *Second* is virtually included in these, and added only for Distinctness sake; and the *Last*

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is only the Formal Performance or Ratification of the same.

And, 1. *Self-dedication* consists in *Self-surrender*, or the *Resignation* of our selves to God as our God and Sovereign Lord. And this answers to that *Original Right* God has to us. For Self-Resignation imports our owning and acknowledging God as our rightful Sovereign. So that hereby we do as much as say; Lord, whereas we have been so wicked as to run from thee, and give our selves to serve other Masters, we now acknowledge our Error, and return here unto thee, to serve thee, and be disposed of by thee as thou seest good. This is what is imported, *Rom.* 6. 16, 19. *Know ye not, that to whom ye yield your selves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are whom ye obey——As ye have yielded therefore your Members Servants to Uncleanness, and to Iniquity unto Iniquity, so even now yield your Members Servants to Righteousness unto Holiness.* Therefore we are to remember what is said, 2 *Chron.* 30. 8. *Be not stiff-necked as your Fathers were, but yield your selves unto the Lord.*

Now this Self-dedication must be so understood, as to include and denote an actual Donation, or giving of ones self to God. And this respects the Right that God has to us, on the account of Emption; as the former did respect original Right in us. Things dedicated of old under the Law were given unto him: The Property of them was alienated, the Owner passing from his Right, and devolving it upon God. And thus the Case is here: We give our selves to God of free Choice. And yet tho we act freely, because, *cum complacentia voluntatis, & cum spontaneitate*; yet we act not *cum indifferentia*, at least in a moral Sense, in this case; because we are in Duty obliged so to do, from the Consideration of God's Emption of us, by the Price which Christ pay'd: Tho, at the same time, I take not upon me absolutely to determine, whether the Essence of the Will stand in *Spontaneity* only, or in *Indifference*, or, as I should rather think, in the Union of both. But to proceed; it appears hence to be our in-

diſpenſible Duty, to gives our ſelves to the Lord. Thus did the *Macedonian* Chriſtians, whom *Paul* commends ſo much for this very thing, 2 *Cor.* 8. 5.—*Who firſt gave their own ſelves to the Lord, and then to the Apoſtles, as his Servants.* Which Expreſſion is too high and ſpiritual, to admit of the languid and dull Notion and Gloſs of *Grotius*; who diſmiſſes it with this cold Paraphraſe: *Non tantum bona ſua, ſed & de numero ſuo polliciti ſunt ſe daturos, qui Corinthum irent.* No, no; certainly it imports at leaſt in effect, as much as *Ruth* nobly reſolved; when ſhe ſays to her Mother-in-law, (*Ruth* 1. 17.) *Intreat me not to leave thee———For thy People ſhall be my People, and thy God my God.*

2. *Self-dedication* (as it properly conſiſts in what is ſaid, ſo alſo) doth impart the *renouncing* of, and *ſeparating* from all other Maſters, that ſet up againſt God, in claiming a Right in us. For it is certain that we cannot ſerve two ſuperiour Maſters, eſpecially that are oppoſite to one another. How then can we ſerve God and the World, Chriſt and Sin? Is there any Fellowſhip between the Temple of God and Idols? If then we dedicate our ſelves to the Lord, as his Temples; we muſt have a care of defiling the ſame with Idols, and of making it the Houſe of *Baalim*, and not the Houſe of the Lord. Now it is certain this is included in the former things. For if I ſurrender my ſelf to the Lord, and give my ſelf away to him to be his; I ſhew hereby, that I renounce Sin and Satan, the World and its Vanities. Hence we are exhorted, 2 *Cor.* 6. 15, 16, 17. *To have no concord with* Belial———*But to come out from the Service of our former Idol-Lords, and be ſeparate from them, ſo as not to touch them any more.* See alſo, *Rom.* 12. 2.

3. Self-dedication calls for a *formal Stipulation*, and covenanting to be the Lord's: For if in other things we ought to be expreſs, ſurely in this alſo. Indeed the two firſt things ſpoken to, do neceſſarily involve a Covenant and Stipulation. But by this, I mean an explicite and formal Performance of this matter. Hence

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it is that we hear in Scripture, not only of Mens *ingaging their Hearts to approach unto God, Jer.*30.21. and of *their joining themselves unto the Lord,* Zach. 2. 11. but of *their subscribing with their Hand to the Lord,* Isa. 44. 5. And that Scripture, 2 *Chron.* 30. 8. which we render, *Yield your selves unto the Lord,* is in the Original הִכּוּ יָד, לַיהוָה *i. e. Give the hand to the Lord.* Now this giving of the Hand was an ancient Rite, used almost by (*l*) all Nations, in their making of Covenants. And that this was the constant Custom of the *Israelites,* appears from *Ezek.* 17. 18. *Ezr.* 10. 19. *Lam.* 5. 6. *Prov.* 22. 26. And thus we see wherein Self-dedication stands, and what it is. We proceed now to the second thing, wherein and whereby we are to glorify God.

2*dly.* Upon our Dedication of our selves to God, we are to set our selves to *serve* and *obey* God, in all things he requires of us.

For he that is dedicated to God, as being his, must serve him accordingly. If we have bored our Ears to God's Door, we have thereby testified, that we are his, and will serve him accordingly, with Alacrity and Chearfulness.

Now, since it were too long to speak to all things, that might occur on this Head, I shall confine my self here to this one Question; *When may a Man be said to act as the Lord's, and obey him accordingly in what he requires.*

To this I answer; That a Man acts as the Lord's and not his own, when he acts sincerely by these three Rules; 1. *When he judges of the Truths of Religion by the Word of God, and not by Reason without it.* 2. *When he sets up God's Preceptive or Moral Will, and not his own Will, as the great Rule of his Actions.* 3. *When he maketh God's Glory, and not his own carnal Interest or Honour, his ultimate End.*

(*l*) *Virg.* Cur dextræ jugere dextram non datur. *Ovid.* Jura, fides ubi nunc commissaq; dextera dextræ.

1. *When*

1. *When he judges of the Truths of God, by his Word, and not barely by his own Reason.*

It is certain, that Reason is the Instrument, by which we must judge of Religion; seeing it is necessary that we should previously understand what we are called to believe. But yet Reason is not the Foundation on which our Faith is built, but only the actual recording of such things in the Word.

For whatever Reason had been, had it never been corrupted; and whatever be the Reach of Reason still, in things natural, when it is earnestly and impartially implyed: Yet in things supernatural, which our Reason had never known but by Revelation, we are to make Reason strike Sail to Faith, and captivate it to a Belief of the Truth. For as we use to say, tho the things of Religion are not *against Reason*, yet they are *above it*, *i. e.* to speak more properly, they are the Result of the Infinite Reason and Wisdom of God, and therefore above the Finite Reason of Men. Therefore tho Infinite Reason and Finite Reason are not Opposites, since they agree in the general Notion of Reason: Yet they are so far distinguished, as they differ in the Notion of Finite and Infinite. And since this Difference is so great, we may easily conceive, that the Effect and Result of an Infinite Reason, is not to be measured by a Finite Reason. For this were, as if a Child should attempt to resolve the hardest Proposition in *Euclid*. Now in this Case it might be very rightly said, that the Knowledge of this Proposition is above the Child's Reason, yet not contrary to it.

To illustrate this, I will use a plain and easy Similitude. Three hundred Years ago there was none in our Parts of the World, that knew that there was such a Place as *America*. Now when the News of this new World came, Men believed it, because of the Credibility of so many Relators, and as finding nothing contrary to Reason therein. And now in this, as upon the one hand, this had been rejected as a Fable, had it been impossible: So the Foundation of its being believed was

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not barely Reaſon, but the Credit of Relators. The ſame thing holds in Supernaturals.

And now, ſince the Caſe ſtands thus, we may eaſily ſee how unreaſonable a thing it is, to attempt to graſp God fully in our narrow Underſtandings, to meaſure out Heaven with our Span, or to weigh divine Truths in the ſmall Scales of our little Reaſon. Reaſon indeed is called *the Candle of the Lord*, Prov. 20. 27. But what is a Candle to the Sun. Therefore let us imitate the Apoſtle, who having ſtarted an Objection againſt his own Doctrine, which he himſelf could not by human Reaſon anſwer, *Rom.* 9. 19, 20. thinks it enough to check it, as a bold Replying againſt God. And ſurely, this is both our Duty and Wiſdom in knotty Matters, to acquieſce in what is revealed; leaving God's Secrets to himſelf. For if we are wholly the Lord's, as to Body and Spirit, then ſurely we are the Lord's as to our Underſtanding. And I think it is Reaſon enough for us to believe a thing, when we find it revealed by God to be believed. What, ſhall we believe a Relation, on the account of the Credibility of the Relator; and not much more believe the Great God, who cannot lie?

2. *When he ſets up God's Moral or Preceptive Will, and not his own Will, as the Rule of all his Actions.*

The Will of Sinners is very ſtubborn and unruly, and loth to yield to God's Will. But God's Will muſt be obeyed by his Creatures, either by bowing and ſwaying them, or by breaking them; that they may know, *whoſe Word ſhall ſtand, his or theirs*, Jer. 44. 28. For *God reſiſteth the Proud, and brings down their high Looks.*

Now it is an Evidence, that a Man acts as a true Servant of God, when his Will is ſubdued to God's Will, in all things, both to his *Preceptive* and to his *Providential Will*. 1. To his *Preceptive Will*; when a Man lies at God's Feet, delighting to obey him, and to run his Errands. Such a Soul crys out, *Speak, Lord, for thy Servant hears*; and *what wilt thou have me to do?* Lord, ſays the Soul, I have given my ſelf to thee, lay on me

me what thou wilt, and enjoin me what thou pleaſeſt; for I am ready in all things to obey thee, it being as my Meat and Drink to do thy Will. But how oppoſite to this is the carnal Heart of the Sinner; who ſecretly ſays, Who is the Lord, that I ſhould obey him? For *the carnal Mind is Enmity againſt God, for it is not ſubject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be,* Rom. 8. 7. But, 2. The true Chriſtian, is not only ſubjected to God's *Preceptive Will,* but to his *Providential* alſo. Whatever a Chriſtian thus meets with, he is ſatisfied. If he meet with Comforts, he is chearful and praiſeful; if he meet with Croſſes, he deſponds not, but ſays, *ſhall I receive Good from God, and not Evil alſo;* and again, *the Lord has given and taken, bleſſed be his Name.*

And, in all theſe things, the Chriſtian makes it appear; that he acts by this Rule, that he is not his own, but that he is bought with a Price; and that ſo his Study is to glorify God by obeying him.

3. *When he makes God's Honour, and not his own Credit or Intereſt the ultimate End of his Actions.*

This is expreſſed in the very Words of the Text, and is therefore the more to be minded by us. But becauſe I touched on this before I ſhall ſay the leſs here.

Only we ſee, by the propoſing this, that a Man may, in a ſubordinate way, be directed to other Ends than this. But, for a Man to mind his own Gain, Pleaſure, Eaſe or Credit in the firſt place; is certainly a direct Oppoſition to what is here required of us, to glorify God in our Body and Soul, as being every way the Lord's. This is indeed *to eat and drink to ones ſelf,* Zech. 7. 6. and for a Man *to bring forth Fruit unto himſelf,* Hoſ. 10. 1. Whereas a ſincere Chriſtian will remember, that he is God's, and not his own, and ought therefore to deſign God's Glory as his great and primary End.

I might add yet a fourth thing, wherein we are to be ſwayed, in our ſerving and obeying God; *viz.* by depending on God, and not on our own Abilities or Performances, as to the Obedience God requires. But this

I have referred to the third Head. And am therefore now led to consider it.

3*dly*. As we are to *obey* God, upon our *Dedicating* our selves to him; so we are to depend on God for Ability to obey and serve him.

This is also another thing, wherein our Glorification of God, as being his, stands. For it is certainly one of the greatest Evidences, that a Man acts, as one that is God's and not his own; when he denies himself in this particular, which is so natural to all Men; as being spiritually enlightned to see that he can do nothing without the assistance of God.

For since it is only the Mercy and Grace of God, and the Righteousness and Merits of Christ, that can be a proper Foundation for our Salvation; the Christian hath learned to found all his Hopes of Salvation upon the same. And, since he has been made sensible of his Inability to obey God, without his Assistance; therefore doth he wholly lean upon this, and pray for it.

And thus I have come at length to the End of what I had to say, by way of Explication to this Text, in all the three Parts thereof. And thus I might put an end to my discoursing from it. But the Subject is so noble, and the Argument so strong and forcible to practise, that I cannot dismiss it without some more close and peculiar Use and Application; especially seeing I bring it in for this end, in reference to the whole of this Book.

And since the Scope of the whole Text relates to Practice, as being exhortative, in order to stir us up to glorify God from the fore-mentioned Arguments; I shall accordingly prosecute the Exhortation here, with what Earnestness I can; which, may the Lord be pleased to bless.

And here, in the *first* place, I might exhort you, to lament the want of this. O! how few are there that seem any way concerned to glorify God! If we take a View of the Multitude that profess to be the Lord's; yet

yet how rare is it to meet with those that are really so! Blessed be God there are some few: But alas very few indeed! And yet *except the Lord had continued with us this small Remnant; we should have been as* Sodom, *and like unto* Gomorrah.

I might also here, in the *next* place, exhort you to examine your selves, and enquire, whether you be of the number of these few. Say with your selves, have I dedicated my self unto the Lord? am I studious how I may most honour him? Methinks it were easy to convince many, that they mind not this, seeing their Lasciviousness and Wickedness testifies so much. And even those that are more sober and civil, may, I doubt not, find, upon trial, that they also are not innocent.

But I leave those things as too palpable to be insisted upon, and proceed more directly to consider the Exhortation it self, *to glorify God* more and more: For surely however justly we pretend that we do, in any measure, seek to glorify God; yet I think none will be so mad and presumptuous as to think, that they do so as much as they ought. Now in prosecuting this, I shall consider, 1. *How many Persons need to be exhorted this way;* 2. *Give some Motives to stir up all to this Duty;* and, 3. *Propose some Directions for the prosecuting of it.*

And, 1*st*. I would consider *how many stand in need of Exhortation this way.* For is there any thing Men are more careless and neglective of than this; even Persons of all sorts? Yea, who are there that can say they are innocent?

For, in the *first* place, do not the Generality of Men, follow their Lusts, and the vain Fashions of the World. They are the Servants of Sin and not of Righteousness: Lust lords it over them; and they become a ready Prey to every Temptation. And if all such act contrary to this Duty, how few then mind it! especially if we refer to this Number, those, who, tho externally moral in their Lives, are yet under the prevailing Power of inward Corruptions.

But

But we must *also* reckon those Men, to walk contrary to this great Duty, who give themselves over implicitely to be directed and ruled by others. Almost all Men are culpable this way, in following the Herd of some Party, or the great Names of some Leaders and Teachers: For indeed there are but few of that Bravery of Soul, as with the *Bereans* to examine the Scriptures, for the Truth of what is told them. And there are, it may be, few that consider, that this Temper and Practice, is an Opposition to the Great End of our Being and Life, to glorify God, as being his and not our own, nor any other Mens either. Let us therefore mind here what Christ says; *Call no Man Master upon Earth, for one is your Master, even Christ,* Matth. 23. 9, 10.

Nay we must say *likewise*, that they are culpable this way, who suffer themselves to be wholly swayed by their own Humours and Fancies. For it is not only a Sin against this, to dispose of our selves, as if we were our own, to the Belief and Practice of any Man or Party; but it is also a Sin this way, to be led by our own Imaginations, in the Matters either of Faith or Obedience. For we must be regulated in all these things by God's Will, as not being our own, but his; and so not being at our own Disposal, but his.

2*dly*. I come now to propose some *Motives*, whereby we may be stirred up to mind this great and concerning Duty more.

Motive 1. This is the great End both of Man's Creation and Regeneretion. Did not God create Man at first, in order to glorify him? and doth not God save and renew Man again, that he may be in case so to do. And can we then be content to fall short of this great End? Is not this, not only to paganize us, but to unman us, and to make us as the Beasts, who only live to themselves, and to the pleasing their Senses?

Mot. 2. Without this we cannot own our selves to be true Christians. Nay this is but another Name for true Religion; they being convertible Terms: So that, he that

that is truly religious glorifies God, and he that glorifies him is a true Christian. Without this then, your Religion is but a Shew and empty Name.

Mot. 3. You are under Obligation to mind this, by virtue of your Baptismal Covenant. What, did you not ingage then, to renounce Sin, Satan, and the World, and to be the Lord's wholly? Are you not hereby devoted and dedicated to be the Lord's? Can you then live all your Days in the Breach of this Covenant, and yet expect to prosper. Indeed Baptism doth not leave *Characterem indelebilem*; but yet it leaves *Obligationem indispensabilem.*

Mot. 4. Have you not, (at least most of you) engaged to this Duty, in a solemn manner, by participating of the Lord's Supper. Did you not say therein; Lord, I take thee to be mine, I renounce all Right to my self, I dedicate my self to thee, I will seek thy Honour, *&c.* Now then act accordingly; and say, *I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous Judgments.*

Mot. 5. Doth not God deserve this at your hands? Is he not infinite in Perfections? Is he not a God of Mercy and Grace? How many Mercies are you Debtors to him for? Is he not your Lord and Sovereign, your Benefactor and Rewarder? Can you then design any thing higher or more suitable, than his Honour? Or can you be better employed than in his Service?

Mot. 6. Are you not bought with a Price, so great and valuable a Price? And are you not thus become a Part of God's Property and Possession? Will you then alienate God's Possession from him? For surely our refusing to glorify God, and not paying our Homage to him, is an Attempt to take our selves from under his Jurisdiction: Which, how impious, and vain it is, we may easily judge.

Mot. 7. Is it not reasonable we should seek to glorify God; since else we provoke him to ruin and destroy us? What, do we imagin to escape him? No, surely, he will revenge himself upon us, for such Ingratitude and

and Wickedneſs. Nay, whether we will, we ſhall be made to glorify God. If we do not actively glorify him, we ſhall be made paſſively ſo to do. For God has made all things for himſelf, even the Wicked for the Day of Evil. So that if we be not careful to live ſo, as we may be to the Glory of his Mercy, we ſhall afterwards be to the Glory of his Juſtice.

Mot. 8. This is the way to the higheſt Glory and Advancement. To glorifie God, is the way to be glorious our ſelves. For *thoſe that honour God, he will honour; but they that deſpiſe him, ſhall be lightly eſteemed.*—— And not only may we expect Advancement in Grace here, by ſerving Chriſt faithfully, but to Glory alſo hereafter.

In ſum, there is nothing, but might be made uſe of by way of Motive this way. Therefore I might plead with you further; that this is well pleaſing to God; that it is a Condeſcention in him to accept of his Creatures Attempts this way; that it is the leaſt thing we can do, in Requital of the Mercies we have received; that it will be the higheſt Baſeneſs and Ingratitude to refuſe this. But I think what has been ſaid may ſuffice. —So I proceed.

3*dly*. I come therefore now, in the laſt Place, to *direct* you in this Matter. And becauſe I have been ſo large in the Explication, I ſhall be the ſhorter this way now. Therefore I ſhall only ſhew you, 1. Some of the *Qualifications* of this Duty, that you may know how to do it aright; and, 2. Subjoyn a few *Helps* or *Aſſiſtances* this way.

1. I ſhall name the Qualifications of this Duty to you; and I think the very naming them may be enough to enforce them. The 1. is, That this Duty muſt be performed *freely* and *voluntarily*. God hates Robbery for Sacrifice. And the Man that would glorify God, muſt not ſet about it for Faſhions ſake, or to gain Applauſe; but he muſt be moved to it from the Senſe of the Duty it ſelf. 2. It muſt be ſet about *ſpeedily*, without Delay. For to delay, in a Matter of this Weight, is extream-

ly dangerous; a Man being all the while that he delays in this, in a State of Sin, and under the Curse. 3. It must be *universal*. It is not in some, but in all things that we are to do this: For *whether we eat or drink, or what ever we do*, we are to do all for the Glory of God. And, 4. We must do this *constantly*, at all times. We must still go on to glorifie God, and seek to do it more and more.

But, 2. I come now to conclude all, by adding some *Helps* or *Assistances* to this Work. And I shall but name these Four. The 1. is *Consideration* and *Meditation*. Alas, how many perish for want of Consideration. Hence we see the poor Prodigal's Conversion begins in this, *Luke* 15. 17. and when he came to himself, he said, *&c.* He first came to himself, by Consideration; and then to his Father, by Repentance. And *David* tells us the same of himself, *Psal.* 119. 59. *I thought on my ways, and turned my Feet to thy Testimonies.* 2. Another Help this way, is *Self-Examination* and *Tryal*. If this Duty were more minded, we should have more Arguments to stir up our selves and others to glorifie God: For hereby we would be led in to see and own, that he deals with us in Mercy, far above what we can think, and punisheth us far less than our Iniquities deserve. 3. *Humility* and *Self-Denial* would much contribute to this. For as long as *Self* is the predominant Interest in us, and we are sinfully in love with our selves, in Contrariety to our own truest Interest; we will ever set up our own Praise and Glory, in Opposition to God's. But when we are humble and low in our own Eyes, our Study will be to magnifie and exalt God and Christ. 4. But after all, *Prayer*, mix'd with *Meditation*, must ever be made use of, as the great Mean to reach this End. And truly, we may justly conclude, That the Work is half done, when our Hearts are thorowly drawn out to pray fervently for it. And therefore, I shall only add this Prayer, That the God of Truth and Mercy would be pleased, so to work upon my own Heart, and the Hearts of my Readers, that they,

they, and I, may be joyntly ſtirred up, to ſerve and glorifie God and our dear Redeemer, more and more. *Amen.*

The Conclusion.

Reader,

FOR ſo I may more juſtly call thee now (if thou haſt proceeded ſo far as this with me, with due and ſerious Application of Thought) than in the Introduction to this Work; I leave thee to judge of me, and my Performance, as thou pleaſeſt; as remembring the old Saying, *Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua Fata Libelli, i. e.* that Books have their Fate, ſo as to be either approv'd of, or condemn'd, according as the Capacity of the Reader is: And I wiſh I had it not to ſay alſo, that Prejudice is, in many, the Medium or Spectacles made uſe of this way. However, be who thou wilt, I can aſſure thee, as in the ſight of the ſupream Lord and Judge, whoſe I am, and whom I ſerve, that my Record is on High; and that the Spirit of God witneſſeth together with my own Spirit, that I have labour'd to be faithful to the Light God has given me, in theſe my Studies and Meditations; and, that God's Glory, the Service of my Saviour, and thy ſpiritual and eternal Good, in Conjunction with my own, have been the Ends I have all along ſet before me in this Work; inſomuch, that the Conſciouſneſs of my Sincerity and Integrity this way, with the ſuperadded Senſe of the divine Approbation, has not only incourag'd me to go thro' theſe and my other Studies, but wonderfully ſupported me, under a long Tract of Sickneſs and tormenting Pains, which I was under, ſome time ago, almoſt conſtantly, for about *nine Months*, beſides later Relapſes of the ſame Diſtempers, which I am not yet quite freed from.

As therefore I have the juſteſt Reaſon to thank the Supream Lord of Life, Knowledge, Grace and Comfort, for his aſſiſting me to begin, proſecute and carry on this great Work, ſo as I have done: So my Prayer is, to this my gracious God, thro' my dear Redeemer, that all thoſe, who ſhall peruſe theſe Meditations, may be made Partakers for the ſame, or like Satisfaction, which he has been pleaſed, in Mercy, to bleſs me with; that thus we may attain more and more to be *built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being* (m) *the chief Corner-Stone*, Eph. 2. 20.

And,

(m) Ἀκρογωνιαίου, *viz.* λίθου, *which we render*, The chief Corner-Stone, *denotes, that Chriſt is that to the Church, which the Corner-Stones are to great and noble Edifices, which unite both Walls on each Side, and joyn them together, both below and above, thus equally cementing, ſtrengthning, and adorning the whole Houſe round about, both below and above all the four Fronts, and from the Bottom to the Top of all the four Corners. For thus only we can form to our ſelves a genuin Notion of the Deſign of the Apoſtle's Compariſon; when,* 1. *He compares the Church in general, to a vaſt Temple*, ver. 21. 2. *When he makes this Temple to be founded jointly on the Prophetical and Apoſtolical Doctrine*, ver. 20. *and conſequently,* 3. *He muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak of the Church in the moſt comprehenſive Senſe, taking in all good Men from the beginning to the End of Time. For, it is ſure from things, that he muſt likewiſe ſpeak of Chriſt himſelf, in his Relation to the Church, in a Senſe that is equally large and comprehenſive. And therefore, when Chriſt is called, in a general way of ſpeaking, the Corner or Uniting-Stone, we muſt not imagine that, becauſe the Word* Stone *is in the ſingular Number, that therefore the Apoſtle meant to compare Chriſt to ſome one Stone of ſome Corner. No, ſurely! His Deſign was to repreſent him, as interwoven with the whole Building, and that ſo as to be, from bottom to top, the Foundation, the Corners, and the finiſhing Part of the Superſtructure at length. And thus this Expreſſion, in* Eph. 2. 20. *as well as thoſe equivalent Expreſſions,* Iſa. 28. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 6, 7. Pſal. 118. 12. Matth. 21. 42. Mark 12. 10. Luke 20. 17. Acts 4. 11. Matth. 4. 11. *are to be underſtood, according to the Extent of this Divine Phraſe; God himſelf being the Firſt that ever uſed this Word, as we ſee this in the moſt ancient Book in the World, viz.* Job, *Chap.* 38. *ver.* 67. *Where God ſpeaks thus to* Job: Whereupon are the Foundations of the Earth faſtned? Or, Who laid the Corner-Stone thereof? When the Morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for Joy. *For, as by the*

And, in Case any Person receive any such Advantage, as I hope many shall, by a serious Consideration of what I have discours'd of; my Desire is, that he may so far forget the poor Instrument, which God has chosen to make use of, to impart these useful Speculations to the World; as that all the Praise may be intirely given to him, who is the alone Discoverer of Truth, and from whose immense Fulness, every good and perfect Gift descendeth.

As for my self, I have but one Favour to desire of those, that may receive any Advantage, either from this or any other Part of my Labours, *viz.* That they would assist me by their Prayers, that I may be further continued and capacitated to carry on the remaining Parts of this vast Undertaking, so as to bring them to the like Perfection I have done this and the former Books. For I thank God, I want not very considerable Materials towards the finishing the other Parts, in like manner; if it may but please him to honour so poor and unworthy a Creature to do so, by affording Life, Health and Leisure; and, together with these, his own kind Presence, Direction and Assistance.

But, if instead of Incouragement from my Readers, I be revil'd, and censur'd, and meet with severe Usage from any; I shall labour to possess my Soul in Patience, as knowing that my dear Master was worse treated, by far, for the sake of Truth, by ignorant and prejudic'd Men; who imagin'd themselves to be too wise and orthodox already to be further inform'd, and who reckon'd themselves oblig'd, from a Zeal for God, and Concern for the Church, to persecute him, as a Schismatick, Heretick and Blasphemer,

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the laying of the Corner-Stone of the Earth, *must be denoted the finishing and compleating of its Creation: So by Christ's becoming the Corner-Stone of the Church, this must be meant, that Christ is become the Strength, Security, Glory and Perfection of the whole Christian Temple, in all times; and that has now, since his Coming, made this eminently apparent to all Men.*

even to the Death. And seeing this was done to the Green and Living Tree; and that he has forewarn'd his faithful Followers of the like Treatment, from others of the same Complexion with those who murder'd himself, and *who will also think* that they are thus employ'd *in doing God most excellent Service;* I shall only say, in this Case, with the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, That *it is a small thing with me, to be censur'd and condemned by* such *Mens Judgment.*

However, seeing the best and wisest of Men may and do mistake, as *seeing only in Part*, especially in the deep and profound Things, that relate to God and Christ; it is just for me to suppose, that I may have miss'd the exact Truth, in several Respects, in a Work of this Nature and Bulk. But then, as I have honestly and studiously labour'd to keep from Error; it cannot be expected, that I should retract Mistakes, which, as yet, I know nothing of.

In the mean time, I shall conclude here, with two Sentences, proper to my present Purpose and Work.

Augustin. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. de Trin.

Quisquis hoc legit; ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum. Ubi pariter hæsitat, quærat mecum. Ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me. Ubi meum, revocet me. Nam in his, ut in omnibus meis Scriptis, non modo pium Lectorem, sed etiam Liberum Correctorem desidero.

Gualther. in Fine Comm. in Proph. Min.

Si male quid dictum est, Hominem dixisse memento:
Si bene quid dixi, Gloria, Christe, tua est.

But, tho I think, I do rather deserve Thanks than Censure from Men, even tho abundance of Mistakes should be found out in this Work, by more learned and penetrating Heads than mine: Yet, when I cast my Thoughts upwards to the great and wise Lord of all, I have Reason to beg Pardon for such Errours, as he sees, not only in this, but in all my other Studies and Writings,

tings, and indeed in all Human Performances. The Conſideration therefore of this, incites me to vent my Mind in theſe plain Lines, which have been affecting to me, tho they pretend not to Elegancy.

A Culpis averte meis, Pater optime, viſus;
Tolle meas noxas, dedecoriſq; notas.
Parce precor Cuſtos Hominum, mihi parce precanti,
Et tua, Chriſte, tuum, Dextera ſalvet Opus.
Quiquid & hoc falſi, videas Deus Alme, Libello,
Et nævos omnes (σφάλματα) tolle ſuos.
Exleges Pietatis iter mea Scripta docebunt,
Perq; tuas pergent, me Monitore, vias.
Te ſine, Chriſte, bonum nil eſt nec amabile quicquam,
Tu mihi Pax cordis, tu mihi ſola Salus.
Fac precor, ut recolens noctesq; dieſq; requirat
Te mea Mens unum, Cogitet, Optet, Amet.

And now, Reader, having committed this Work, together with my Self, and all Mine, to the Divine Mercy and Bleſſing; I do, in like manner, commit thee and thine to the ſame. And thus I bid thee heartily Farewel, from my *Study* in *Hackney*, near *London*, this 5*th* Day of *November*, 1707.

1724

FINIS.